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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

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Author of the "History of Europe from the commencement of the French Revolution, in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo," &c. &c.

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VOL. I.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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PREFACE.

DURING a period of peace the eras of history cannot be so clearly perceived on a first and superficial glance as when they are marked by the decisive events of war; but they are not, on that account, the less obvious when their respective limits have been once ascertained. The triumphs of parties in the Senate-House or the Forum are not, in general, followed by the same immediate and decisive results as those of armies in the field; and their consequences are often not fully developed for several years after they have taken place. But they are equally real and decisive. The results do not follow with less certainty from the movements which have preceded them. It is in tracing these results, and connecting them with the changes in legislation or opinion in which they originated, that the great interest and utility of the history of pacific periods consist.

The periods which have passed over during the thirty-seven years of European *national* peace—from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852—are not so vividly marked as those which occurred during the wars of the French Revolution, but they have a distinctness of their own, and the changes in which they terminated were not less eventful. The resumption of cash payments in England in 1819 was not, to outward appearance, so striking an event as the battle of Austerlitz, but it was followed by results of equal permanent

importance. The Reform Bill was not the cause of so visible a change in human affairs as the battle of Wagram, but it was attended with consequences equally grave and lasting. Without pretending to have discerned with perfect accuracy, as yet, the most important of the many important events which have signalised this memorable era, it may be stated that it naturally divides itself into five periods.

The First, commencing with the entry of the Allies into Paris after the fall of Napoleon, terminates with the passing of the Currency Act of 1819 in England, and the great creation of peers in the democratic interest during the same year in France. This period embraces the treaty of Paris which closed the war, the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and establishment of the government of the Restoration in France, and the commencement of the social changes and financial embarrassments which have since become so serious in Great Britain. The effects of the measures pursued during this period were not perceived at the time, but they are very apparent now. The seeds which produced such decisive results in after times were all sown during its continuance. It forms the subject of the first volume, now submitted to the public.

The Second Period is still more clearly marked, for it begins with the entire establishment of a Liberal government and system of administration in France in 1819, and ends with the Revolution which overthrew Charles X. in 1830. Foreign transactions begin, during this era, to become of importance, for it embraces the revolutions of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, in 1820; the congress of Laybach, Troppau, and Verona; the rise of Greece as an independent state in the same year, and battle of Navarino; the important wars of Russia with Turkey and Persia in 1828 and 1829; and the vast conquests of England in India over the Goorkhas and Burmese Empire. This period will be embraced in the second volume of this history. The topics it embraces are more various and exciting than those in the first, but they are not more important: they are the growth which followed the seeds previously sown. England and France were

still the leaders in the movement; the convulsions of the world were but the consequence of the throes in their bosoms.

The Third Period commences with the great debate on the Reform Bill—of two years' continuance—in England in 1831, and ends with the overthrow of the Whig Ministry, by the election of October 1841. The great and lasting effects of the change in the constitution of Great Britain, by the passing of the Reform Act, partially developed themselves during this period; and the return of Sir Robert Peel to power was the first great reaction against them. During the same time, the natural effects of the Revolution in France appeared in the government, unavoidable in the circumstances, of mingled force and corruption of Louis Philippe, and the growth of discontent in the inferior classes of society, from the disappointment of their expectations as to the results of the previous convulsion. Foreign episodes of surpassing interest signalise this period, for it contains the heroic effort of the Poles to restore their national independence in 1831; the revolt of Ibrahim Pacha, the bombardment of Acre, and the narrow escape of Turkey from ruin; our invasion of Affghanistan, and subsequent disaster there. Never did the Crescent wane before the Cross as during its continuance. This period, so rich in important changes and interesting events, will form the subject of the third volume.

The Fourth Period, commencing with the noble constancy in adversity displayed by Sir Robert Peel and the English Government in 1842, terminates with the overthrow of Louis Philippe, and consequent European Revolutions in February 1848. If these years were fraught with internal and social changes of the very highest moment to the future fortunes of Great Britain, and of the whole civilised world, they were not less distinguished by the brilliancy of her external triumphs. Then it was that the old policy of the empire was abandoned, and Free Trade in corn, provisions, sugar, and shipping introduced in its stead. Then began the great emigration from the British Islands; then for the first time its population, which had advanced unceasingly from the time of Alfred, began to decline. But these years, so strongly

marked by alternate prosperity and suffering at home, exhibited nothing but uniform success and triumph abroad. They witnessed the second expedition into Affghanistan and capture of Cabul; the conclusion of a glorious peace with China under the walls of Nankin; the conquest of Scinde, and desperate passage of arms on the Sutlej. Never did appear in such striking colours the immense superiority which the arms of civilisation had acquired over those of barbarism, as in this brief and animating period.

The Fifth Period commences with the overthrow of Louis Philippe in February 1848, and terminates with the seizure of supreme power by Louis Napoleon in 1852. It is, beyond all example, rich in external and internal events of the very highest moment, and attended by lasting consequences in every part of the world. It witnessed the spread of revolution over Germany and Italy, and the desperate military strife to which it gave rise; the brief but memorable campaigns in Italy and Hungary; and the bloodless suppression of revolution in Great Britain and Ireland by the patriotism of her people and the firmness of her Government. Interesting, however, as these events were, they yield in ultimate importance to those which, at the same period, were in progress in the distant parts of the earth. The rich territories of the Punjaub were during it added to the British dominions in India, which came thus to be bounded only by the Indus and the Himalaya snows. At the same time, the spirit of republican aggrandisement, not less powerful in the New than in the Old World, impelled the Anglo-Saxons over their feeble neighbours in Mexico; Texas was overrun — CALIFORNIA conquered — and the discovery of gold mines, of vast extent and surpassing riches, hitherto unknown to man, changed the fortunes of the world. The simultaneous discovery of mines of the same precious metal in AUSTRALIA, acted as a magnet, which attracted the stream of migration and civilisation, for the first time in the history of mankind, to the Eastern world; and now, while half a million Europeans annually land in America, and double the already marvellous rate of Transatlantic increase, a hundred thousand Anglo-Saxons yearly migrate to Australia,

and lay the foundations of a second England and another Europe, in the vast seats provided there for their reception.

Events so wonderful, and succeeding one another with such rapidity, must impress upon the most inconsiderate observer the belief of a great change going forward in human affairs, of which we are the unconscious instruments. That change is THE SECOND DISPERSION OF MANKIND; the spread of civilisation, the extension of Christianity, over the hitherto desert and unpeopled parts of the earth. All the changes which have occurred during the period have conspired to bring about this result. They began with the first French Revolution, the publication of *The Rights of Man* first set them in motion; they will terminate only with the end of the world. It is hard to say whether the passions of civilisation, the discoveries of science, or the treasures of the wilderness, have acted most powerfully in working out this great change. The first developed the energy in the breast of civilised man, which rendered him capable of great achievements, and inspired him with passions which prompted him to seek a wider and more unfettered situation for their gratification than the Old World could afford; the second, in the discoveries of steam, furnished him with the means of reaching with facility the most remote regions, and armed him with powers which rendered barbarous nations powerless to repel his advance; the third presented irresistible attractions, at the same time, in the most remote parts of the earth, which overcame the attachments of home and the indolence of aged civilisation, and sent forth the hardy emigrant, a willing adventurer, to seek his fortune in the golden lottery of distant lands. No such powerful causes, producing the dispersion of the species, have come into operation since mankind were originally separated on the Assyrian plains; and it took place from an attempt, springing from the pride and ambition of man, as vain as the building the Tower of Babel.

That attempt was the endeavour to establish social felicity, and insure the fortunes of the species, by the mere spread of knowledge, and the establishment of democratic institutions, irrespective of religious influence or the moral training of the people.

As this project was based on the pride of intellect, and rested on the doctrine of human perfectibility, so it met with the same result as the attempt, by a tower raised by human hands, to reach the heavens. The whole history of Europe, from 1789 to the period with which this history closes, is but the annals of the unsuccessful efforts of man to reach this unattainable object. Everywhere it met with the most signal failure. Carried into execution by fallible agents, it was met and thwarted by their usual passions; and the selfishness and grasping desires of men led to a scene of discord and confusion, unparalleled since the beginning of the world. It terminated in the same result in Europe as in Asia: the building of the political tower of Babel in France was attended by consequences identical with those which had followed the construction of its predecessor on the plains of Shinar. The dispersion of mankind followed in both cases—though in the latter after a long interval—the vain attempt; and after, and through the agency of, a protracted period of suffering, men in surpassing multitudes found themselves settled in new habitations, and for ever severed from the land of their birth, from the consequences of the visionary projects in which they had been engaged. The development of the way in which this effect took place, and the means by which it was worked out by the unconscious agency of free agents, forms the great object of this history.

Views of this kind must, in the present aspect of human affairs, force themselves upon the most inconsiderate mind; and they tend at once to unfold the designs of Providence, now so manifest in the direction of human affairs, and to reconcile us to much which might lead to desponding views if we confined our survey to the fortunes of particular states. An examination of the social and political condition of the principal European monarchies, particularly France and England, at this time, and a retrospect of the changes they have undergone during the last thirty years, must probably lead every impartial person to the conclusion that the period of their greatest national eminence has passed, and that the passions by which they are now animated are those

which tend to shorten their existence. But we shall cease to regard this inevitable change with melancholy, when we reflect that, from the effect of these very passions, the British family is rapidly increasing in distant hemispheres, and that the human race is deriving fresh life and vigour, and spreading over the wilds of nature, from the causes which portend its decline in its former habitations.

As the history of a period fraught with such momentous changes, and distinguished by such ceaseless and rapid progress, as that which is undertaken in this work, of necessity brings the Author in contact with all the great questions, social and political, which have agitated society during its continuance, he has deemed it essential invariably to follow out the two rules which were observed in his former publication. These were, to give invariably at the end of every paragraph the authorities, by volume and page, on which it is founded; and never to introduce a great question without giving as copious an abstract as the limits of the work will admit, of the facts and arguments brought forward on both sides. The latter especially seemed to be peculiarly called for in a history which is more occupied with social and political than with military changes, and which embraces a period when the victories were won in the forum or the senate-house even more than the field. The Author has made no attempt to disguise his own opinion on every subject; but he has not exerted himself the less anxiously to give, with all the force and clearness in his power, those which are adverse to it; and he should regret to think that the reader could find in any other publication a more forcible abstract of the arguments *in favour* of Parliamentary Reform, a Contracted Currency founded on the retention of gold, or Free Trade in corn and shipping, than are to be met with in this.

In making this abstract he has adopted two rules, which seemed essential to the combining a faithful record of opposite opinions with the interests and limits necessary in a work of general history. The first is to give *one* argument only on each side, and not attempt to give separate abstracts of the speeches of different

men. Felicitous or eloquent expressions are occasionally preserved; but, in general, the oration given is rather an abridgment of the best parts of the arguments of many different speakers, than a quoted transcript of the speech of any one. That this is necessary, must be obvious, from the consideration that the Author is often called on to give the marrow of an argument in three or four pages, which is expended over some hundreds of Hansard or the *Moniteur;* and it is surprising how effectually, when the attempt is made in sincerity and good faith, it proves successful. The second is, when a subject has been once introduced, and the opposite arguments fully given, to dismiss it afterwards with a mere statement of the fate it met with, or the division on it in the Legislature. As the same subject was constantly debated in both Houses of Parliament, both in France and England, for many consecutive years, any attempt to give an account of each year's debate would both lead to tedious repetition, and extend the work to an immoderate length.

For a similar reason, although the History is a general one of the whole European states, yet no attempt has been made to bring forward, abreast in every year, the annals of each particular state. On the contrary, the transactions of different countries are taken up together, and brought down separately in one or more chapters, through several consecutive years. Thus, the first volume is chiefly occupied with the internal annals of France and England, from 1815 to 1820, when all the great changes which afterwards took place were prepared; the second, besides the annals of France and England, with the foreign wars or revolutions of Russia, Spain, and Italy, the internal throes of Germany, or the distant conquests of the English in India during the next ten years. In no other way is it possible to enable the reader to form a clear idea of the succession of events in each particular state, or take that interest in its fortunes which is indispensable to success or utility, not less in the narrative of real, than in the conception of imaginary events.

One very interesting subject is treated of at considerable length in these volumes, which could not, from the pressure of warlike

events, be introduced at equal length into the Author's former work. This is an account of Literature, Manners, the Arts, and social changes in the principal European states during the period it embraces. An entire chapter on this subject, regarding Great Britain, has been introduced into the first volume; similar ones, relating to literature and the arts in France, Germany, and Italy, will succeed in those which follow. This plan has been adopted from more than an anxious desire—strong as that motive is—to relieve the reader's mind, and present subjects of study more generally interesting than the weightier matters of social and political change. During pacific periods, it is in the literature, which interests the public mind, that we are to find the true seat of the power which directs it; and if we would discover the real rulers of mankind, we shall find them rather in their philosophers and literary men than either their statesmen or their generals. The only difference is, that it is a posthumous dominion in general which the author obtains: his reign does not begin till he himself is mouldering in the grave.

By steadily following out the rule of dismissing every subject of political debate when it has once been fully laid before the reader, the Author has no doubt of his being able to comprise the history of the whole period in five volumes. The last volume will be accompanied by a copious Index.

A. ALISON.

Possil House, Lanarkshire.
October 8, 1852.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE WHOLE PERIOD FROM THE FALL OF NAPOLEON TO THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

CHAP. I.

1. Resumé of the war just concluded.

THE fall of Napoleon completed the first drama of the historical series arising out of the French Revolution. Democratic ambition had found its natural and inevitable issue in warlike achievement; the passions of the camp had succeeded those of the forum, and the conquest of all the Continental monarchies had for a time apparently satiated the desires of an ambitious people. But the reaction was as violent as the action; in every warlike operation two parties are to be considered—the conqueror and the conquered. The rapacity, the insolence, the organised exactions of the French proved grievous in the extreme; and the hardship was felt as the more insupportable, when the administrative powers of Napoleon gave to them the form of a regular tribute, and conducted the riches of conquered Europe in a perennial stream to the Imperial treasury. A unanimous cry of indignation arose from every part of the Continent; a crusade commenced in all quarters, from the experienced suffering of mankind;—from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, the liberating warriors came forth, and the strength of an injured world collected, by a

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convulsive effort at the heart, to throw off the load which had oppressed it. Securely cradled amidst the waves, England, like her immortal chief at Waterloo, calmly awaited the hour when she might be called on to take the lead in the terrible strife; her energy, when it arrived, rivalled her former patience in privation, her fortitude in suffering; and the one only nation which, throughout the struggle, had been unconquered, at length stood foremost in the fight, and struck the final and decisive blow for the deliverance of the world.

2. The second drama was one springing out of social passions.

But the victory of nations did not terminate the war of opinion; the triumph of armies did not end the collision of thought. France was conquered, but the principles of her Revolution were not extirpated; they had covered her own soil with mourning, but they were too flattering to the pride of the human heart to be subdued but by many ages of suffering. The lesson taught by the subjugation of her power, the double capture of her capital, was too serious to be soon forgotten by her rulers; but the agony which had been previously felt by the people had ended with a generation which was now mouldering in the grave. It is by the last impression that the durable opinions of mankind are formed; and effects had here succeeded each other so rapidly that the earlier ones were in a great measure forgotten. The conscription had caused the guillotine to be forgotten; grief for the loss of the frontier of the Rhine had obliterated that for the dissolution of the National Assembly. Men did not know that the first disaster was the natural result of the perilous innovations of the last legislature. There was little danger of France soon crossing the Rhine, but much of her reviving the opinions of Mirabeau and Sièyes. The first drama, where the military bore the prominent part, was ended; but the second, in which civil patriots were to be the leading characters, and vehement political passions excited, was still to come; the Lager had terminated, but the Piccolomini

was only beginning, and Wallenstein's Death had not yet commenced.

3. Causes which rendered it so violent.

Everything conspired to render the era subsequent to the fall of Napoleon as memorable for civil changes as that era itself had been for military triumphs Catherine of Russia had said at the commencement of the Revolution, that the only way to prevent its principles spreading, and save Europe from civil convulsion, was to engage in war, and cause the national to supersede the social passions. The experiment, after a fearful struggle, succeeded; but it succeeded only for a time. War wore itself out; a contest of twenty years' duration at once drained away the blood and exhausted the treasures of Europe. The excitement, the animation, the mingled horrors and glories of military strife, were followed by a long period of repose, during which the social passions were daily gaining strength from the very magnitude of the contest which had preceded it. The desire for excitement continued, and the means of gratifying it had ceased: the cannon of Leipsic and Waterloo still resounded through the world, but no new combats furnished daily materials for anxiety, terror, or exultation. The nations were chained to peace by the immensity of the sacrifices made in the preceding war, but they had not lost the passion for excitement which it had produced. All governments had suffered so much during its continuance, that, like wounded veterans, they dreaded a renewal of the fight, but all people panted for some fresh object of desire. During the many years of constrained repose which succeeded the battle of Waterloo, the vehement excitement occasioned by the Revolutionary wars continued; but, from default of external, it turned to internal objects. Democratic came instead of military ambition; the social succeeded the national passions; the spirit was the same, but its field was changed. Meanwhile the blessed effect of long-continued peace, by allowing industry in every quarter to reap its fruits in quiet, was daily adding to

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the strength and energy, because augmenting the resources of the middle class, in whom these feelings are ever the strongest, because they are the first to be promoted by a change; while, in a similar proportion, the power of government was daily declining, from the necessity of providing for the interest of the debts contracted during the preceding strife, and reducing the military forces which had so long averted its dangers or achieved its triumphs.

4. Governments now aimed at peace, and the people clamoured for war.

The change in the ruling passions of mankind clearly appeared in the annals of nations, in the thirty years which followed the fall of Napoleon. Governments had often great difficulties to contend with—not, however, with each other, but with their subjects; many of them were overturned, not by foreign armies, but by their own. Europe was often on the verge of a general war, but the danger of it arose, not, as in former days, from the throne, but from the cottage;—the persons who urged it on were not kings or their ministers; they were the tribunes of the people. The chief efforts of governments in every country were directed to the preservation of that peace which the collision of so many interests, and the vehemence of such passions endangered: war was repeatedly threatened; but by the people, not by sovereigns. The sovereigns were successful; but their being so only augmented the dangers of their position, and increased the peril arising from the ardour of the social passions with which they had to contend; for every year of repose added to the strength of their opponents as much as it diminished their own.

5. Causes in France which predisposed to the Revolution of 1830.

The preservation of peace, unbroken from 1815 to 1830, was fraught with immense blessings to Europe, and, had it been properly improved, might have been so to the cause of freedom throughout the world; but it proved fatal to the dynasty of the Restoration. From necessity as well as inclination — from the recollection of the double capture of Paris, as well as conscious inability to

conduct warlike operations—Louis XVIII. remained at peace; and no monarch who does so will long remain on the French throne. Death, and extreme prudence of conduct, alone saved him from dethronement. The whole history of the Restoration, from 1815 to 1830, was that of one vast and ceaseless conspiracy against the Bourbons, existing rather in the hearts and minds, than in the measures and designs of men. No concessions to freedom, no moderation of government, no diminution of public burdens, could reconcile the people to a dynasty imposed on them by the stranger. One part of the people were dreaming of the past, another speculating on the future: all were dissatisfied with the present. The wars, the glories of the Empire, rose up in painful contrast to the peace and monotony of the present. Successive alterations of the elective constituency, and restrictions on the press, had no effect in diminishing the feelings thus excited in the minds of men, and which only became, like all other concealed passions, more powerful from the difficulty of giving it expression. France was daily increasing in wealth, freedom, and material well-being, but it was as steadily declining in contentment, loyalty, and happiness—a strange combination, though one by no means unknown in private life, when all external appliances are favourable, but the heart is gnawed by a secret and ungratified passion. At length the general discontent rose to such a pitch that it became impossible to carry on the government; a *coup d'état* was attempted, to restore some degree of efficiency to the executive, but it was conducted by the "feeble arms of confessors and kings;" the army wavered in its duty; the Orleans family took advantage of the tumult, and the dynasty of the elder branch of the Bourbons was overthrown.

That so great an event as the overthrow of a dynasty by a sudden urban insurrection, should have produced a great impression all over the world, was to have been

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6. Causes which made England share in the convulsion.

expected; but it could hardly have been anticipated it would have been attended by the effects which actually followed in Great Britain. But many causes had conspired, at that period, to prepare the public mind in England for change; and, what is very remarkable, these causes had arisen mainly from the magnitude of the successes with which the war had been attended. The great aristocratic party, whether in land or money, had been so triumphant that they deemed their power beyond the reach of attack; compromise, concession, or even consideration for their opponents, was out of the question. They neither considered their interests in legislation, nor had regard to their feelings in manner. The capital which had been realised during the war had been so great, the influence of the monied interest so powerful, that the legislature became affected by their desires. The Monetary Bill of 1819, before many years had elapsed, added fifty per cent to the value of money, and weight of debts and taxes, and took as much from the remuneration of industry. Hence a total change in the feelings, influences, and political relations of society. The territorial aristocracy was weakened as much as the commercial was aggrandised; small landed proprietors were generally ruined from the fall of prices; the magnates stood forth in increased lustre from the enhanced value of their revenues. Industry was querulous, from long-contined suffering; wealth ambitious, from sudden exaltation. Political power was coveted in one class, from the excess of its riches; in another, from the depth of its misery. The emancipation of the Roman Catholics severed the last bond, that of a common religion, which had hitherto held together the different classes, and imprinted on the minds of a large and sincere class a thirst for vengeance, which overwhelmed every consideration of reason. The result of these concurring causes was that the institutions of England were essentially altered by the earthquake of 1830, and a new class elevated to supreme

power by means, bloodless indeed, but scarcely less violent than the revolution which had overturned Charles X.

7. Great effects of the Revolution in both countries.

The Revolution of 1830 elevated the middle class to the direction of affairs, and the Reform Bill in England vested the same class in effect with supreme power in the British empire. Vast consequences followed this all-important change in both countries. For the first time in the history of mankind, the experiment was made of vesting the electoral franchise, not in a varied and limited class, as in old England; or in the whole citizens, as in revolutionary France or America; but in persons possessed only of a certain money qualification. The franchise was not materially changed in France; but the general arming of the national guard, and the revolutionary origin of the new government, effectually secured attention to the wishes of the burgher aristocracy. In England they were at once vested with the command of the state, for the House of Commons was returned by a million of electors, who voted for 658 members, of whom two-thirds were the representatives of boroughs, and two-thirds of their constituents shopkeepers, or persons whom they influenced. Thence consequences of incalculable importance in both countries, and effects which have left indelible traces in the future history of mankind.

8. Political alliance between France and England, which followed this change.

The first effect of this identity of feeling and interest, in the class then for the first time intrusted with the practical direction of affairs in both countries, was a close political alliance between their governments, and an entire change in the foreign policy of Great Britain. To the vehement hostility and ceaseless rivalry of four centuries succeeded an alliance sincere and cordial at the time, though, like other intimacies founded on identity of passion, not of interest, it might be doubted whether it would survive the emotions which gave it birth. In the mean time, however, the effects of this alliance were novel, and in the highest degree important. When the lords of the earth and the sea united, no power in Europe

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ventured to confront them; the peace of Europe was preserved by their union. The Czar, in full march towards Paris, was arrested on the Vistula; he found ample employment for his arms in resisting the efforts of the Poles to restore their much-loved nationality. Austria and Prussia were too much occupied with the surveillance of the discontented in their own dominions to think of renewing the crusade of 1813; nor did they venture to do so when the forces of England were united to those of France. The consequence was that the march of revolution was unresisted in Western Europe, and an entire change was effected in the institutions and dynasties on the throne in its principal continental states. The Orleans family continued firmly, and to all appearance permanently, seated on the throne of France; Belgium was revolutionised, torn from the monarchy of the Netherlands, and the Cobourg family seated on its throne; the monarchies of Spain and Portugal were overturned, and a revolutionary dynasty of queens placed on their thrones, in direct violation of the Treaty of Utrecht; while in the east of Europe the last remnants of Polish nationality were extinguished on the banks of the Vistula. Durable interests were overlooked, ancient alliances broken, long-established rivalries forgotten, in the fleeting passions of the moment. Confederacies the most opposite to the lasting policy of the very nations who contracted them, were not only formed, but acted upon. Europe beheld with astonishment the arms of Prussia united with those of Russia to destroy the barrier of the Continent against the Muscovite power on the Sarmatian plains; the Leopards of England joined to the tricolor standard to wrest Antwerp from Holland, and secure the throne of the Netherlands to a son-in-law of France; and the scarlet uniforms blended with the ensigns of revolution to beat down the liberties of the Basque provinces, and prepare the heiress of Spain for the arms of a son of France, on the very theatre of Wellington's triumphs.

9. Effects of the change upon the colonial empire of England.

Novel and extraordinary as were the results of the Revolution of 1830 upon the political relations of Europe, its effects upon the colonial empire of England, and, through it, upon the future destinies of the human species, were still greater and more important. To the end of the world, the consequences of the change in the policy of England will be felt in every quarter of the globe. Its first effect was to bring about the emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies. Eight hundred thousand slaves in the British colonies, in that quarter of the globe, received the perilous gift of unconditional freedom. For the first time in the history of mankind, the experiment was made, of extending the institutions of Japhet to the sons of Ham. As a natural result of so vast and sudden a change, and of the conferring of the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons upon unlettered savages, the proprietors of those noble colonies were ruined, their affections alienated, and the authority of the mother country preserved only by the terror of arms. Canada shared in the moral earthquake which shook the globe; and that noble offshoot of the empire was alone preserved to Great Britain by the courage of its soldiers, and the loyalty of its English and Highland citizens. Australia rapidly advanced in wealth, industry, and population during these eventful years: every commercial crisis which paralysed industry, every social struggle which excited hope, every successful innovation which diminished security, added to the stream of hardy and enterprising emigrants who crowded to its shores. New Zealand was added to the already colossal empire of England in Oceania; and it was soon apparent that the foundations were laid in the southern hemisphere of another nation destined to rival, perhaps eclipse, Europe itself in the career of human improvement. For the first time in the history of mankind, the course of advancement ceased to be from East to West; but it was not destined to be arrested by the Rocky Mountains;—the mighty day of four thousand years was drawing to its close; but

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before its light was extinguished in the West, civilisation had returned to the land of its birth; and ere its orb had set in the waves of the Pacific, the sun of knowledge was illuminating the isles of the Eastern Sea.

10. Still greater results of the Free-trade policy of England.

Great and important as were these results of the social convulsions of France and England in the first instance, they sank into insignificance compared to those which followed the change in the commercial policy, and the increased stringency of the monetary laws of Great Britain. The effect of these all-important measures, from which so much was expected, and so little, save suffering, received, was to augment to an extraordinary and unparalleled degree the *outward* tendency of the British people. The agricultural population, especially in Ireland, were violently torn up from the land of their birth by woeful suffering; a famine of the thirteenth appeared amidst the population of the nineteenth century; and to this terrible, but transient, source of suffering, was superadded the lasting discouragement arising from the virtual closing of the market of England to their produce, by the inundation of grain from foreign states. When the barriers raised by human regulations were thrown down, the eternal laws of nature appeared in full operation; the old and rich state can always undersell the young and poor one in manufactures, and is always undersold by it in agricultural produce. The fate of old Rome apparently was reserved for Great Britain; the harvests of Poland, the Ukraine, and America, began to prostrate agriculture in the British Isles as effectually as those of Sicily, Libya, and Egypt had done that of the old Patrimony of the Legions; and after the lapse of eighteen hundred years, the same effects appeared. The great cities flourished, but the country decayed; the exportation of human beings, and the importation of human food, kept up a gainful traffic in the seaport towns; but it was every day more and more gliding into the hands of the foreigners; and while exports and imports were constantly increasing, the mainstay of national

strength, the cultivation of the soil, was rapidly declining. The effects upon the strength, resources, and population of the empire, and the growth of its colonial possessions, were equally important. Europe, before the middle of the century, beheld with astonishment Great Britain, which, at the end of the war, had been self-supporting, importing ten millions of quarters of grain, being a full fifth of the national subsistence, and a constant stream of three hundred thousand emigrants annually leaving its shores. Its inhabitants, which for four centuries had been constantly increasing, declined, upon the whole, half a million in the five years from 1846 to 1850 in the two islands, and two millions in Ireland, taken separately; three millions of quarters of wheat ceased to be raised in the British Islands;—but the foundations of a vast empire were laid in the Transatlantic and Australian wilds; and the annual addition of three hundred thousand souls, from the British Islands alone, to the European population of the New World, by immigration, had come almost to double the already marvellous rapidity of American increase.

II. Vast extension of the United States of America.

While this vast transference of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic population to the embryo states of America and Australia was going forward, the United States of America were rapidly increasing in numbers and in extent of territory. The usual and fearful ambition of republican states there appeared in more than its usual proportions. During ten years, from 1840 to 1850, the inhabitants of the United States increased six millions: they had grown from eighteen to twenty-four millions. But the increase of its territory was still more extraordinary: it had been extended, during the same period, from somewhat above 2,000,000 to 3,300,000 square miles. A territory nine times the size of Old France was added to the devouring Republic in ten years. The conquests of Rome in ancient, of the English in India in modern times, afford no parallel instance of rapid and unbroken

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increase. Everything indicates that a vast migration of the human species is going forward, and the family of Japhet in the course of being transferred from its native to its destined seats. To this prodigious movement it is hard to say whether the disappointed energy of democratic vigour in Europe, or the insatiable spirit of Republican ambition in America, has most contributed; for the first overcame all the attachments of home, and all the endearments of kindred in a large—and that the most energetic—portion of the people in the Old World; while the latter has prepared for their reception ample seats—in which a kindred tongue and institutions prevail—in the New.

12. Vast increase of Russia during the same period.

While this vast and unexampled exodus of the Anglo-Saxon race, across a wider ocean than the Red Sea, and to a greater promised land than that of Canaan, was going forward, a corresponding, and, in some respects, still more marvellous increase of the Sclavonic race in the Muscovite dominions took place. The immense dominions and formidable power of the Czar, which had received so vast an addition from the successful termination of the contest with Napoleon, was scarcely less augmented by the events of the long peace which followed. The inhuman cruelty with which the Turks prosecuted the war with the Greeks, awakened the sympathies of the Christian world; governments were impelled by their subjects into a crusade against the Crescent; and the battle of Navarino, which, for the first time in history, beheld the flags of England, France, and Russia side by side, at once ruined the Ottoman navy, and reft the most important provinces of Greece from the dominions of Turkey. The inconceivable infatuation of the Turks, and their characteristic ignorance of the strength of the enemy whom they provoked, impelled them soon after into a war with Russia; and then the immeasurable superiority which the Cross had now acquired over the Crescent at once appeared. Varna, the scene of the bloody defeat of the French

chivalry by the Janizaries of Bajazet, yielded to the scientific approaches of the Russians; the bastions of Erivan to the firm assault of Paskewitch; the barrier, hitherto insurmountable, of the Balkan, was passed by Diebitch; Adrianople fell; and the anxious intervention of the other European powers alone prevented the entire subjugation of Turkey, and the entry of the Muscovite battalions through the breach made by the cannon of Mahomet in the walls of Constantinople.

13. Continued increase of Russia from the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

Great as were these results to the growth of Russia of the forced and long-continued pacification of Western Europe, still more important were those which followed its intestine convulsions. Every throe of the revolutionary earthquake in France has tended to her ultimate advantage, and been attended by a great accession of territory or augmentation of influence. The Revolution of 1789, in its ultimate effects, brought the Cossacks to Paris; that of 1830 extinguished the last remains of Polish nationality, and established the Muscovites in a lasting way on the banks of the Vistula. The revolt of Ibrahim Pacha, and the victory of Koniah, which brought the Ottoman empire to the verge of destruction, advanced the Russian battalions to the shores of Scutari—and thus averted the subjugation of the Porte by a rebellious vassal, only by surrendering the keys of the Dardanelles to the Czar, and converting the Black Sea into a Russian lake. Greater still were the results of the French Revolution of 1848 to the moral influence, and, through it, to the real power of Russia. Germany, torn by revolutionary passions, was soon brought into the most deplorable state of anarchy; Austria, distracted at once by a Bohemian, Italian, and Hungarian revolt, was within a hair-breadth of destruction; and the presence of 100,000 Russians on the Hungarian plains alone determined the Magyar contest in favour of Austria. Immense was the addition which this decisive move made to the influence of Russia; no charge of the Old Guard of Napoleon at the close of the day was ever more trium-

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phant. Russia now boasts of 66,000,000 of men within her dominions; her territories embrace an eighth of the habitable globe; and her influence is paramount from the wall of China to the banks of the Rhine.

14. Simultaneous conquests of the English in India, and their origin in necessity.

Great as the acquisitions of the Muscovite power have been during the last thirty years, they have almost been rivalled by those of the British in India. The latter have fairly outstripped everything in this age of wonders; a parallel will in vain be sought for them in the whole annals of the world. They do not resemble the conquests of the Romans in ancient, or of the Russians in modern times; they were not the result of the lust of conquest steadily and perseveringly applied to general subjugation, or the passions of democracy finding their natural vent in foreign conquest. As little were they the offspring of a vehement and turbulent spirit, similar to that which carried the French eagles to Vienna and the Kremlin. The disposition of the Anglo-Saxons, practical, gain-seeking, and shunning wars as an interruption of their profits, was a perpetual check to any such disposition—their immense distance from the scene of action on the plains of Hindostan, an effectual bar to its indulgence. India was not governed by a race of warlike sovereigns eager for conquest, covetous of glory; but by a company of pacific merchants, intent only on the augmentation of their profits and the diminution of their expense. Their great cause of complaint against the Governors-General, to whom was successively intrusted the direction of their vast dominions, has generally been that they were too prone to defensive preparations; that they did not sufficiently study the increase of these profits, or the saving of that expenditure. War was constantly forced upon them as a measure of necessity; repeated coalitions of the native sovereigns compelled them to draw the sword to prevent their expulsion from the peninsula. Conquest was the condition of existence.

Yet such was the vigour of the Anglo-Saxon race, and

the energy with which the successive contests were maintained by the diminutive force at the disposal of the Company, that marvellous beyond all example were the victories which they gained, and the conquests which they achieved. The long period of European peace which followed the battle of Waterloo, was anything but one of repose in India. It beheld successively the final war with, and subjugation of, the Mahrattas by the genius of Lord Hastings, the overthrow of the Pindaree horsemen, the difficult subjugation of the Ghoorka mountaineers; the storming of Bhurtpore, the taming of "the giant strength of Ava;" the conquest of Cabul, and fearful horrors of the Coord Cabul retreat; the subsequent gallant recovery of its capital; the conquest of Scinde and reduction of Gwalior; the wars with the Sikhs, the desperate passage of arms at Ferozeshah, and final triumphs of Sobraon and Goojerat. Nor was it in the peninsula of Hindostan alone that the strength of the British, at length fairly aroused, was exerted; the vast empire of China was wrestled with at the very moment when the strength of the East was engaged in the Affghanistan expedition; and the world, which was anxiously expecting the fall of the much envied British empire in India, beheld with astonishment, in the same Delhi Gazette, the announcement of the second capture of Cabul in the heart of Asia, and the dictating of a glorious peace to the Chinese under the walls of Nankin.

15. Their great frequency and extent.

While successes so great and bewildering were attending the arms of civilisation in the remote parts of the earth, a great and most disastrous convulsion was preparing in its heart. Paris, as in every age, was the centre of impulsion to the whole civilised world. Louis Philippe had a very difficult game to play, and he long played it with success; but no human ability could, without war, and with the disposition of the people, permanently maintain the government of the country. He aimed at being the Napoleon of peace; and his great prede-

16. Revolution of 1848 in Paris.

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cessor knew better than any one, and has said oftener, that he himself would have failed in the attempt. He owed his elevation to revolution; and he had the difficult, if not impossible, task to perform, *without foreign war*, of coercing its passions. Hardly was he seated on the throne, when he felt the necessity in deeds, if not in words, of disclaiming his origin. His whole reign was a continued painful and perilous conflict with the power which had created him, and at length he sank in the struggle. He had not the means of maintaining the conflict. A successful usurper, he could not appeal to traditionary influences; a revolutionary monarch, he was compelled to coerce the passions of revolution; a military chief, he was obliged to restrain the passions of the soldiers. They demanded war, and he was constrained to preserve peace; they sighed for plunder, and he could only meet them with economy; they panted for glory, and his policy retained them in obscurity.

17. Causes of the fall of Louis Philippe.

Political influence—in other words, corruption—was the only means left of carrying on the government; and that state engine was worked, under his government, with great industry, and for a time with remarkable success. But although gratification to the selfish passions must always, in the long run, be the main foundation of government, men are not entirely, and for ever, governed by their influence. "C'est l'imagination," said Napoleon, "qui domine le monde." All nations, and most of all the French, occasionally require aliment to the passions; and no dynasty will long maintain its sway over them which does not frequently gratify their ruling dispositions. Napoleon was so popular because he at once consulted their interests and gratified their passions; Louis Philippe the reverse, because he attended only to their interests. Great as was his influence, unbounded his patronage, immense his revenue, it yet fell short of the wants of his needy supporters; he experienced ere long the truth of the well-known saying, that every office given away made

one ungrateful and three discontented. The immediate cause of his fall, in February 1848, was the pusillanimity of his family, who declined to head his troops, and the weakness of his counsellors, who counselled submission in presence of danger; but its remote causes were of much older date and wider extent. Government, to be lasting, must be founded either on traditionary influences, the gratification of new interests and passions, or the force of arms; and that one which has not the first will do well to rest, as soon as possible, on the two last.

18. Calamitous effects of the Revolution of 1848 in Europe.

Disastrous beyond all precedent, or what even could have been conceived, were the effects of this new revolution in Paris on the whole Continent; and a very long period must elapse before they are obviated. The spectacle of a government esteemed one of the strongest in Europe, and a dynasty which promised to be of lasting duration, overturned almost without resistance by an urban tumult, roused the revolutionary party everywhere to a perfect pitch of frenzy. A universal liberation from government, and restraint of any kind, was expected, and for a time attained, by the people in the principal Continental states, when a republic was again proclaimed in France; and the people, strong in their newly-acquired rights of universal suffrage, were seen electing a National Assembly, to whom the destinies of the country were to be intrusted. The effect was instantaneous and universal; the shock of the moral earthquake was felt in every part of Europe. Italy was immediately in a blaze; Piedmont joined the revolutionary crusade; and the Austrian forces, expelled from Milan, were glad to seek an asylum behind the Mincio. Venice threw off the German yoke, and proclaimed again the independence of St Mark; the Pope was driven from Rome; the Bourbons in Naples were saved from destruction only by the fidelity of their Swiss Guards;—Sicily was severed from their dominion; and all Italy, from the extremity of Calabria to the foot of the Alps, was arraying its forces against constituted autho-

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rity, and in opposition to the sway of the Tramontane governments. The ardent and enthusiastic were everywhere in transports, and predicted the resurrection of a great and united Roman republic from the courage of modern patriotism; the learned and experienced anticipated nothing but ruin to the cause of freedom from the transports of a people incapable of exercising its powers, and unable to defend its rights.

19. Extreme violence of the Revolution in Germany.

Still more serious and formidable were the convulsions in Germany; for there were men inspired with the Teutonic love of freedom, and wielding the arms which so long had been victorious in the fields of European fame. So violent were the shocks of the revolutionary earthquake in the Fatherland, that the entire disruption of society and ruin of the national independence seemed to be threatened by its effects. Government was overturned after a violent contest in Berlin. It fell almost without a struggle, from the pusillanimity of its members, in Vienna. The Prussians, especially in the great towns, entered, with the characteristic ardour of their disposition, into the career of revolution; universal suffrage was everywhere proclaimed — national guards established. The lesser states on the Rhine all followed the example of Berlin; and an assembly of delegates from every part of the Fatherland, at Frankfort, seemed to realise for a brief period the dream of German unity and independence. But while the enthusiasts on the Rhine were speculating on the independence of their country, the enthusiasts in Vienna and Hungary were taking the most effectual steps to destroy it. A frightful civil war ensued in all the Austrian provinces, and soon acquired such strength as threatened to tear in pieces the whole of its vast dominions. No sooner was the central authority in Vienna overturned, than rebellion broke out in all the provinces. The Sclavonians revolted in Bohemia, the Lombards in Italy, the Magyars in Hungary; the close vicinity of a powerful Russian force alone restrained the

Poles in Gallicia. Worse, even, because more widely felt than the passions of democracy, the animosities of RACE burst forth with fearful violence in Eastern Europe. The standard of Georgey in Hungary—whom the Austrians, distracted by civil war in all their provinces, were unable to subdue—soon attracted a large part of the indignant Poles, and nearly the whole of the warlike Magyars, to the field of battle on the banks of the Danube. Not a hope seemed to remain for the great and distracted Austrian empire. Chaos had returned; society seemed resolved into its original elements; and the chief bulwark of Europe against Muscovite domination appeared on the point of being broken up into several separate states, actuated by the most violent hatred of each other, and alike incapable, singly or together, of making head against the vast and centralised power of Russia.

20. Successful stand against the Revolutionary spirit in England and France.

The first successful stand against the deluge of revolution was made in Great Britain; and there it was withstood, not by the bayonets of the soldiers, but by the batons of the citizens. The 10th of April was the Waterloo of Chartist rebellion in England;—a memorable proof that the institutions of a free people, suited to their wants, and in harmony with their dispositions, can, in such felicitous circumstances, oppose a more successful barrier to social dangers than the most powerful military force at the command of a despotic chief. Rebellion, as usual when England is in distress, broke out in Ireland; but it terminated in ridicule, and revealed at once the ingratitude and impotence of the Celtic race in the Emerald Isle. But a far more serious and bloody conflict awaited the cause of order in the streets of Paris; and society there narrowly escaped the restoration of the Reign of Terror and the government of Robespierre. As usual in civil convulsions, the leaders of the first successful revolt soon became insupportable to their infuriated followers; a second 10th August followed, and that much

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more quickly than on the first occasion;—but it was met by very different opponents. Cavaignac and the army were not so easily beat down as Louis, deserted by all the world but his faithful Swiss Guards. The contest was long and bloody, and, for a time, it seemed more than doubtful to which side victory would incline; but at length the cause of order prevailed. The authority of the Assembly, however, was not established till above a hundred barricades had been carried at the point of the bayonet, several thousands of the insurgents slain, and eleven thousand sentenced to transportation by the courts-martial of the victorious soldiers.

21. Restoration of military power in Austria.

Less violent in the outset, but more disastrous far in the end, were the means by which Austria was brought through the throes of her revolutionary convulsion. It was the army, and the army alone, which in the last extremity saved the state; but, unhappily, it was not the national army alone which achieved the deliverance. So violent were the passions by which the country was torn, so great the power of the rival races and nations which contended for its mastery, that the unaided strength of the monarchy was unequal to the task of subduing them. In Prague, indeed, the firmness of Windischgratz extinguished the revolt; in Italy the consummate talents of Radetsky restored victory to the Imperial standards, and drove the Piedmontese to a disgraceful peace; and in the heart of the monarchy, Vienna, after a fierce struggle, was regained by the united arms of the Bohemians and Croatians. But in Hungary the Magyars were not so easily overcome. Such was the valour of that warlike race, and such the military talents of their chiefs, that, although not numbering more than a third of the population of Hungary, and an eighth of that of the whole monarchy, it was found impracticable to subdue them without external aid. The Russians, as a matter of necessity, were called in to prevent the second capture of Vienna; a hundred thousand Muscovites ere long

appeared on the Hungarian plains;—numbers triumphed over valour, and Austria was saved by the sacrifice of its independence. Incalculable have been the consequences of this great and decisive movement on the part of the Czar. Not less than the capture of Paris, it has fascinated and subdued the minds of men. It has rendered him the undisputed master of the east of Europe, and led to a secret alliance, offensive and defensive, which at the convenient season will open to the Russians the road to Constantinople.

22. Restoration of military despotism in France by Louis Napoleon.

At length the moment of reaction arrived in France itself; and the country, whose vehement convulsions had overturned the institutions of so many other states, was itself doomed to undergo the stern but just law of retribution. The undisguised designs of the Socialists against property of every kind, the frequent revolts, the notorious imbecility and trifling of the National Assembly, had so discredited republican institutions, that the nation was fully prepared for a change of any kind from democratic to monarchical institutions. Louis Napoleon had the advantage of a great name, and of historical associations, which raised him by a large majority to the Presidency; and of able counsellors, who steered him through its difficulties;—but the decisive success of the *coup d'état* of December 2 was mainly owing to the universal contempt into which the republican rulers had fallen, and the general terror which the designs of the Socialists had excited. The nation would, though perhaps not so willingly, have ranged itself under the banners of any military chief who promised to shelter them from the evident dangers with which society was menaced; and the vigour and fidelity of the army insured its success. The restoration of military despotism in France in 1851, after the brief and fearful reign of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" in that ever-changing country, adds another to the numerous proofs which history affords, that successful revolution, by whomsoever effected, and under all ima-

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ginable diversity of nation, race, and circumstances, can end only in the empire of the sword.

23. Great increase of external dangers from the effects of the Revolution of 1848.

But although the dangers of revolutionary convulsion have been adjourned, at least, if not entirely removed, by the general triumph of military power on the Continent, and its entire re-establishment in France, other dangers, of an equally formidable, and perhaps still more pressing kind, have arisen from its very success. Since the battle of Waterloo, all the contests in Europe have been *internal* only. There have been many desperate and bloody struggles, but they have not been those of nation with nation, but of class with class, or race with race. No foreign wars have desolated Europe; and the whole efforts of government in every country have been directed to moderating the warlike propensities of their subjects, and preventing the fierce animosities of nationality and race from involving the world in general conflagration. So decisively was this the characteristic of the period, and so great was the difficulty in moderating the warlike dispositions of their subjects, that it seemed that the sentiment of the poet should be reversed, and it might with truth be said—

> "War is a game, which, were *their rulers* wise,
> *The people* should not play at."

But this has been materially changed by the consequences of the great European revolution of 1848; and it may now be doubted whether the greatest dangers which threaten society are not those of foreign subjugation and the loss of national independence. By the natural effects of the general convulsions of 1848, the armies of the Continental states have been prodigiously augmented; and such are the dangers of their respective positions, from the turbulent disposition of their own subjects, that they cannot be materially reduced. In France there are 420,000 men in arms; in Austria as many; in Prussia, 200,000; in Russia, 600,000. Fifteen hundred thousand regular soldiers are arrayed on the Con-

tinent ready for mutual slaughter, and awaiting only a signal from their respective cabinets to direct their united hostility against any country which may have provoked their resentment. Such have been the results of the French Revolution of 1848, and the rise of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" in the centre of European civilisation.

24. Disastrous effects of this Revolution on the cause of freedom.

Disastrous beyond all precedent have been the effects of this revolutionary convulsion, from which so much was expected by the ardent and enthusiastic in every country, upon the cause of freedom throughout the world. Not only has the reign of representative institutions, and the sway of constitutional ideas, been arrested on the Continent, but the absolute government of the sword has been established in its principal monarchies. Austria has openly repudiated all the liberal institutions forced upon her during the first throes of the convulsion, and avowedly based the government upon the army, and the army alone. Prussia is more covertly, but not less assiduously, following out the same system;—and in France, the real Council of State, servile Senate, and mock Assembly of Deputies of Napoleon, have been re-established; the National Guard generally dissolved; and the centralised despotism of Louis Napoleon promises to rival in efficiency and general support the centralised despotism of Augustus in ancient days. Parties have become so exasperated at each other, that no accommodation or compromise is longer possible; injuries that never can be forgiven have been mutually inflicted; the despotism of the Prætorians, and a Jacquerie of the Red Republicans, are the only alternatives left to continental Europe; and the fair form of real freedom, which grows and flourishes in peace, but melts away before the first breath of war, has disappeared from the earth. Such is the invariable and inevitable result of unchaining the passions of the people, and of a successful revolt on their part against the government of knowledge and property.

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25. Dangers of Great Britain in particular.

Still more pressing, and to ourselves formidable, are the dangers which now threaten this country, from the consequences of that revolt against established institutions, from which the reign of universal peace was anticipated four years ago. Our position has been rendered insecure by the very effects of our former triumphs; we are threatened with perils, not so much from our enemies as from ourselves; it is our weakness which is their strength; and we owe our present critical position infinitely more to our own blindness than to their foresight. Insensibility to future and contingent dangers has in every age been the characteristic of the English people, and is the real cause why the long wars, in which we have been engaged for the last century and a half, have been deeply chequered in the outset with disaster. To this is to be ascribed three-fourths of the debt which now oppresses the energies and cramps the exertions of our people. But several causes, springing from the very magnitude of our former triumphs, have rendered these dispositions in an especial manner powerful during the last thirty years; and it is the consequence of their united influence which now renders the condition of this country so precarious.

26. Causes which have rendered the condition of Great Britain so precarious.

The Contraction of the Currency introduced in 1819, and rendered still more stringent by the acts of 1844 and 1845, has changed the value of money fifty per cent; coupled with Free Trade in all the branches of industry, it has doubled it. In other words, it has doubled the weight of taxes, debts, and encumbrances of every description, and at the same time halved the resources of those who are to pay them. Fifty millions a-year raised for the public revenue are as great a burden now as a hundred millions a-year were during the war; the nation, at the close of thirty-five years of unbroken peace, is in reality more heavily taxed than it was at the end of twenty years of uninterrupted hostility. The necessary consequence of this has been, that it has become impos-

sible to maintain the national armaments on a scale at all proportionate to the national extension and necessities; and it has been exposed, on the first rupture, to the most serious dangers from the attacks of artless and contemptible enemies. Our Indian empire, numbering a hundred millions of men among its subjects, has been brought to the verge of ruin by the assault of the Sikhs, who had only six millions to feed their armies; and the military strength of Great Britain has been strained to the uttermost to withstand the hostility at the Cape of Good Hope of the Caffres, who never could bring six thousand armed men into the field. In proportion to the extension of our colonial empire, and the necessity of increased forces to defend it, our armaments have been reduced both by sea and land. Every gleam of colonial peace has been invariably followed by profuse demands at home for a reduction of the establishments and a diminution of the national expenses, until they have been brought down to so low a point that the nation, which, during the war, had a million of men in arms, two hundred and forty ships of the line bearing the royal flag, and a hundred in commission, could not now muster twenty thousand men and ten ships of the line to guard Great Britain from invasion, London from capture, and the British empire from destruction.

27. Extraordinary change in the national mind in this respect.

Still more serious, because more irremediable, in its origin, and disastrous in its effects, has been the change which has come over the public mind in the most powerful and influential part of the nation. This has mainly arisen from the very magnitude of our former triumphs, and the long-continued peace to which it has given rise. The nation had gained such extraordinary successes during the war, and vanquished so formidable an opponent, that it had come to regard itself, not without a show of reason, as invincible; hostilities had been so long intermitted that the younger and more active, and therefore influential, part of the people, had

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generally embraced the idea that they would never be renewed. Here, as elsewhere, the wish became the father to the thought; the immediate interests of men determined their opinions and regulated their conduct. The pacific interests of the empire had increased so immensely during the long peace; so many fortunes and establishments had become dependent on its continuance; exports, imports, and manufactures, had been so enormously augmented by the growth of our colonial empire, and the preservation of peace with the rest of the world, that all persons interested in those branches of industry turned with a shudder from the very thought of its interruption. To this class the Reform Bill, by giving a majority in the House of Commons, had yielded the government of the State. To the astonishment of every thinking or well-informed man in the world, the doctrine was openly promulgated, to admiring and assenting audiences in Manchester and Glasgow, by the most popular orators of the day, that the era of war had passed away; that it was to be classed hereafter with the age of the mammoth and the mastodon; and that, in contemplation of the speedy arrival of the much-desired Millennium, our wisdom would be to disband our troops, sell our ships of the line, and trust to pacific interests in future to adjust or avert the differences of nations. A considerable part of the members for the boroughs—three-fifths of the House of Commons—openly embraced or in secret inclined to these doctrines; and how clearly soever the superior information of our rulers might detect their fallacy, the influence of their adherents was paramount in the legislature, and Government was compelled, as the price of existence, in part at least, to yield to their suggestions.

28. Dangers springing from the Free Trade system.

The danger of acting upon such Utopian ideas has been much augmented, in the case of this country, by the commercial policy at the same time pursued by the dominant class who had come to entertain them. If it be true, as the wisest of men have affirmed in every age,

and as universal experience has proved, that the true source of riches, as well as independence, is to be found in the cultivation of the soil, and that a nation which has come to depend for a considerable part of its subsistence on foreign states has made the first step to subjugation, the real patriot will find ample subject of regret and alarm in the present condition of Great Britain. Not only are ten millions of quarters of grain, being a full fifth of the national consumption, now imported from abroad, but nearly the half of this immense importation is of wheat, the staple food of the people, of which a third comes from foreign parts. Not only is the price of this great quantity of grain—certainly not less than fifteen millions sterling—lost to the nation, but so large a portion of its food has come to be derived from foreign nations, that the mere threat of closing their harbours may render it a matter of necessity for Great Britain, at some future period, to submit to any terms which they may choose to exact. Our colonies, once so loyal, and so great a support to the mother country, have been so thoroughly alienated by the commercial policy of the last few years, which has deprived them of all the advantages which they enjoyed from their connection with it, that they have become a burden rather than a benefit. One-half of our diminutive army is absorbed in garrisoning their forts to guard against revolt. Lastly, the navy, once our pride and glory, and the only certain safeguard either against the dangers of foreign invasion or the blockade of our harbours and ruin of our commerce, is fast melting away; for the reciprocity system established in 1823, and the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, have given such encouragement to foreign shipping in preference to our own, that in a few years, if the same system continue, more than half of our whole commerce will have passed into the hands of foreign states, which may any day become hostile ones.

To complete the perils of Great Britain, arising out of

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29. Dangers arising from the change in our foreign policy.

the very magnitude of its former triumphs and extent of its empire, while so many causes were conspiring to weaken its internal strength, and disqualify it for withstanding the assault of a formidable enemy, others, perhaps more pressing, were alienating foreign nations, breaking up old alliances, and tending more and more to isolate England in the midst of European hostility. The triumph of the democratic principle, by the Revolution of 1830 in France, was the cause of this; for it at once induced an entire change of government and foreign policy in England, and substituted new revolutionary for the old conservative alliances. Great Britain no longer appeared as the champion of order, but as the friend of rebellion; revolutionary dynasties were, by her influence, joined with that of France, established in Belgium, Spain, and Portugal; and the policy of our Cabinet avowedly was to establish an alliance of constitutional sovereigns in Western, which might counterbalance the coalition of despots in Eastern Europe. This system has been constantly pursued, and for long with ability and success, by our Government. Strong in the support of France, whether under a "throne surrounded by republican institutions," or those institutions themselves, England became indifferent to the jealousy of the other Continental powers; and in the attempt to extend the spread of liberal institutions, or the sympathy openly expressed for foreign rebels, irritated beyond forgiveness the cabinets of St Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin. While the French alliance continued, these powers were constrained to devour their indignation in silence: they did not venture, with the embers of revolt slumbering in their own dominions, to brave the combined hostility of France and England. But all alliances formed on identity of feeling, not interest, are ephemeral in their duration. A single day destroyed the whole fabric on which we rested for our security. Revolutionary violence every day worked out its natural and unavoidable result in the principal

Continental states. A military despotism was, after a sanguinary struggle, established in Austria and Prussia; the 2d December arrived in France, and that power in an instant was turned over to the ranks of our enemies. Our efforts to revolutionise Europe have ended in the establishment of military despotisms in all its principal states, supported by fifteen hundred thousand armed men; our boasted alliance with France, in the placing of it in the very front rank of what may any day become the league of our enemies.

30. Gold mines of California and Australia.

When so many causes for serious apprehension exist, from the effect of the changes which are now going on, or have been in operation for the last quarter of a century in European society, it is consolatory to think that there are some influences of an opposite tendency, and which tend obviously and immediately to the increase of human happiness, or the elevation of the general mind. In the very front rank of this category we must place the discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia, which promise, in their ultimate effects, not only to obviate many of the greatest evils under which society has long laboured, but to bring about a new balance of power in every state, and relieve industry from the worst part of the load which has hitherto oppressed it. This subject is neither so generally appreciated or understood as its paramount importance deserves; but it is every day forcing itself more and more on the attention of the thinking part of mankind, and through them, it will ere long reach the vast and unthinking multitude.

31. Tendency to undue influence of wealth in the later stages of society.

Whoever has studied with attention the structure or tendencies of society, either as they are portrayed in the annals of ancient story, or exist in the complicated relations of men around us, must have become aware, that the greatest evils which in the latter stages of national progress came to afflict mankind, arose from the undue influence and paramount importance of *realised riches*. That the rich in the later stages of national progress are

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constantly getting richer, and the poor poorer, is a common observation, which has been repeated in every age, from the days of Solon to those of Sir Robert Peel; and many of the greatest changes which have occurred in the world—in particular, the fall of the Roman Empire—may be distinctly traced to the long-continued operation of this pernicious tendency. The greatest benefactors of their species have always been regarded as those who devised and carried into execution some remedy for this great and growing evil; but none of them have proved lasting in their operation, and the frequent renewal of fresh enactments sufficiently proves that those which had preceded them had proved nugatory. It is no wonder that it was so; for the evils complained of arose from the unavoidable result of a stationary currency, co-existing with a rapid increase in the numbers and transactions of mankind; and these were only aggravated by every addition made to the energies and productive powers of society.

32. Way in which this is brought about.

To perceive how this comes about, we have only to reflect, that money, whether in the form of gold, silver, or paper, is a commodity, and an article of commerce; and that, like all similar articles, it varies in value and price with its plenty or cheapness in the market. As certainly and inevitably as a plentiful harvest renders grain cheap, and an abundant vintage wine low-priced, does an increased supply of the currency, whether in specie or paper, render money cheap, as compared with the price of other commodities. But as money is itself the standard by which the value of everything else is measured, and in which its price is paid, this change in its price cannot be seen in any change *in itself*, because it is the standard: it appears in the price of everything else against which it is bartered. If a fixed measure is applied to the figure of a growing man, the change that takes place will appear, not in the dimensions of the measure, but the man. Thus an increase in the currency, when the numbers and transactions are stationary, or

nearly so, is immediately followed by a rise in the money price of all other commodities; and a contraction of it is as quickly succeeded by a fall in the money price of all articles of commerce, and the money remuneration of every species of industry. The first change is favourable to the producing classes, whether in land or manufactures, and unfavourable to the holders of realised capital, or fixed annuities; the last augments the real wealth of the monied and wealthy classes, and proportionally depresses the dealers in commodities, and persons engaged in industrial occupations. But if an increase in the numbers and industry of man co-exists with a diminution in the circulating medium by which their transactions are carried on, the most serious evils await society, and the whole relations of its different classes to each other will be speedily changed; and it is in that state of things that the saying proves true, that the rich are every day growing richer, and the poor poorer.

33. Influence of contraction and expansion of the currency on Rome and on Europe in the sixteenth century.

The two greatest events which have occurred in the history of mankind have been directly brought about by a successive contraction and expansion of the circulating medium of society. The fall of the Roman Empire, so long ascribed, in ignorance, to slavery, heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the gold and silver mines of Spain and Greece, from which the precious metals for the circulation of the world were drawn, at the very time when the victories of the legions, and the wisdom of the Antonines, had given peace and security, and, with it, an increase in numbers and riches to the Roman Empire. The treasure which formed the sole circulating medium of the Empire, which in the time of Augustus had been £380,000,000, had sunk, in that of Justinian, to no more than £80,000,000 sterling. This *growing disproportion*, which all the efforts of man to obviate its effects only tended to aggravate, coupled with the simultaneous importation of grain from Egypt and Libya at prices below what it could be raised at in

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the Italian fields, produced that constant decay of agriculture and rural population, and increase in the weight of debts and taxes, to which all the contemporary annalists ascribe the ruin of the Empire. And as if Providence had intended to reveal in the clearest manner the influence of this mighty agent on human affairs, the resurrection of mankind from the ruin which these causes had produced was owing to the directly opposite set of agencies being put in operation. Columbus led the way in the career of renovation; when he spread his sails across the Atlantic, he bore mankind and its fortunes in his bark. The mines of Mexico and Peru were opened to European enterprise: the real riches of those regions were augmented by fabulous invention; and the fancied El Dorado of the New World attracted the enterprising and ambitious from every country to its shores. Vast numbers of the European, as well as the Indian race, perished in the perilous attempt, but the ends of Nature were accomplished. The annual supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe was tripled; before a century had expired, the prices of every species of produce were quadrupled. The weight of debt and taxes insensibly wore off under the influence of that prodigious increase in the renovation of industry; the relations of society were changed; the weight of feudalism cast off; the rights of man established. Among the many concurring causes which conspired to bring about this mighty consummation, the most important, though hitherto the least observed, was the discovery of the mines of Mexico and Peru.*

34. Vast effects of the expansion of the currency during the war.

The ruinous effects which would inevitably have ensued from the simultaneous increase in the transactions and expenditure of all nations, and abstraction of the precious metals for the use of the contending armies during the Revolutionary war, were entirely prevented, in this

* See "The Fall of Rome," *Alison's Essays*, iii. 440, where the author has endeavoured to trace out in detail, and from authentic materials, this most momentous subject.

country, by the introduction of a paper currency in 1797, not convertible into gold, and therefore not liable to be withdrawn, and yet issued in such moderate quantities as satisfied the wants of man without exceeding them. It cannot with truth be affirmed that this admirable system was owing to the wisdom and foresight of Mr Pitt, or any other man. Like many other of the greatest and most salutary changes in society, it arose from absolute necessity; it was the last resource of a State which, after its specie had all been drained away by the necessities of Continental warfare, had no other means of carrying on the contest. Such as it was, however, it proved the most important and decisive measure ever adopted by this or perhaps any other country. Like a similar step taken by the Roman government during the necessities of the second Punic war,* it brought England victorious through the contest; and in the vast stimulus given to every branch of industry, it laid the foundation of those changes in the relations of society, and the ruling power in the State, which, in their ultimate effects, are destined not only to determine the future fate of England, but of the whole civilised world. CHAP. I.

35. Great distress over the world from the contraction of the currency since the Peace.

That Great Britain, and every state largely concerned in industrial enterprises, has suffered grievous and long-continued distress since the peace, is unhappily too well known to all who have lived through that period, and will be abundantly proved in the course of this history. It is hard to say whether England, France, or America has, in their industrial classes, suffered the most. In this country, indeed, this long period of peace has been nothing but a protracted one of suffering, interrupted only by fitful and transient gleams of prosperity. In France the condition of the working classes, and the ceaseless exactions made from them by the monied, have been so incessant, that they were the main cause of the Revolution of 1830,

* "Nullam nisi bello confecto pecuniam ab ærario petiturum esse."—Liv. lib. xxvi. c. 19.

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and have produced that tendency to Socialist and Communist doctrines which has subsequently taken such deep root, and produced such disastrous consequences, in that country. In America such has been, during the same period, the distress produced by the alternate expansion and contraction of the currency, that it has exceeded anything recorded in history, swept four-fifths of the realised capital of the country away, and at once reduced its imports from this country from twelve to three millions and a half annually. The thoughtful in all countries had their attention forcibly arrested by this long succession of disasters so different from what had been anticipated during the smiling days of universal peace, and many and various were the theories put forward to account for such distressing phenomena. The real explanation of them is to be found in a cause of paramount importance, and universal operation, though at the time unobserved—and that was the simultaneous contraction of the monetary circulation of the globe, from the effects of the South American revolution, and of the paper circulation of Great Britain, from the results of the act imposing the resumption of cash payments on the Bank of England.

36. Amount of that contraction.

The first of these causes, in the course of a few years, reduced the annual supply of the precious metals from the Mexican and South American mines, which, anterior to the commencement of the troubles in that quarter of the globe, had been, on an average, about £10,000,000 sterling, to considerably less than half that amount; and at this reduced rate the supply continued for a great many years.* The second, at the very same time, reduced the paper circulation of the British empire, which, including Ireland and Scotland, had been, during the last years of the war, above £60,000,000 annually, to little more than half that amount. The effect of this prodigious contraction in the circulating medium of the world in gene-

* See HUMBOLDT'S *Nouvelle Espagne*, iii. 398; and ALISON'S *Europe*, chap. lxvii. § 48, note.

ral, and of this country in particular, was much enhanced by the state of affairs, and the circumstances of society in all the principal countries of the earth, at the time when it took place. Universal repose prevailed almost unbroken during the whole period; and the energies of men in all nations, violently aroused by the excitement and passions of the contest, were generally turned into the channels of pacific industry. As a necessary consequence, population increased, and the transactions of men were immensely multiplied; and as this occurred at the very time when the circulation by which they were to be carried on was reduced to less than a half of its former amount, the necessary result was a great and universal reduction of prices of every branch of produce, whether agricultural or manufactured, which, before the lapse of thirty years, had everywhere sunk to little more than half of their former amount.*

37. Hopeless prospects of industry in Great Britain.

Great Britain, as the richest country in the globe, and the one in which the largest amount of industry was carried on, was the one of course in which this reduction of prices was most sorely felt; and it came to affect the well-being of the largest portion of the people. It was not merely the reduction of prices on an average of years which was felt as so grievous an evil, but this vacillation

	Money raised in South America.		Bank and Bankers' Notes, England.		Prices of wheat per quarter.	
					s.	d.
1805	£7,104,436	1814	£47,501,080	1814	85	0
1806	6,502,142	1815	46,272,650	1815	76	0
1807	5,356,152	1816	42,109,620	1816	82	0
1808	6,169,038	1819	40,928,428	1819	78	0
1809	6,997,853	1820	34,145,395	1820	76	0
1819	3,838,350	1821	30,727,630	1821	71	0
1820	3,557,236	1829	28,394,437	1829	55	4
1821	2,887,487	1830	28,501,454	1830	64	10
1822	2,560,000	1831	26,965,094	1831	58	3

—ALISON'S *Europe*, chap. xcvi. Appendix.

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from year to year, with the fluctuations of a currency since 1819 rendered mainly dependent on the retention of gold. The parliamentary proceedings during the whole period are filled with petitions complaining alternately of agricultural and manufacturing distress, which were regularly referred to committees, and as regularly followed by no alleviating measures. In truth, the evil had got beyond the reach of human remedy; for it arose from the confirmed ascendancy in the legislature of a class which had gained, and was gaining, immensely by the general suffering with which it was surrounded. It was hard to say whether the manufacturing aristocracy engaged in the export trade gained most by the general reduction in the price of commodities, and, as a necessary consequence, in the wages of labour, or the monied from the commercial catastrophes which brought interest up to a usurious rate, and enabled them to accumulate colossal fortunes in a few years. Everything turned to the profit of capital and the depression of industry; and so strongly were the interests magnified by these changes intrenched in the legislature, that the cause of humanity seemed hopeless. Every effort of industry; every triumph of art, every increase of population, tended only to augment the general distress, because it enhanced the disproportion between the decreasing circulation and increasing numbers and transactions of mankind; and prophetic wisdom, resting on the past, and musing on the future, could anticipate nothing but a decline and fall, precisely similar to that of ancient Rome, for modern Europe.

Vast effect of the discovery of the Californian gold.

38. But Providence is wiser than man; and often when human effort is inadequate to arrest the current of misfortune, and nothing but disaster can be anticipated for the future of mankind, a cause is suddenly brought into operation which entirely alters the destinies of the species, and educes future and unlimited good out of present and crushing evil. At the close of the fifteenth century the working classes over all Europe were sunk in a state of

debasement, from which extrication seemed hopeless, from the strength of the position occupied by the feudal aristocracy by which they were oppressed. Providence revealed the compass to mankind, the Almighty breathed the spirit of prophetic heroism into one man—Columbus spread his sails across the Atlantic, the mines of Mexico and Peru were discovered, and the destinies of the world were changed. Less oppressed in appearance, but not less depressed in reality, the labouring poor were generally struggling with difficulties in every part of the civilised world, after the termination of the great strife of the French Revolution; the monied had come instead of the feudal aristocracy; and so strongly was the commercial class, which had grown up into importance during its continuance, intrenched in the citadels of power, that relief or emancipation from evil seemed alike out of the question. Even the terrible monetary crash of 1848 failed in drawing general attention to the subject, or making the suffering classes aware of the source from which their difficulties proceeded. Financial difficulties induced by that very monetary pressure drove the Americans into the career of conquest; repudiation of debts was succeeded by aggression on territory, in the hope of extracting payment of their debts by the sale of foreign lands; Texas was overrun by squatters, CALIFORNIA conquered by armies, the reserve treasures of nature opened up, and the face of the world was changed.

39. What if California had not been discovered?

To appreciate the immense and blessed influence of this event upon the happiness and prospects of mankind, we have only to suppose that it had *not* taken place, and consider what would, in that event, have been the destinies of the species? America, with twenty-four millions of inhabitants, is now doubling its numbers every twenty-five years; Russia, with sixty-six millions, every fifty years; twenty-five millions are yearly added to the inhabitants of Europe, west of the Vistula; and the British colonies, in Australia, are rising at a rate which promises

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ere long to outstrip the far-famed rapidity of Transatlantic increase. Great and unprecedented as is this simultaneous growth of mankind in so many different parts of the world, it is yet outstripped by the increase of their industry and transactions. The enhanced activity and energy, springing from the development of the democratic passions in Western Europe; the multiplied wants and luxuries of man, arising from the long continuance of peace, and growth of realised wealth; the prodigious change effected by steam, at sea and land, in their means of communication, have all conspired to multiply their transactions in a still greater ratio than their numbers. In these circumstances, if the circulating medium of the globe had remained stationary, or declining, as it was from 1815 to 1849 from the effects of South American revolution and English legislation, the necessary result must have been that it would have become altogether inadequate to the wants of men; and not only would industry have been everywhere cramped, but the price of produce would have universally and constantly fallen. Money would every day have become more valuable—all other articles measured in money, less so; debts and taxes would have been constantly increasing in weight and oppression: the fate which crushed Rome in ancient, and has all but crushed Great Britain in modern times, would have been that of the whole family of mankind. The extension and general use of a paper currency might have alleviated, but it could not have removed, these evils; for no such currency, common to all mankind, has ever yet been found practicable; and such is the weight of capital, and the strength of the influences which, in an artificial state of society, it comes to exercise on the measures of Government, that experience gives no countenance to the belief that any necessities of mankind, however urgent, would lead to the adoption of measures by which its realised value might be lessened.

40. Vast blessings which its discovery has introduced.

All these evils have been entirely obviated, and the opposite set of blessings introduced, by the opening of the great reserve treasures of nature in California and Australia. As clearly as the basin of the Mississippi was prepared by the hand of nature to receive the surplus population of the Western World, were the gold mines of California provided to meet the wants of the Western, those of Australia of the Eastern Hemisphere. We can now contemplate with complacency any given increase in mankind; the growth of their numbers will not lead to the aggravation of their sufferings. Three years only have elapsed since Californian gold was discovered by Anglo-Saxon enterprise, and the annual supply has already come to exceed £25,000,000 sterling. Coupled with the mines of Australia and the Ural mountains, it will soon exceed thirty, perhaps reach forty millions! Before half a century has elapsed, prices of every article of commerce will be tripled, enterprise proportionally encouraged, industry vivified, debts and taxes lessened. A fate the precise reverse of that which destroyed Rome, and so sorely distressed England, is reserved for the great family of mankind. When the discovery of the compass, of the art of printing, and of the New World, had given an extraordinary impulse to human activity in the sixteenth century, the *silver* mines of Mexico and Peru were opened by Providence, and the means of conducting industry in consistence with human happiness was afforded to mankind. When, by the consequences of the French Revolution, the discovery of steam conveyance, the improvement of machinery, and the vast extension of European emigration, a still greater impulse was given to the human species in the nineteenth century, the *gold* mines of California and Australia were brought into operation, and the increase in human numbers and transactions was even exceeded by the means provided for conducting them! If ever the benevolence of the Almighty was clearly revealed in human affairs, it

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was in these two decisive discoveries made at such periods; and he who, on considering them, is not persuaded of the superintendence of an ever-watchful Providence, would not be convinced though one rose from the dead.

41. Immense effect of the application of steam to mechanical labour.

Coexistent with this boundless capability of increase afforded to the circulating medium of the globe, are the vast additions which the powers of art have made to the resources of industry and the means of human communication. It is hard to say whether the application of STEAM has acted most powerfully, by the almost miraculous multiplication it has produced of the powers of mechanical invention, or the facilities it has afforded to the communication of mankind with each other, and the mutual interchange of the produce of their labour. When we contemplate the effect of the steam-engine on machinery, and the conducting of nearly all the branches of manufacturing industry, as it has been exemplified in Great Britain for the last eighty years, we seem to have been entering on a career to which imagination itself can assign no limit. All that is told of the wonders of ancient art; all that is imagined of the fabled powers of genii or magicians, has been exceeded by the simple experience of the capabilities of that marvellous agent. It has multiplied above a hundredfold the powers of industry; it has penetrated every branch of art, and carried its vast capabilities into the most hidden recesses of mechanical labour. It has overturned constitutions, changed the class in which the ruling power was vested, saved and conquered nations. It outstrips the wonders figured by the fancy of Ariosto; it almost equals the marvels of Aladdin's lamp; it seems to realise all that the genius of Æschylus had prophesied for mankind, when Prometheus stole the fire from heaven.

Great as are the things which the steam-engine has done for mankind, it may be doubted whether what it has left undone are not still more important to human happiness and the moral purity of the species. Its

marvels are confined to *manufacturing* industry; it is incapable of application to the cultivation of the soil. It enables one man to do the work of two hundred men, in providing dress or luxuries for mankind; but it has not superseded even the arm of infancy or old age in furnishing them with the means of subsistence. Behold that boy who tends his flocks on the turf-clad mountain's brow: he is as ignorant of art as his predecessors were in the valleys of Arcadia; but will the steam-engine ever encroach on his blessed domain? Listen to the song of the milkmaid, as she trips along yon grassy mead; is that gladsome note to become silent in the progress of civilisation? Observe that old man who is delving the garden behind his cottage; the feebleness of age marks his steps, the weakness of time has all but paralysed his arms—yet art, in all its glory, will not equal his labour in the production of food for man. Cast your eyes on that orchard, which is loaded with the choicest fruits of autumn—on that sunny slope, which seems to groan under the riches of the vintage—on that garden, which realises all that the soul of Milton has figured of the charms of Paradise—and say, will these primeval and delightful scenes ever, in the march of improvement, be lost to mankind? The powers of steam, the inventions of mechanism, the division of labour, have done wonders in all the branches of handicraft and art; but they have left untouched the marriage of industry with nature in the fields; and in the last days of mankind, as in the first, it is in the garden of Eden that man is to find his earthly paradise.

42. And importance of its being inapplicable to agriculture.

The proof of this is decisive; it is to be found not less in the figures of the statist than in the dreams of the poet. The old state can always undersell the young one in manufactures, but it is as uniformly undersold by it in subsistence. England can produce cotton goods cheaper than any other nation, from a material grown on the banks of the Mississippi, and it is the consciousness

43. Proof of this from statistical considerations.

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of that ability which makes her now advocate the doctrines of Free Trade; but she is unable to compete with the harvests of Poland, the Ukraine, and America, just as ancient Italy was with those of Libya and Egypt. At this moment she exports sixty-five millions' worth of manufactures; but she imports ten millions of quarters of grain, of which nearly the half are of wheat, being a full third of that staple food of our whole people. Grain is never raised so cheap as in those places where the soil is rich, the people poor, and civilisation, comparatively speaking, in a state of infancy. The reason is, that in the old state, being the richer of the two, money is more abundant, the wages of labour higher, and the consequent cost of raising food greater than in the poorer state, where wages are low because money is scarce. Machinery obviates, and more than obviates, this monied inequality in the production of manufactures, but it has no influence in cheapening that of food. This is a fixed, eternal, and unchangeable law of nature—the same in the last stages of society, and ages of the world, as in the first—against which the genius, the inventions, and the industry of man are alike unable to strive. As such, it exercises a great and lasting influence upon the fortunes of the species. It was the main cause of the overthrow of Rome in ancient, and of the decline of Great Britain in modern times: it imposes, at one time, an impassable bar to the progress of a particular nation; and prevents, at another, the undue multiplication of mankind in a particular locality. It is the great means provided by Providence for arresting the corruption of aged societies, and securing, when the appointed time arrives, the general dispersion of the species.

44. What if the case had been otherwise?

To be convinced of this, and of the vast influence of this law of nature upon the destinies of mankind, we have only to consider what would have been their situation if the case had been otherwise—if subsistence, like manufactures or minerals, could be raised by huge fac-

tories in particular places, and fire had been capable of working the same prodigies in the production of food for man, as it is in that of cotton or iron goods. Would the world, in such circumstances, have been worth living in? Could any human power have prevented the universal corruption of the species; could the progress, even, and increase of mankind, have been secured, when it is recollected that manufacturing districts, so far from increasing, are never able to maintain their own numbers; and that, but for a constant immigration from rural localities, they would constantly decline in population? If the husbandmen of the fields, the shepherds of the mountains, had become daily, in the progress of society, more and more collected in huge manufactories, where subsistence was rolled out of mills like cotton goods from the steam-power looms, or iron from the furnaces, what would have become of the human race? If, in the progress of society, the growth of wealth, and the extension of mechanical invention, one man became capable in these immense *food-mills* of producing subsistence for two hundred men, what could stand in infant states against such competition with the more advanced ones? And would not the inevitable result have been, that the human species, instead of following out the precept of the Almighty, and extending over the earth and subduing it, would have been all collected together round a few early-peopled districts, where manners were corrupted, happiness blighted, and the multiplication of the race rendered impossible?

45. Influence of this law on the fate of particular nations.

The influence which this law of nature exercises upon the fate of particular nations is great and decisive. It has for ever rendered impossible that pressure of population upon the limits of subsistence, which, in the beginning of the present century, was so much the object of dread among political economists. When a country becomes rich and densely peopled, a considerable part of its inhabitants invariably take to manufacturing pursuits; and when this is the case, not only is the increase of that

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section of the community from its own resources immediately arrested, but the passions and desires which arise in the urban population and manufacturing districts lead to the stoppage of all increase in the agricultural. The cry for cheap bread is heard; and as it can never be raised as cheap in the old state as the young one, the consequence is, that free importation is first called for, and at last admitted. The moment this takes place, to any great extent, the limits of national progress have been reached, population declines, emigration increases, and the sinews of the state are transferred to distant lands. How clearly is the operation of this law of nature exemplified in the recent history of Great Britain, where the nation has been convulsed with the fierce demand for free trade in corn, first raised in the manufacturing towns; and, as a consequence of its concession, it now finds ten millions of quarters of foreign grain annually imported, three hundred thousand cultivators annually exported, and the chief market for its manufactures in the inhabitants of its own fields daily declining.

46. Great effect upon the fortunes of the species.

But if this law of nature, acting as it does upon the selfish dispositions and grasping propensities of mankind, has thus affixed an everlasting bar to the progress of particular nations, it is attended with very different results upon the general fortunes of the species. If the first leads to melancholy, the last inspires the most consolatory reflections. It is constantly to be recollected, that the designs of Providence are not limited to the growth of any particular people, but extend to the general extension and dispersion of the species. To people the earth and subdue it is the first duty, as it was the first command to mankind, in the last ages of the world as in the first. When, from the causes which have been mentioned, the progress of a particular state is arrested by the indulgence of the selfish passions of its own people, the sinews of its strength, the seeds of its greatness, are not lost; they are only transferred to distant realms, where a wider

field is prepared for their reception, and the means of safe and unbounded multiplication are afforded. Sometimes this great migration of mankind takes place from the lust of foreign conquest, sometimes from the impatience of internal passion. In one age it appears in the fierce tempest of Scythian conquest; in another, in the ceaseless inroad of pacific immigration; at one time it implants the Gothic swarm in the destined fields of European enterprise; at another, spreads the Anglo-Saxon race over the boundless regions of Transatlantic or Australian freedom.

47. Effect of general education on general morality.

"Knowledge," says Lord Bacon, "is *Power*." He has not said it is either wisdom or virtue. In this respect a capital mistake has been committed both by the speculative and active part of mankind of late years; and, what is very remarkable, by the religious teachers, whose principles should have led them most to distrust the efficacy of intellectual cultivation in arresting the corruption of mankind. They forgot that it was eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge which expelled our first parents from Paradise—that the precept of our Saviour was to preach the gospel to all nations, not to educate all nations. Experience has now abundantly verified the melancholy truth so often enforced in Scripture, so constantly forgotten by mankind, that intellectual cultivation has no effect in arresting the sources of evil in the human heart; that it alters the direction of crime, but does not alter its amount. The poet has said—

"Dedicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros."

And that is undoubtedly true. But observe, he has not said, "nec sinit esse *pravos*." Education and civilisation, generally diffused, have a powerful effect in softening the *savage* passions of the human breast, and checking the crimes of violence which originate in their indulgence; but they tend rather to increase than diminish those of

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fraud and gain, because they add strength to the desires, by multiplying the pleasures which can be attained only by the acquisition of property. Then is indeed experienced the truth of the saying of the wise man, that "the love of money is the root of all evil."

48. Proof of this from various countries.

This is a melancholy truth: so melancholy, indeed, that it is far from being generally acknowledged even by the best informed persons; and it is so mortifying to the pride of human intellect that it is probably the last one which will be generally admitted by mankind. Nevertheless, there is none which is supported by a more widespread and unvarying mass of proofs, or which, when rightly considered, might more naturally be anticipated from the structure of the human mind. The utmost efforts have, for a quarter of a century, been made in various countries to extend the blessings of education to the labouring classes; but not only has no diminution in consequence been perceptible in the amount of crime and the turbulence of mankind, but the effect has been just the reverse; they have both signally and alarmingly increased. Education has been made a matter of state policy in Prussia, and every child is, by the compulsion of government, sent to school; but so far has this universal spread of instruction been from eradicating the seeds of evil, that serious crime is *fourteen times* as prevalent, in proportion to the population in Prussia, as it is in France, where about two-thirds of the whole inhabitants can neither read nor write.* In France itself, it has been ascertained, from the returns collected in the "Statistique Morale de la France," of commitments for crimes tried at the assizes, and the number of children at school, that the amount of crime in all the eighty-three

* In France and Prussia there were respectively, in 1826—

	Prussia.	France.
Crimes against the person, .	1 in 34.122	1 in 32.411
Do. property,	1 in .597	1 in 9.392
On the whole, ...	1 in .587	1 in 7.285

—See ALISON'S *Essays*, i. 558.

Departments is, without one single exception, in proportion to the amount of instruction received; and accordingly, in the very curious and interesting tables constructed by M. Guerry, the lightest Departments in the map showing the amount of education, are the darkest in that showing the amount of crime.* By far the greater proportion of the ladies of pleasure in Paris come from the districts to the north of the Loire, the most highly educated in France. In Scotland, the educated criminals are to the uneducated as 4½ to 1; in England, as 2 to 1 nearly; in Ireland they are about equal.† In America, the educated criminals are in most of the States of the Union three times the educated, and some double only; in all, greatly superior in number.‡ These facts, to all persons capable of yielding assent to evidence in opposition to prejudice, completely settle the question; but the conclusion to which they lead is so adverse to general opinion, that probably more than one generation must descend to their graves before they are generally admitted.

49. Reasons of this peculiarity in human nature.

And yet, although the pride of intellect is so reluctant to admit this all-important truth, there is none which in reality is so entirely conformable to the known dispositions of the human mind, or which is so frequently and loudly announced in Scripture. That the heart is "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," we know from the very highest authority; and probably there is no man whose experience of himself, as well as others, will not confirm the truth of the saying. But education has no tendency to weaken the influence of these secret tempters which every one finds in his own bosom; on the

* See "Statistique Morale de la France," par M. Guerry, Paris, 1834—a most interesting work, the results of which are well abridged in Bulwer's "France," vol. i. p. 173–178.

† 1841—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
Uneducated,	9.220	.696	8.735
Educated,	18.111	2.834	7.152

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation* and *Parliamentary Tables*, 1841.

‡ See Buckingham's "Travels," vol. i. pp. 472, 515.

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contrary, it has often a tendency to increase their power, by inflaming the imagination with pictures of enjoyment, which is not to be attained, at least in any short-hand method, but by crime or injustice. Discontent with our present lot is too often the result of highly-wrought, and often exaggerated pictures of the lot of others; thence the experienced and increasing difficulty of maintaining government, restraining turbulence, and preserving property from spoliation in the states and cities where instruction is most generally diffused. The common idea, that education, by rendering the pleasures of intellect accessible to the multitude, will provide an antidote and counterpoise to the seductions of sense, though plausible, is entirely fallacious. The powers of intellect — the capacity of feeling its enjoyments—is given to a small fraction only of the human race: the vast majority of men in every rank are, and ever will be, hewers of wood and drawers of water. Physical excitement, animal pleasure, the thirst for gain to be able to enjoy them, constitute the active principles of nine-tenths of mankind, in all ages and ranks of life. Increase their material well-being, multiply their means of obtaining these enjoyments, render them so far as possible easy and comfortable in their circumstances, and you make a mighty step in adding to the sum of human felicity, because you open avenues to it from which none are excluded. Augment to any conceivable extent their means of instruction; establish schools in every street, libraries in every village, and you do infinite things, indeed, for the thinking few, but little for the unthinking many.

50. General power of thought over mankind.

But this very circumstance of the extreme narrowness of the circle to which literary pleasures can by possibility be extended, and of the limited sphere over which its direct enjoyments spread, only renders the greater and the more enduring the sway of intelligence and intellect over mankind, and the permanent direction of human destinies by the power of thought. However much men,

in troubled times, may aspire to self-government—however long and fiercely they may contend for it—there is nothing more certain, than that they can never enjoy it, not even for an hour. They are disqualified for it by the decided inferiority of the general mind. The first and most urgent necessity of mankind is to be governed. Man can exist for days together without food, for months without shelter; but not for an hour without a government. The first act of successful insurrection, as of victorious mutiny, invariably is to appoint a new set of rulers, who shall discharge the duties, and who never fail to render more stringent the powers, of the old ones. Mankind does not by revolution escape from government; it only changes its governors. Monarchy was as really established in France under Robespierre, Napoleon, Louis Philippe, and Louis Napoleon, as ever it was under Louis XIV.; the only difference was in the person or party who wielded the sovereign powers. The English soon discovered whether the executive was less stringent or costly under the Long Parliament, Cromwell, or William III., than it had been under the princes of the Stuart line. Rousseau has affirmed, that the origin of government is to be looked for in the social contract; other political dreamers have sought it in the ruthless power of primeval conquests; but its real source is to be found in a cause of more general and lasting operation than either. It consists in the *experienced inability of mankind to govern themselves.*

51. Great consequent influence of mind on human affairs.

It is this circumstance which has so immensely extended the influence of mind, and augmented, in so fearful a degree, the responsibility of those who direct its powers. The thinking few govern the unthinking many; and they are themselves directed by the still smaller number to whom Providence has unlocked the fountains of original thought. If we would discover the real rulers of mankind in civilised states, and in this age, we must look for them, not in the cabinets of princes, but in the closet of the sage.

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There is only this difference between them, that the sway of the latter does not arise till long after he has been mouldering in his grave. It does not commence till the third or fourth generation. That time is required for thought to descend from the pinnacles where its light first strikes, to the inferior regions, where it must spread before it is carried into effect. But though slow, the effect is not the less certain. Who brought about the French Revolution, and all the countless changes and convulsions to which it has given rise? It was neither Calonne nor Brienne, Neckar nor Mirabeau; they only moved with the stream when put in motion: it was Voltaire and Rousseau that opened the original fountains; it is genius alone that can unlock the cavern of the winds. Who was the real author of free trade, and of a change of policy, the effects of which are incalculable upon the British empire? It was neither Sir Robert Peel nor Mr Huskisson; it was not Cobden nor Bright: it is Adam Smith and Quesnay who stand forth as the authors of this mighty innovation. All that the subsequent statesmen did was to elaborate and carry into execution what they had announced and recommended. Even the reaction against innovation, and the frequent return, after an experience of the storms of revolution, to the stillness of despotism, or the sternness of military power, is owing to the powers of thought. It is they which enforce the lessons of experience, because they point out to what cause prior suffering had been owing. What a veil dropped from before the British eyes, when the *Icon Basilike* appeared! And even the arms of the Allies were less efficacious than the genius of Chateaubriand, in procuring the restoration of the Bourbons.

It is generally supposed that the powers of thought, if allowed free expression, are the best guarantee against the encroachments of despotism; and that the loss of freedom is never to be apprehended as long as the liberty of the press is preserved. But though that is often, it is

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by no means always true; on the contrary, the selfish measures of class government, and the destruction of free privileges by military power, are never so effectually secured as by the support of a corrupted or hireling press. Beyond all question, the rude despotism of Cromwell in England, the nicely-constructed chains of imperial power in the hands of Napoleon in France, never could have existed, but for the cordial and interested support of an impassioned press in both countries. The utter ruin of the West India colonies—the deep depression of agricultural industry in Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence of the free-trade system—the general and long-continued distress of the whole class of producers in both countries, from the monetary laws—never could have been effected, if these measures had not been advocated by able and indefatigable journals in the interest of the monied class and the consumers. Those who lay the flattering unction to their souls that genius is the eternal enemy of oppression, and that liberty is safe if its expression is secured, would do well to look at the condition of Rome, when every successive emperor was lauded in the eloquent strains of servile panegyrists; of England, when the mighty genius of Milton was devoted to defending the measures of the regicide and Long Parliament; or of France, when the sonorous periods of Fontanes celebrated, in graceful flattery, the despotism of Napoleon.

52. Ease with which the press may be perverted to the purposes of despotism.

The communication of thought over the whole world, and the consequent interchange of ideas and feelings between nations, has become infinitely more rapid since the powers of steam were applied to the means of conveyance by sea and land. That marvellous discovery, which has quadrupled the powers of industry, and halved the distance of empires, has been greatly enhanced by the still more wonderful powers of the electric telegraph, which will soon, to all appearance, render all the civilised world one great community, over which the communica-

53. Great effect of the discovery of steam and electric communication.

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tion of intelligence and thought will be as rapid as over the streets of a single capital. With what important effects these great discoveries will be hereafter attended, may be judged of by the rapidity with which the electric shock, communicated from Paris, spread over Europe in 1848. Great consequences must inevitably result from this prodigiously enhanced rapidity of communication; but it is hard to say whether the consequences will be for good or for evil. Vigour of thought, spread of ideas, interchange of knowledge, have been immensely enhanced; but is it quite certain that these powers will be exclusively applied to good ends? Are the powers of evil not capable of taking advantage of the means of enhanced rapidity of communication thus put into their hands? Is not the spread of evil, and falsehood, and exaggeration, in the first instance at least, more rapid and certain than that of reason and truth, just in proportion as works of imagination are more eagerly sought after than those which depict reality? And is not the unexampled rapidity with which Europe took fire in 1848, a decisive proof that the increased rapidity in the communication of thought among nations tends to convert society into a huge powder-magazine, liable to blow up on the first spark falling into it?

54. Increased corresponding activity in the principles which counteract evil.

That there is much truth in these apprehensions, it is in vain to deny; but, happily for mankind, the remedy is as swift as the disease. "Experience," says Dr Johnson, "is the great test of truth, and is perpetually contradicting the theories of men." Suffering, we may add, is the great, and perhaps the only effectual monitor of nations. In vain do men seek to elude its admonitions, to forget its lessons; it comes with unerring certainty when the paths of evil have been trod; and not now, as of old, on the third and fourth generation, but upon the very generation which has committed the forfeit. So swift is the communication of thought, that changes produce their inevitable results with unheard-of rapidity;

and the cycle of excitement, folly, crime, and punishment is run out in a few years. Decisive proof of this has been afforded within the memory of many of the present generation; if the records of the past are referred to, the illustrations of it are innumerable. Eighty years elapsed, in ancient Rome, from the time when democratic ambition was first excited by the proposals of Tiberius Gracchus, till the period when the wounds of the Republic were stanched, and its peace restored, by the despotism of Augustus Cæsar; eleven years passed away, in modern times, before the passions of France, in 1789, were stifled by the sword of Napoleon; ten years marked the interval between the commencement of the troubles in England, and the confirmed military government of Cromwell. But in France, in recent times, before four years had elapsed, the dreams of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" were superseded by the general demand for a strong government, and the establishment of the rude but effective military despotism of Louis Napoleon; and before the cry for Italian nationality, German unity, and Hungarian independence had ceased to resound on the banks of the Rhine, the Po, and the Danube, the ominous sounds were hushed by the force of arms on the Hungarian plains.

55. Way in which this was brought about.

The reason of this superior rapidity, both in the transmission of danger and the extrication of its remedies, in modern times, is very apparent. The laws of nature, in all ages and under all circumstances, are adverse to crime, iniquity, and injustice; they are calculated to foster only justice, industry, charity. But there is now no special interposition of Divine power, to enforce the laws of the Divine administration; the agents in this mighty system of wisdom, folly, crime, retribution, and punishment, are men themselves. The extension of the power of reading, the enhanced rapidity in the communication of thought, bring the lessons of experience more swiftly home to mankind; they cause both the seeds of evil, and the principles of good, to bring earlier forth their appropriate

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fruits. Such is the rapidity with which ideas are now communicated, that it resembles rather an electric shock than any of the ordinary means by which thought was formerly diffused; and as thought is directed by experience and suffering, not less than by passion and desire, the eradication or limitation of evil has become as rapid as its extension.

56. General longing after representative institutions.

The desire of all civilised nations, during the last half-century, has been for representative institutions; every attempted convulsion has had this object—every successful revolution has immediately been followed by its accomplishment. The examples of England and America, where they have been found to have been attended by rapid increase of wealth and population, a vast development of intellectual power, and a proportional extension of political influence, have been deemed decisive; and other nations considered themselves secure of the same advantages, if they obtained the same form of government. At different periods—in 1820, 1830, 1834, and 1848—their efforts proved successful, their desires were accomplished. Piedmont, Naples, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, France, Austria, Prussia, have successively obtained this much-coveted blessing; and the sequel of this history will show whether it has immediately, or generally, been followed by the advantages which were anticipated. Certain it is, that at this moment (February 1852) representative institutions are, with a few trifling exceptions, virtually extinguished on the Continent, and the despotic power of sovereigns re-established and supported by 1,500,000 armed men. And in South America, where royalty has been everywhere abolished, and republics established in its stead, the consequences have been so dreadful that population has generally declined a third, in some places a half, during the last thirty years, and a series of revolutions have succeeded each other, so rapid and destructive that history, in despair, has ceased to attempt to record their thread.

These disastrous results, so different from what were

anticipated from the spread of institutions under which England and America have risen to such an unexampled pitch of prosperity and glory, have diffused a very general doubt among thoughtful men, whether the whole representative system is not a delusion, and whether its general establishment would not be one of the greatest curses which could be inflicted on mankind. They have been weighed in the balance, it is said, and found wanting. Men do not everywhere concur in abolishing institutions which are really beneficial in their tendency, or in recurring to those which are pernicious. The example of Spain and Portugal, reduced to political nullity by the action of representative institutions; of Piedmont, driven into unjust and ruinous aggression by the same cause; of France, after sixty years' experience of their effects, enthusiastically and generally calling for their abolition; of the splendid regions of South America, rendered desolate by the contests they have produced—are sufficient to demonstrate to what they lead in states not fitted for their reception, and the wisdom of the effort so generally made in continental Europe by military power to counteract their tendency. It is in vain to say that this reaction has been owing to the interposition of an armed force, which has stifled the expression of the public voice, and arrested the march of human improvement. Armed men are but the executors of the national will; in all ages, but more especially in civilised and enlightened, they do not control, but express it. The stifling of the revolution of 1848, in France, was accomplished in the first instance by the soldiers, and by as rude an exercise of power as the dispersion of the Council of Five Hundred by the bayonets of Napoleon; but the deed was approved by seven millions and a half of Frenchmen;—and the forces of the Czar never could have re-established despotic power in Austria, if the brief experience of revolutionary anarchy had not made it generally felt that it was preferable to the storms of faction.

57. Doubts which their general failure has excited among men

In truth, the present effects of representative govern-

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58. Effect of representative institutions in Britain.

ments in the two countries where they have been longest established, and been most successful, may well suggest a serious doubt whether, in their pure and unmixed form, they do not induce more evil than they remove. We must not confound with such governments the rule of a patrician senate watched by a plebeian democracy, as in ancient Rome; or of an aristocracy of land and commercial wealth controlled by an energetic commonalty, such as obtained under the old constitution of Great Britain, when all classes were adequately represented, and the House of Commons was equally the guardian of Colonial industry and British manufactures, of English land and native shipping, of territorial influence and urban ambition. Probably no candid inquirer into human affairs will ever hesitate in the opinion that, during the period, probably brief, when such a system of government endures, it affords the best guarantee for social felicity and national progress that human wisdom has ever devised. But though that is the representative system, as it grew up in most of the states of modern Europe, and as it has produced the wonders of British greatness, it is not the representative system as it is now understood by the popular party all over the world. That system consists in the representation of *mere numbers;* in the vesting supreme power in the delegates of a simple majority of the whole population. The near approach made to such a system by the Reform Bill of Great Britain, gives, in its practical result, no countenance to the idea that such a system of government affords the best guarantee either for national security or social progress; on the contrary, it leads to the conclusion that its probable result is the selfishness and injustice of class government. Some one interest gets the majority, and it instantly makes use of the power it has acquired to gain a profit to itself at the expense of every other class. Corporations, it is well known, have no consciences, for which proverbial fact an English Lord-Chancellor has

assigned a very sufficient reason;* and the experience of the last twenty years of English legislation, affords too clear evidence that an interest vested with political power is not likely to be behind its neighbours in selfish aggrandisement. Certain it is, that the ruin of industry and destruction of property effected in Great Britain, since the manufacturing school obtained the ascendancy in Parliament, much exceeds anything recorded in the history of pacific legislation, or that could have been effected by the most violent exertions of despotic power; and the melancholy fact stands proved by the records of the Census, that the population of the empire, which had advanced without intermission during five centuries, for the first time declined during the first five years of free-trade legislation.†

59. Its effects in America.

America, where republican institutions and universal suffrage have from the foundation of the state been established, affords an equally decisive proof of the tendency of such institutions to produce class government and unjust external measures. The principal States of the Union have, by common consent, repudiated their State debts as soon as the storms of adversity blew; and they have, in some instances, resumed the payment of their interest only when the sale of lands they had wrested from the Indians afforded them the means of doing so, without recurring to the dreaded horrors of direct taxation. The measures of Congress have been so generally directed by

* In a case pleaded before Lord Thurlow, on the Woolsack, one of the counsel, who was stating the case against an incorporation, said that his client's opponents had no conscience. "Conscience!" said Thurlow; "did you ever expect a corporation to have a conscience, when it has no soul to be damned, and no body to be kicked?"

† Population of Great Britain and Ireland in 1841, . . 26,831,105
Increase to 1846, one-half of ten preceding years, . . 1,210,338

Total population in 1846, . . . 28,041,443
Actual population by census of 1851, ... 27,435,315

Decrease in five years, . . . 606,128
—*Census*, 1851.

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self-interest that they have, in more than one instance, brought the confederacy to the verge of dissolution; and the threatened separation of South Carolina was only prevented from breaking it up by the quiet concession of the central legislature. Subsequently, the selfish career of unbridled democracy has been still more clearly evinced. Without the vestige of a title they have seized on Texas, and annexed it to their vast dominions; by concealing their title, which negatived their claims, they have obtained from Great Britain the half of Maine; they have done their utmost to revolutionise Canada; they have only been prevented by a melancholy tragedy from revolutionising Cuba; and when the Mexicans took up arms to avenge the spoliation of their territory, they invaded their dominions, and wrested from them the half of all that remained to them, including the gold-laden mountains of California. During the last ten years they have, though attacked by no one, made themselves masters, by fraud or violence, of 1,300,000 additional square miles of territory, being nine times the area of France; already the *multis utile bellum* has become so popular among them, that the very children in all parts of the Union play at soldiers; democratic passions have found their usual and natural vent in foreign aggression; and America has added another to the many proofs which history affords, that republican, so far from being the most pacific, are the most warlike and dangerous of all states.[1]

[1] Tremenheere's Notes on America, 157, 224.

60. Rise of divisions and passions of race.

The last and memorable revolution in Europe—that which broke out in 1848—has evolved a new element in social troubles, hitherto but little attended to, but which promises, ere long, to equal the most violent social passions in disturbing the peace and agitating the minds of men. This is the attachments and longings of RACE, which, even more than those of democracy, arouse the strongest feelings of our nature, and create divisions which the lapse even of the longest time is unable to heal. Experience has now abundantly proved in every age, and

in every part of the world, that nature has imprinted an original and distinctive character upon the different families of mankind, alike in their minds as their persons, which remains the same from first to last, and which change of climate, situation, occupations, and political institutions, is alike unable to modify in any considerable degree. The Arab is the same now, and wherever he wanders, as when it was first said of the children of Ishmael, that "his hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him;" the Jew, albeit dispersed through every land, is alike unchanged in feature and disposition; the Gaul has not varied since his distinctive features were drawn with graphic power by the hand of the dictator; the Anglo-Saxon has carried into the wilds of America the enduring energy and patient perseverance which in Europe have produced the wonders of British greatness; the Hun is fiery, proud, and impetuous, as in the days when the squadrons of Attila swept over the earth; and the Celt, gay, ardent, and careless, incapable of self-direction or social improvement, is the same in Ireland, the Hebrides, Brittany, and America, as when the dark-haired hordes of his ancestors first approached the Atlantic Ocean.

61. Great error in supposing national character depends on institutions.

Immense is the effect which this distinctive and indelible distinction of race has produced, and is producing, upon the destinies of mankind. More, perhaps, than any other cause, it has tended to bring discredit upon the principles of the French Revolution; because it has practically demonstrated their inapplicability to nations descended from a different stock from those in which corresponding principles first originated. The uniform doctrine of philosophers, and, after them, of statesmen and politicians, in the end of the eighteenth century, was, that institutions were everything, and the character of nations nothing; that men were entirely formed by the government under which they lived; and that, if you extended to all the same institutions and civil privileges, you would

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produce in all the same character, and secure the same social progress. It was on this principle that the French republicans acted in surrounding the great parent commonwealth with the Batavian, Cisalpine, Helvetian, and Parthenopeian republics; it is the same desire that has influenced Great Britain in supporting revolutionary thrones in Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Piedmont, and encouraging, by all the means in their power, the establishment of the South American republics. It is hard to say which of the two attempts has proved the greatest failure, or has led to the greatest confusion, disorder, and suffering among mankind. Their result has conclusively demonstrated that it is not institutions which form men, but men which form institutions; and that no calamities are so long-continued and irremediable as those flowing from the establishment in one country of the form of government suited to another, or the awakening passions in a part of the people inconsistent with the interests or wishes of the remainder.

62. Wars of races are the great passion of Eastern Europe.

Out of the mingled passions of democracy and race has arisen, especially in Eastern Europe, a strife more widespread and terrible than has yet desolated the face of nature in modern times. The former is found chiefly in towns; it is felt with most intensity in urban multitudes, among whom numbers, closely aggregated together, have awakened a feeling of strength, and increasing wealth has engendered the desire for independence. But the last burns most fiercely in the rural population; it acts with most force in the solitude and seclusion of country life. It is there that hereditary characteristics are most strongly marked, that ancient traditions are religiously preserved, and that the past stands forth in the brightest colours, from being undisturbed by any countervailing influences of the present. The war of races is often *commenced* by the impulse communicated by urban revolt; because it is that which first disturbs the peace of society, violently excites the public mind, and awakens the idea

of provincial independence, by weakening the power of the central government. But the contest which begins with the ambition of towns does not expire with their short-lived fervour; the passions of the tent are more durable than those of the forum. When the shepherds of the hills, the cultivators of the plains, assemble in arms, it may in general be concluded that a serious struggle, a prolonged contest, is at hand. The fervour of the French Revolution excited the revolt of 1793 in Warsaw; but the storming of Praga has not extinguished the hopes of Polish nationality;—it burns with undiminished force in the breasts of the peasantry; it has burst forth unweakened in subsequent wars, and seriously weakened even the colossal strength of the Muscovite Empire. The animosity of the Celt against the Saxon is undiminished by five centuries of forced amalgamation; and when independence in Ireland had become visibly hopeless, the bulk of the race fled across the Atlantic, and sought in the wilds of the Far West that independence of which they despaired amidst European civilisation. The revolution in Paris, in 1848, spread the seeds of revolt to the Austrian capital; but the wars of races did not expire with the capture of Vienna: the Magyar continued in arms against the Sclavé, the German against the Italian; and the dominion of the house of Hapsburg would have been torn in pieces by the passions of its own subjects, if it had not been rescued from ruin by the arms of the united Sclavonic race.

63. Doubts as to the wisdom of representative institutions.

These facts, which have been so clearly brought forth by the events of late years, have awakened a very general doubt among reflecting men, in every part of Europe, whether representative institutions are the form of government best calculated to insure general felicity; or whether, at any rate, they can exist for any length of time among any people, but one of a homogeneous race and temperate practical character. Certain it is, that, though generally established in Europe by its northern con-

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querors, amidst the ruins of the Roman Empire, they everywhere fell into decay except where they were sustained by the mingled energy and slowness of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon race; and that, when re-established in our times by the influence of English Anglomania, or the united force of French and English arms, they have either speedily perished, or produced such disastrous results that, by common consent, they were very soon abolished. It would seem that they are inapplicable to any nation in which, like the Austrian, several distinct and hostile races are mingled together in not very unequal proportions; and probably the most enthusiastic supporter of representative institutions would hesitate before he would affirm they could have flourished in the British empire, if the Celtic race in both islands had existed in nearly equal numbers. If the present annual migration of above two hundred thousand from Ireland should continue a few years longer, and there is any truth in the assertions now generally made, that there are two millions of native-born Irish in the United States, and four millions of Irish descent, the Celtic race may acquire such a preponderance there as may ultimately render the maintenance of domestic peace and representative institutions impossible in some parts of the Union.

64. Real character, good and evil, of representative institutions.

That the constitutional form of government is now on its trial, both in the Old and New World, is a common observation on both sides of the Atlantic; and it will be not the least important part of this History to trace its working in the different countries where it has been established. Such a survey will probably damp many ardent aspirations and hopes on the one side, and demonstrate the fallacy of many gloomy predictions on the other. That many evils have been found to flow from the representative system when it is really, and not in form merely, established; that selfishness often directs its measures, and corruption stains its members, is no real

reproach to that form of government,—it is only a proof that its powers are wielded by the sons of Adam. No one need be told that the same vices and weaknesses attach to other institutions: the page of history unhappily teems with too many proofs that sovereigns often rule only for the gratification of their passions and pleasures; and aristocracies, to farm out the industry of the people for their own profit or advantage. The real question is, whether greater scope is not given for the indulgence of these selfish propensities under the representative form of government than any other; whether it does not end in the establishment of a class government, more unscrupulous in its measures, and oppressive in its effects, than the rule of a single sovereign could possibly be; and whether the hope of checking iniquity in the administration, by admitting numbers to participate in it, is not, in fact, expecting to extinguish sin by multiplying the number of sinners. Perhaps future ages may arrive at the conclusion that it is the representation of *interests*, not *numbers*, which is the true principle; that the former, if duly balanced, is always safe, the latter always perilous; and that it is the extreme difficulty of preserving the equilibrium for any length of time which justifies the observation of the Roman annalist, that it is slow to come, swift to perish.*

65. Great effect of the social passions of Europe in propelling its inhabitants to the New World.

But whatever ideas may be entertained on this speculative point, upon which experience has not yet warranted the forming of a decided opinion, one thing is perfectly clear, that the contending passions of the Old World, the mingled hopes and fears, wants, and desires, expectations and disappointments, of ancient civilisation, all tend powerfully to promote the settlement and peopling of the New. Already the emigrants who land at New York alone, from Europe, have come to approach 300,000, of whom 163,000 are from Ireland, and 69,000 from Germany—the two countries perhaps most violently agitated

* "Tarde veniens; cito peritura."—TACITUS.

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by political and social passions of any in the Eastern Hemisphere. The total emigrants from Europe to America now exceed 500,000 annually.* In ten years, if the present rate continues, they will amount to 5,000,000, and, with their descendants, more than double the already far-famed marvels of Transatlantic increase. It is hard to say, in this wonderful transposition of the human race, whether the spread of knowledge or the passions of democracy exercise the most powerful sway over the minds of men, or are the most powerful and visible agents in carrying into effect the objects of Divine administration; for the last is perpetually leading to the indulgence of visionary and chimerical expectations of social felicity, from political change and the extension of popular power; while the former is as generally diffusing better founded expectations as to the real felicity and well-being to be attained by a settlement in the distant colonies of the world. The perpetual disappointment of the first, and the as uniform realisation of the last, are the great means by which the *immovable* character of civilised man is overcome; and the human race is as powerfully impelled into distant countries in the old age of civilisation, by political passions, and the disappointment of hope, as it is in its infancy by the roving disposition of pastoral, or the lust of conquest in warlike tribes. No human foresight can foretell whether the passions which now so violently agitate Europe will terminate in the general establishment, *for a time*, of republican institutions, or their entire extinction by the rude arm of military power. But this much may with confi-

* Landed at New York in 1851—

Irish,	163,256
English and Welsh,	30,742
Scotch,	7,302
Germans,	69,833
Other nations,	18,478
Total,	289,611

—*Emigration Commissioners' Report*, 1851—New York.

dence be predicted, that in either case a vast propelling of the European race into the wilds of America or Australia will infallibly take place;—in the first, by the disappointment experienced by the partisans of political change; in the last, by the extinction of their hopes.

66. And of the discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia.

In this point of view, the influence is great of the discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia, not merely upon the general industry and well-being of the whole earth, but upon the attraction exercised by those richly-endowed regions upon its inhabitants. When gold is found scattered broadcast over whole countries, when valleys are discovered in which the whole alluvial deposit is impregnated with auriferous fragments, and mountains where the coveted treasure is found in great quantities enclosed in veins of quartz, or embedded in fields of clay, it is impossible to over-estimate the influence which this exercises upon the desires and ambition of men. The idea of independence—it may be fortune—brought within the reach of mere manual labour, and falling to the lot, not so much of the most diligent as the most fortunate, is irresistible. The golden magnet draws votaries from all quarters; multitudes hasten to take their chance in the rich lottery, where every one trusts that he himself will draw a prize and his neighbours the blank. Many doubtless perish, or are disappointed in the exciting chase: but some succeed; and their success, like the honours of war or the fortunes of commerce, are sufficient permanently to attract mankind into the dazzling and perilous career. When twenty or thirty millions sterling are annually raised by human hands, and those in the hands of *freemen*, who are themselves enriched by their toil, there is enough to rouse everywhere the spirit of the adventurous, to tempt the cupidity of the covetous. Californian gold has only been worked to any extent for two years, and already that State boasts 250,000 inhabitants; and a regular passage for European emigrants has been opened, both over the

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Rocky Mountains and the Isthmus of Panama. Among the means employed by Providence to insure, at the appointed season, the dispersion of mankind, one of the most powerful is the mineral treasures, which, long hid in distant regions in the womb of nature, are at length brought forth when the minds of men are prepared for their attraction, when the utmost facilities are afforded for the migration of the species, and when the influences of home are alike overcome by the disappointments of the Old World and the hopes of the New.

67. What if the case had been otherwise?

To appreciate justly the unbounded influence of these concurring moving powers—political passions in the Old World, and gold regions in the New—we have only to suppose that it had been otherwise arranged, and consider whether mankind would ever have left their native seats. It might have been that the progress of civilisation and the spread of knowledge were not to be the destined agents in moving mankind: that the attractions of wealth and the comforts of home were to become daily more powerful with the growth of nations, and that their roving propensities were to be confined to the earliest ages, when the first settlements of mankind were formed. It might have been that the gold treasures of California and Australia were to be found in the mountains of Switzerland or Bohemia, in the centre of Europe, and amidst the multitudes of aged civilisation. In such an event, could the European race, and with it the blessings of freedom, of knowledge, and of Christianity, ever have been diffused among mankind? Would not the inhabitants of Europe, under such circumstances, have clung for ever to their homes, and the bones of their fathers, and left the distant parts of the earth alike unknown, unheeded, and uncultivated? We are not driven to speculation to figure to ourselves the consequences of such a state of things. China and Hindostan, with their civilisation of four thousand years, exist to inform us what they would have been. They have had for thousands of years the knowledge, the

education, and the mechanical arts of Europe, and teemed with a population of 500,000,000 souls; but they had none of its political passions. Society, from the earliest ages to the present time, has existed always under a pure and unmitigated despotism, and what has been the result? That mankind in those aged communities have an invincible repugnance to migration, an unconquerable attachment to their native seats, and have never spread beyond them. Everything announces that Japhet will one day dwell in the tents of Shem, but unquestionably Shem will never dwell in the tents of Japhet. To the European race, endowed with intellect, and gifted with energy beyond the other families of mankind, has been predestined the duty of peopling the earth and subduing it: it is in the midst of the passions which lead to its accomplishment that we are now placed. In the last ages of the world, as in the first, the words of primeval prophecy shall prove true: "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

68. Increasing influence of Russian conquest.

But it is not to these agents alone that the great designs of Providence for the dispersion of the species have been intrusted. The original moving powers are still in full and undisturbed operation. The roving passions of pastoral life, the lust of barbarian conquest, are as active in impelling mankind from the wilds of Scythia, as ever they were in the days of Alaric or Attila: the Tartar horse have lost nothing of their formidable character by being linked to the Russian horse-artillery. Still the wines and women of the south attract the brood of winter to the regions of the sun; still the pressure of barbarian valour upon the scenes of civilised opulence is felt with undiminished force.

"Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar
Has Scythia breathed the living cloud of war;
And where the deluge burst with sweeping sway,
Their arms, their kings, their gods, were rolled away.
As oft have issued, host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast:

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> The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
> Her boasted titles and her golden fields;
> With grim delight the brood of winter views
> A brighter day and heavens of azure hues,
> Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
> And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows." *

It will be so to the end of the world; for in the north, and there alone, are found the privations which insure hardihood, the poverty which impels to conquest, the difficulties which rouse to exertion. Irresistible to men so actuated is the attraction which the climate of the south, the riches of civilisation, exercise on the poverty and energy of the native wilds. Slowly but steadily, for two centuries, the Muscovite power has increased, devouring everything which it approaches—ever advancing, never receding. Sixty-six millions of men, doubling every half-century, now obey the mandates of the Czar, whose will is law, and who leads a people whose passion is conquest. Europe may well tremble at the growth of a power possessed of such resources, actuated by such desires, led by such ability; but Europe alone does not comprise the whole family of mankind. The great designs of Providence are working out their accomplishment by the passions of the free agents to which their execution has been intrusted. Turkey will yield, Persia be overrun by the Muscovite battalions; the original birthplace of our religion will be rescued by their devotion; and as certainly as the Transatlantic hemisphere, and the islands of the Indian Sea, will be peopled by the self-acting passions of Western democracy, will the plains of Asia be won to the Cross by the resistless arms of Eastern despotism.

69. Migratory propensities of men in the youth of civilisation.

It would appear that, at stated periods in the history of nations, the passion for migration seizes upon the minds of men; and these periods are at the opposite ends of their progress—at its commencement and its termination. We read of the first in the wandering habits of the Helvetii, of whom Cæsar has left so graphic a picture; in

* Gray on Education and Government.

the irruption of the Cimbri and Teutones, whom it required all the vigour of Rome and all the talents of Marius to repel; in the successive settlements of the Celts, the Franks, the Saxons, and the Normans, in the decaying provinces of the Empire; in the perpetual inroads of the pastoral nations of Central Asia into the adjoining plains of Muscovy, Persia, Hindostan, and China. We see proof of it at this time in the ceaseless movement of the European population of America towards the Pacific, and the ardour with which the semi-barbarous pioneers of civilisation plunge into the forests of the Far West. It is by the force of these passions that the first settlements of mankind were effected, and that the human race has been impelled by a blind instinct, of which it can neither see the objects nor withstand the effects, into the most distant parts of the Old World. It was thus, too, that the whole continent of America was originally peopled by its savage inhabitants; and the tales of tradition, as well as the more certain evidence of language, point alike to the period when the hunters of Kamtschatka, cast by accident, or impelled by restlessness, on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, spread over the adjoining forests, and their descendants gradually penetrated the boundless wilds of North and South America.

70. Corresponding moving propensities in the maturity of civilisation.

But an insurmountable difficulty checks all these early migrations of: mankind the ocean restrains their incursions. The Tartar horse, as Gibbon tells, incapable of being resisted by the whole forces of civilisation, found an impassable barrier in the narrow channel of the Hellespont. The maritime incursions of the Saxons and Danes were confined to the neighbouring coasts of Britain and Gaul; no distant settlements were formed by the sea-kings of the north. The Atlantic can be bridged only by the powers of civilisation; but these powers are equal to the undertaking, and they are called into action at the time when the necessities and passions of aged societies require their operation. Multitudes nursed by the industry and opulence of former times, but now crowded together, re-

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quire a vent, and eagerly look for new fields of settlement: the powers of steam furnish them with the means of migration; the passions of democracy, dissatisfied with the results of domestic effort, render the transportation an object of desire. As strongly and irresistibly as the nomad tribes are impelled into the regions of opulence, and the daring hunter into the wilds of nature, is the civilised European urged to commit himself and his family to the waves, the ardent republican to seek the realisation of his dreams on the other side of the Atlantic. Insensibly, under the influence of those desires, the frontiers of civilisation are extended, the seats of mankind changed; and a new society is formed in regions unknown to their fathers, in which the different members of the European family find a cradle for future generations of their descendants.

> "For here the exile met from every clime,
> And spoke in friendship every distant tongue:
> Men from the blood of warring Europe sprung
> Were but divided by the running brook;
> And happy where no Rhenish trumpet sung,
> On plains no sieging mine's volcano shook,
> The blue-eyed German changed his sword to pruning-hook.
>
> . . . . .
>
> And England sent her men, of men the chief,
> Who taught those sires of Empire yet to be,
> To plant the tree of life,—to plant fair Freedom's tree!" *

71. Necessity of republican institutions to colonial settlements.

Not only is the democratic passion in this way the great moving power which expels, as by the force of central heat, civilised man into the distant parts of the earth, but it is the most effective nurse of energy, progress, and civilisation, when he arrives there. The pastoral tribes, whose passion is conquest, require a military chief to direct their movements; but the agricultural colonists, whose warfare is with Nature, invariably pant for democratic institutions. Left alone in the woods, they early feel the necessity of relying on their own resources; self-government becomes their passion, because self-direction has been their habit. All colonies which have flourished in the world, and left durable traces of

* *Gertrude of Wyoming.*

their existence to future times, have been nurtured under the shelter of republican institutions; those of Greece and Rome, on the shores of the Mediterranean—those of Holland and England, on the wider margin of the ocean, attest this important fact. The colonies of Great Britain at this time, though nominally ruled by Queen Victoria, are for the most part, practically speaking, self-directed; and where the authority of the central government has made itself felt, it has generally been only to do mischief, and weaken the bonds which unite its numerous offspring to the parent state. Wherever the democratic spirit is not felt, colonies are unknown; where democratic institutions do not prevail, colonial settlements, after a time, have declined, and at length expired. It seems to be impossible to engraft republican self-direction upon original subjection to monarchical institutions. It must be bred in the bone, and nurtured with the strength. The Portuguese settlements in the East are almost extinct, and exhibit no traces of the vigour with which Vasco de Gama braved the perils of the stormy Cape; the attempt to introduce republican institutions, after three centuries of servitude, into the Spanish colonies of South America, has led only to anarchy and suffering; and the decisive fact, that the republican states of North America, though settled a century later, have now more than double the European population of the monarchical in the South, points to the wide difference in the future destinies of mankind of these opposite forms of government. Certain it is that, great as the British military empire in India now is, it has formed no settlements of pure Europeans behind it among the sable multitudes of Hindostan; and possibly future times may yet verify the saying of Burke, that, if the Englishman left the East, he would leave no more durable traces of his existence than the jackal and the tiger.

Observe, in this view, how the character of the races to whom the development of this mighty progress has been intrusted, and of the institutions which they have created

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72. Adaptation of the Sclavonic and Anglo-Saxon character to the parts assigned them in their progress.

for themselves, is adapted to the parts severally destined for them in it. It might have been otherwise. The character of the two great families of the race of Japhet might have been reversed, or the place assigned them on the theatre of existence different from what it is. The Anglo-Saxon, impelled by a secret impulse to effort, to commerce, to freedom, and to colonisation, might have found himself in the plains of Muscovy or Siberia; the Sclavonian, with his submissive habits, roving propensities, and lust of conquest, might have been located in Germany and the British isles. What would have been the result? Could the European family have spread the European influence as it has done? Could the race of Japhet have performed his destined mission, to replenish the earth and subdue it? No: by this simple transposition of race, the whole destinies of mankind would have been changed; the accomplishment of prophecy rendered impossible; the spread of Christianity arrested. The Anglo-Saxon, with his maritime inclinations, his aspirations after freedom, his industrious habits, would have been swept away in Scythia by the squadrons of the Crescent; the Sclavonian, with his roving propensities, his thirst for conquest, his aversion to the ocean, would have been for ever arrested by the waves of the Atlantic. Crushed in all attempts at colonisation or settlement beyond his native seats, the Anglo-Saxon would have pined in impotent obscurity in the plains of Muscovy; restrained by the impassable barrier of the ocean, the Russian would have been forgotten in the forests of Britain. Placed as they have been respectively, by Providence, on the theatre of existence, each has been provided with a fitting stage for the exercise of his peculiar powers, and found around him the elements in nature adapted for their development. The Anglo-Saxon found in the forests of England the oak which was to give to his descendants the power of the waves; the coal which was to move the powers of steam; the iron which, in a future generation, was to renew the age of gold. The Sclavo-

nian found in Central Asia the redoubtable horsemen who were to add strength and speed to his battalions; the naked plains, where they could act with resistless force; the enamelled turf, which everywhere provided them with the means of subsistence and migration. The free aspirations of the first impelled him into the career of pacific colonisation; the ocean was his bridge of communication: the despotic inclinations of the last prepared him to follow the standards of conquest; the steppe stretched out before him, to facilitate the migration of his conquering squadrons.

73. Destiny of the race of Japhet in reference to Christianity.

When Providence gave the blessings of Christianity to mankind, their diffusion at the appointed season was intrusted to the acts of free agents; but a particular race was selected, by whose voluntary co-operation its design might be carried into effect. Beyond all question, the race of Japhet was the one to which this mighty mission was intrusted. The energy and vigour, the intelligence and perseverance, which have so long rendered it pre-eminent among men, bespeak its fitness for the undertaking; and it may be doubted whether any other family of mankind will, for a very long period, be fitted for the reception of the faith which it bears on its banners. Experience gives little countenance to the belief that the race of Shem and Ham can be made to any considerable extent, at least at present, to embrace the tenets of a spiritual faith. Christianity, as it exists in some provinces of Asia, is not the Christianity of Europe; it is paganism in another form; it is the substitution of the worship of the Virgin and images for that of Jupiter and the heathen deities. If Christianity had been adapted to man in his rude and primeval state, it would have been revealed at an earlier period; it would have appeared in the age of Moses, not in that of Cæsar. Great have been the efforts made, both by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, especially of late years, to diffuse the tenets of their respective faiths in heathen lands; but,

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with the exception of some of the Catholic missions in South America, without the success that was, in the outset at least, anticipated. Sectarian zeal has united with Christian philanthropy in forwarding the great undertaking; the British and Foreign Bible Society has rivalled in activity the Propaganda of Rome; and the expenditure of £100,000 annually on the enlightening of foreign lands has afforded a magnificent proof of devout zeal and British liberality. But no great or decisive effects have as yet followed these efforts—no new nations have been converted to Christianity; the conversion of a few tribes, of which much has been said, appears to be little more than nominal; and the durable spread of the Gospel has been everywhere co-extensive only with that of the European race. But that race has increased, and is increasing, with unexampled rapidity; its universal growth, and wide extension, bespeak the evolutions of a mighty destiny; and it has now become apparent, that the Anglo-Saxon colonist bears with his sails the blessings of Christianity to mankind.

74. Increasing influence of religion in Europe.

The influence of Christianity is obviously increasing in all the nations of Europe, and to nothing has this increase been so much owing as to the irreligious spirit which occasioned the French Revolution. Voltaire was the author of the second great crusade—he was the Peter the Hermit of the eighteenth century; without intending it, he, in the end, roused all nations in behalf of religion. He conferred one blessing of inestimable importance on mankind—he brought scepticism to the test of experience. He for ever revealed its tendencies, and demonstrated its effects to the world. The Reign of Terror is the everlasting commentary on his doctrines; Robespierre is at once the disciple and the beacon of those of Rousseau. Nowhere has this reaction been more apparent than in France, the very country where infidelity was first triumphant. The increasing spirit of devotion in its rural districts has long been a matter of observation to all

persons acquainted with French society; and the proof of this is now decisive—universal suffrage has brought it to light. Louis Napoleon has seized supreme power; but he seized it by the aid of the clergy. His first step was a solemn service in Nôtre Dame, the theatre of the orgies of the Goddess of Reason; his last, the coronation by the hands of the Church. The votes of seven millions of Frenchmen demonstrated that the vast majority of the people coincided with his sentiments. In England, the influence of religious opinion has increased to such a degree as to become in some measure alarming; it begets, in the thoughtful mind, the dread of a reaction. Christianity in Russia is the mainspring both of government and national action: the Cross is inscribed on his banners; it is as the representative of the Almighty that the Czar is omnipotent. In no country in the world is religious zeal warmer, religious impressions more general, than in America, though unfortunately they have not had the effect of restraining their public actions. These appearances are decisive as to the future progress of the Christian faith, and its diffusion by the spread of the European race. When France and England, America and Russia, differing in almost everything else, combine in this one impression, it needs no prophet to announce the future destinies of mankind.

75. Differences of the era of this history and that of the last.

Such are the views which occur to the reflecting mind, from the contemplation of the eventful period in the history of Europe which it is proposed to embrace in this work. Less dramatic and moving than the animated era which terminated with the fall of Napoleon, it is, perhaps, still more important; it contains less of individual agency, and more of general progress. There are some incidents in it second to none that ever occurred, in tragic interest: the Affghanistan disaster, the passage of arms in the Punjaub, the revolutions of 1848 in Europe, will for ever stand forth as some of the most heart-stirring events in the annals of mankind. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. The general character of

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the period is one of repose, so far as relates to the transactions of nations, but of the most fearful activity so far as the thoughts and social interests of the people are concerned. The heroes of it are not the commanders of armies, but the leaders of thought; the theatre of its combats is not the tented field, but the peaceful forum. It is there that the decisive blows were struck, there that the lasting victories have been gained. The volumes of this History, therefore, will differ much from those of the one which has preceded it; they will be less dramatic, but more reflecting; they will deal less with the actions of men, and more with the progress of things. In the former period, individual greatness determined the march of events, and general history insensibly turned into particular biography; in the present, general causes overruled individual agency, and the lives even of the greatest men are seen to have been mastered by the progress of events. It is a common complaint in these times, that the age of great men has departed; that the giants of intellect are no longer to be seen; that no one impresses his signet on the age, but every one receives the impression from it. But the truth is, that it is the strength of the general current which has swept away particular men; the stream, put in motion by greatness in a former age, has been so powerful that it has become impossible for individual strength in this to withstand it; it is not that the age of great men has departed, but that of general causes has succeeded. But the ascendant of intellect is not thereby diminished: its triumphs are only postponed to another age; its sway begins when the body to which it was united is mouldering in the grave. The prophet is even more revered in future times than the lawgiver; when time has placed its signet on opinions, they carry conviction to every breast; and he who has had the courage to defend the cause of truth against the prejudices of one age, is sure of gaining the suffrages of the next.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1815, TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1816.

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1. Commanding position of Great Britain at the close of the war.

So great had been the success, so glorious the triumphs of England, in the latter years of the war, that the least sanguine were led to entertain the most unbounded hopes of the future prosperity of the empire. Prosperity unheard of, and universal, had, with a few transient periods of distress, when the contest was at the worst, pervaded every department of the state. The colonial possessions of Great Britain encircled the earth; the loss of the North American colonies had been more than compensated by the acquisition of a splendid empire in India, where sixty millions of men were already subject to our rule, and forty millions more were in a state of alliance; the whole West India islands had fallen into our hands, and were in the very highest state of prosperity; Java had been added to our Eastern possessions, and had been only relinquished from the impulse of a perhaps imprudent generosity; and the foundation had been laid, in Australia, of those flourishing colonies which are, perhaps, destined one day to rival Europe itself in numbers, riches, and splendour. How different was this prospect from that which, a few years before, the world had exhibited! There had been a time when, in the words of exalted eloquence, "the Continent lay flat before our rival; when the Spaniard, the Austrian, the

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Prussian, had retired; when the iron quality of Russia had dissolved; when the domination of France had come to the water's edge; and when, behold, from a misty speck in the west the avenging genius of these our countries issues forth, grasping ten thousand thunderbolts, breaks the spell of France, stops in his own person the flying fortunes of the world, sweeps the sea, rights the globe, and retires in a flame of glory."* Nor had the domestic prosperity of this memorable period been inferior to its external renown. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures at home had gone on increasing, during the whole struggle, in an unparalleled ratio; the landed proprietors were in affluence, and for the most part enjoyed incomes triple of what they had possessed at its commencement; wealth to an unheard-of extent had been created among the farmers; the soil, daily increasing in fertility and breadth of cultivated land, had become adequate to the maintenance of a rapidly-increasing population; cultivation had drained the morass and crept up the mountain side; the waving corn-field, the smiling pasture, had succeeded in the domain of the heath-fowl and the plover; Great Britain, as the effect of her long exclusion from the Continent, had obtained the inestimable blessing of being self-supporting as regards the national subsistence. The exports, imports, and tonnage had more than doubled since the war began; and although severe distress, especially during the years 1810 and 1811, had pervaded the manufacturing districts, yet their condition, upon the whole, had been one of general and extraordinary prosperity.

2. Statistical facts proving the general prosperity of the state.

Facts proved by the parliamentary records sufficiently demonstrated that this description was not the high-flown picture of imagination, but the sober representation of truth. The revenue raised by taxation within the year had risen from £19,000,000 in 1792, to £72,000,000 in 1815; the total expenditure from taxes and loans had reached,

* GRATTAN.

in 1814 and 1815, the enormous amount of £117,000,000 each year. In the latter years of the war, Great Britain had above 1,000,000 of men in arms in Europe and Asia; and besides paying the whole of these immense armaments, she was able to lend £11,000,000 yearly to the Continental powers; yet were these copious bleedings so far from having exhausted the capital or resources of the country, that the loan of 1814, although of the enormous amount of £35,000,000, was obtained at the rate of £4, 11s. 1d. per cent, being a lower rate of interest than had been paid at the commencement of the war. The exports, which in 1792 were £27,000,000, had swelled in 1815 to nearly £58,000,000, official value; the imports had advanced during the same period from £19,000,000 to £32,000,000. The shipping had increased from 1,000,000 to 2,500,000 tons. The population of England had risen from 9,400,000 in 1792, to 13,400,000 in 1815; that of Great Britain and Ireland from 14,000,000 in the former period, to 18,000,000 in the latter. Yet, notwithstanding this rapid increase, and the absorption of nearly 500,000 pairs of robust arms in the army, militia, and navy, the imports of grain had gone on continually diminishing, and had sunk in 1815 to less than 500,000 quarters. And so far was this prodigious expenditure and rapid increase of numbers from having exhausted the resources of the state, that above £6,000,000 annually was raised by the voluntary efforts of the inhabitants, to mitigate the distresses and assuage the sufferings of the poor; and a noble sinking fund was in existence, and had been kept sacred during all the vicissitudes of the struggle, which already had reached £16,000,000 a-year, and would certainly, if left to itself, have extinguished the whole public debt by the year 1845.[1]

[1] See Table in Hist. of Europe, App. C. xcvi., where the figures are all given.

When such had been the prosperity and so great the progress of the empire, during the continuance of a long and bloody war, in the course of which it had repeatedly been reduced to the very greatest straits, and compelled

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3. Warm and general anticipations of general prosperity on the peace.

to fight for its very existence against the forces of combined Europe, there seemed to be no possible limits which could be assigned to the prosperity of the state when the contest was over, and the blessings of peace had returned to gladden our own and every other land. If the industry of our people had been so sustained, their progress so great, during a war in which we were for a long period shut out from the Continent, and for a time from America also, what might be expected when universal peace prevailed, and the harbours of all nations, long famishing for the luxuries of British produce and manufactures, were everywhere thrown open for their reception? Views of this sort were so obviously supported by the appearances of the social world, that they were embraced not only by the ardent and enthusiastic, but the prudent and the sagacious, in every part of the country. The landholders borrowed, the capitalists lent money, on the faith of their justice. The merchant embarked his fortune in the sure confidence that the present flattering appearances would not prove fallacious; and the eloquent preacher expressed no more than the general feeling when he said—"The mighty are fallen, and the weapons of war have perished. The cry of freedom bursts from the unfettered earth, and the standards of victory wave in all the winds of heaven. Again in every corner of our own land the voice of joy and gladness is heard. The cheerful sounds of labour rise again in our streets, and the dark ocean again begins to whiten with our sails. Over this busy scene of human joy the genial influences of heaven have descended. The unclouded sun of summer has ripened for us all the riches of harvest. The God of nature hath crowned the year with his goodness, and all things living are filled with plenteousness. Even the infant shares in the general joy; and the aged, when he recollects the sufferings of former years, is led to say, with the good old Simeon in the Gospel, 'Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'"[1]

[1] Sermon on the Thanksgiving, Jan. 13, 1814, by the Rev. Archibald Alison—Sermons, i. 450.

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4. Universal disappointment of these hopes and general distress.

Such were the expectations and feelings of the people at the termination of the war. Never were hopes more cruelly disappointed, never anticipations more desperately crossed. No sooner was the peace concluded than distress, widespread and universal, was experienced in every part of the country, and in every branch of industry. It was felt as much by the manufacturers as the agriculturists; by the merchants as the landlords; and, ere long, the general suffering rose to such a pitch that, while the table of the House of Commons groaned under petitions from the farmers, complaining of agricultural distress, the Gazette teemed with notices of the bankruptcy of traders; and disturbances became so common and alarming in the manufacturing districts, that special commissions had to be sent down, in this and the following year, to Ely, Derby, and the principal seats of the outrages, by whom the law was administered with unsparing but necessary rigour. The farmers, as usual with that class, bore their distresses with patience and resignation; but the manufacturers, always more excitable and tumultuous, were not so easily appeased. In the southern part of Staffordshire the distress was felt as peculiarly severe, and the working people in the populous village of Bilston were reduced to such a degree that they all fell upon the parish, the funds of which were inadequate to preserve them from absolute starvation. The iron trade in particular was everywhere suffering under great distress: large bodies of workmen, dismissed from their forges, paraded the country, demanding charity in a menacing manner; and at Merthyr-Tydvil, in South Wales, the disorders were not appeased without military interference. To excite public commiseration, great numbers of these dismissed workmen fell upon the expedient of drawing loaded waggons of coals to distant towns; and a division of these wandering petitioners approached the metropolis, and were only turned aside by the resistance of a powerful body of police.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg, 1816, p. 93s 94. Memoir- of Lord Sid mouth, iii. 149, 151.

It was with the merchants engaged in the export trade

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5. Beginning of the distress among the export merchants.

that the distress, which soon became universal, first began; and in them it appeared even before hostilities had ceased. Possessed with the idea that the inhabitants of the Continent were languishing for British colonial produce, from which they had so long been excluded, and inflamed by the prospect of the sudden opening of their ports to our shipping, the English merchants thought, and acted upon the opinion, that no limits could be assigned to the profitable trade which might be carried on with them, especially in that article of merchandise. So largely was this notion embraced, that the exports of foreign and colonial produce from Great Britain and Ireland, which in 1812 had been £9,533,000, rose in 1814 to £19,365,000. The necessary effect of so prodigious an increase of the supply thrown into countries impoverished to the very last degree by the war, and scarcely able to pay for anything, was that the consignments were, for the most part, sold for little more than half the original cost; and ruin, widespread and universal, overtook all the persons engaged in the traffic. The eastern ports of the kingdom, in particular London, Hull, and Leith, suffered dreadfully by the extensive and disastrous shipments to the north of Europe.[1] England then began to learn a lesson which has been sufficiently often taught since that time—namely, how fallacious a test the mere amount of exports is of the flourishing condition of the country in general, or even of the branches of trade in which the greatest increase appears in particular. That increase often arises from a failure of the home market, which renders it necessary to send the goods abroad, or from absurd and ruinous speculation, which terminates in nothing but disaster. The year 1814,[1]* during which foreign and colonial produce to

1 Ann. Reg. 1814, 219; 1815, 144.

* Exports of foreign and colonial produce:—

1814	£19,365,981
1815	15,748,554
1816	13,480,781
1817	10,292,684

—Alison's *Europe*, Appendix, chap. xcvi.

the extent of £19,500,000 was exported, was far more disastrous to the persons engaged in that trade than the three succeeding years, in which the exports of that description sank to little more than a half of that amount.

6. Its spread to the agriculturists.

This distress, however, was not long of spreading to the agriculturists, and among them it assumed a more formidable, because settled and irremediable form. Notwithstanding the protection to British agriculture which had been afforded by the corn law passed in 1814, of which an account has already been given,[1] it had already become apparent that the opening the harbours of America and Northern Europe for supplies of grain, coupled with the cessation of the lavish expenditure of the war, would seriously affect the prices of every species of agricultural produce. Already they had fallen to little more than *two-thirds* of what they had been during the five last years of the war.* Although the prices which they still fetched may seem high to us, who have been accustomed to the much greater reduction which has since taken place, yet the fall from 120s. in 1813, to 76s. in 1815, and 57s. in the spring of 1816, for the quarter of wheat, was sufficiently alarming, and struck a prodigious panic into the minds of all persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. The rise in the price of rural produce had been so steady and long-continued, and the affluence in consequence arising to all persons connected with land, or depending either on the sale of its produce or the purchases flowing from its prosperity, so great, that all classes had come to regard it as permanent, and they had all acted accordingly. The landowners had borrowed money or entered into marriage-contracts on the faith of its con-

[1] History of Europe, c. xcii. § 30.

* Average price of wheat per Winchester bushel :—

	Shillings.		Shillings.
1809 . . .	106	1813 . . .	120
1810 . . .	112	1814 . . .	85
1811 . . .	108	1815 . . .	76
1812 . . .	118	1816 . . .	82

—Alison's *Europe*, Appendix, chap. xcvi.

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tinuance; present expenditure, provisions to children, had been regulated by that standard. The tenantry, in those parts of the country where leases were common, had entered into lasting contracts, in the belief that the high prices would continue; and they could now anticipate nothing but ruin if they were held to their engagements. A general despondency, in consequence, seized upon the rural classes; numbers of farms were thrown up in despair; and the universal suffering among that important class not only spread a general gloom over society, but seriously affected the amount of manufactured articles taken off by the home market—by far the most important vent for that species of industry.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1815, 144, 145; 1816, 92, 93.

7. Severe scarcity of 1816.

Before the close of the year 1816, these causes of distress assumed a different, but a still more alarming form. The summer of that year was uncommonly wet and stormy, insomuch, that not only was the quantity and quality of the grain everywhere rendered deficient, but in the higher and later parts of the country the harvest never ripened at all. So stormy, melancholy a season, had not been experienced since 1799; the consequence of course was, that the price of grain rapidly rose, and the average for the year was 82s. a quarter. But it was much higher than this average in the latter months; indeed, in some places in the north of England, wheat in October was at a guinea a bushel.* The effect of this, of course, was to admit foreign importations duty free—the prices having surmounted that of 86s., fixed by the sliding scale as the turning point at which free foreign importation was to commence. This happy circumstance had the effect of checking the rise in the price of provisions, which, but for that

* On 8th October the Earl of Darlington wrote to Lord Sidmouth, then Home Secretary—"The distress in Yorkshire is unprecedented; there is a total stagnation of the little trade we ever had; wheat is already more than a guinea a bushel, and no old corn in store; the potato crop has failed; the harvest is only beginning, the corn being in many parts still green; and I fear a total defalcation of all grain this season, from the deluge of rain which has fallen for several weeks, and is still falling."—Earl of DARLINGTON to Lord SIDMOUTH, 8th Oct. 1816. *Life of Sidmouth*, iii. 150.

circumstance, would doubtless have reached the level of a famine. The importation of wheat in that year amounted to 225,000 quarters; but in the next, when the effect of the scarcity of 1816 was felt, it rose to 1,620,000 quarters, and in 1818 to 1,593,000.[1] But from this circumstance sprang up a new cause of distress to the farmers, which was felt with the utmost severity in this and the two succeeding years. The importation kept down prices, but it did not restore crops; it deprived the farmer of a remunerating price for what remained of his produce, without making up to him what had been lost. And the nation, on comparing its present condition with what it had been during the last years of the war, began to feel the truth of Adam Smith's remark—"High prices and plenty are prosperity; low prices and want are misery."[2]*

[1] Porter's Prog. of Nat. 137, 3d edit.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1816, 144; Sidmouth's Life, iii. 151, 153.

8. Distress among the manufacturers, and causes to which it was owing.

When such general distress pervaded the whole classes depending upon land—then, as now, by far the largest and most important part of the community†—it was not to be supposed that the manufacturing interests were not also to be labouring under difficulties. The distress among them, accordingly, was universal, and equally among those who toiled for the foreign, as with those who supplied the home market. In some branches of industry which went directly to the supplying of arms and stores of war, the depression, on the cessation of hostilities, was immediate and excessive. England had for several years past been the great armoury of the world, and could not but suffer severely in several branches of its industry on the return of peace. It is to this cause, chiefly, that the rapid reduction in the price of copper and iron was to be ascribed—the

* "If we think we are to go on smoothly without the effectual means of repressing mischief, and large means too, we shall be most grievously mistaken. I look to the winter with fear and trembling. In this island our wheat is good for nothing; barley and oats reasonably good. As a farmer I am ruined here and in Durham. So much for peace and plenty."—Lord Chancellor ELDON to Lord SIDMOUTH, 8th Oct. 1816. *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 151.

† The classes directly or indirectly dependent on land are now, (1852,) in round numbers, 18,000,000; on manufactures and towns, 10,000,000.—SPACKMAN'S *Tables*, 1852.

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former of which had fallen from £180 to £80, the latter from £20 to £8 per ton.[1] But the depression was not confined to those branches of industry which were directly employed on warlike stores—it was universal, and felt as severely in those which were devoted to the supplying of pacific wants, as in those which were immediately connected with hostilities. All were suffering, and apparently with equal severity. Distress was as great among the cotton-spinners of Manchester or Glasgow, the silk-weavers of Spitalfields, or the glove-manufacturers of Nottingham, as among the hardware-men of Birmingham, or the iron-moulders of Merthyr-Tydvil. The home market was soon found to be reduced to a half of its former amount; and the manufacturers, finding their usual vents for their produce failing them from domestic wants, sent them in despair abroad—but with so little success that the entire exports of British produce and manufactures, which in 1815 had risen to £42,875,000, sank in the succeeding year to £35,717,000.[2]

[1] Sidmouth's Life, iii. 153.

[2] Alison's Europe, c. xcvi. App. Sidmouth's Life, iii. 151, 153.

9. This general suffering was not owing to the transition from war to peace.

Depression so severe and widespread could not be accounted for by the mere transition from a state of war to one of peace, to which the partisans of Government at that period, and for long after, constantly ascribed it. Every impartial and thinking person saw that, although that might explain the depression in some particular branches of industry which had been connected with hostilities, it could not account for the universal depression in *all* branches of industry, alike agricultural and manufacturing, for the home trade and the export sale. Still less could it explain the fact that the depression was felt equally universal in every market, and even greatest in those connected with pacific employments, which might have been expected to have taken an extraordinary start on the termination of war expenditure. As little could the reduction be accounted for by the reduction of taxation, and diminution of the expenditure of governments in general, and that of Great Britain in

particular; for that only altered the direction of expenditure, without lessening its amount; if it put less into the hands of Government to spend for the people, it left more in the hands of the people to spend for themselves. The Whigs and Radicals had a very clear solution of the question: the difficulties all arose from excessive taxation, and the measures of a corrupt oligarchy; and the remedy for them was to be found in parliamentary reform, and an unsparing retrenchment in all branches of the public expenditure. A vehement outcry, accordingly, was raised for these objects, which was supported with equal eloquence and ability both in and out of Parliament.* But experience very soon demonstrated the fallacy of all hopes of a relief to the public suffering from these appliances. Retrenchment was, by the voice of the country and the anguish of general suffering, forced upon the Government; the income and malt taxes, amounting to £17,000,000 a-year, were abolished; the public expenditure was reduced from £102,000,000 to £82,000,000; nearly 300,000 men were disbanded in

* "From a struggle which appalled, I believe, the boldest amongst us, we have, by the talents and firmness of our general, and the intrepid and patient courage of our troops, been blessed with glorious victory. By the act of Ministers, we have, from a state of triumph and exultation, from hopes of security justified by success, been left to contemplate the real result of all these things. Let us look around us and see the state of our country; let us go forth among our fields and manufactories, and let us see what are the tokens and indications of peace. Can we trace them among a peasantry without work, and consequently without bread?—among farmers unable to pay their rents, and *a fortiori* unable to contribute to that parochial relief on which the peasantry is rendered dependant?—among landowners unable to collect their rents, and yet obliged to maintain their rank and station as gentlemen in society? Let us listen to the cry of the country—it is poverty, from the proudest castle to the meanest cottage; poverty rings in our ears—it lies in our path whichever way we turn. It is not the congratulations of the noble lord opposite, it is not the song of victory that can drown this lamentable cry; it is not in the power of the noble lord, it is not in the power of this House or of Parliament, to stifle the cry of want, nor to brave the stroke of universal bankruptcy. There is but one means left to satisfy the country, to avert these evils, or to redeem the pledged faith of Parliament—Retrenchment, rigorous and severe retrenchment, in every branch and in every article of the public expenditure."—Lord NUGENT'S Speech on Lord G. CAVENDISH'S motion for reduction of expenditure, April 25, 1816, *Parl. Deb.* xxxiii. 1222.

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the army and navy;—and still the distress went on constantly increasing, and was greater than ever in the close of the very year 1816, in the course of which these immense reductions had been carried into effect. It is evident, therefore, that some more general and lasting cause was in operation than those to which the adherents of either party at that period ascribed it; and, without denying altogether the influence of some of these subordinate ones, it may now safely be affirmed that the main cause was the following:—

10. Diminished supply of the precious metals from South America.

The annual supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe, derived from the South American mines, had been, for some years prior to 1808, about ten millions sterling; and of this, about a half was coined in South America, and the remainder for the most part found its way to Europe in the form of bullion.[1] The rapid rise in the price of commodities all over Europe, during the latter years of the war, was in part owing to the increased supply of the precious metals, obtained in consequence of the great rise in their value from the necessities of the belligerent powers. Gold, in consequence of this, had in 1813 and 1814 risen to £5, 8s. an ounce, from £4, which it had been in the beginning of the century. But the long and desolating wars in which the whole Spanish provinces of South America had been involved since 1809, in consequence of their calamitous revolution, soon put an end to this auspicious state of things. The capitalists who worked the mines were ruined during these disastrous convulsions; the mines themselves ceased to be worked, the machinery in them went to destruction, and they were in many places filled with water. So complete did the ruin become, that the population of the city of Potosi, in Peru, from whence the celebrated silver mines of the same name were worked, which in 1805 contained 150,000 inhabitants, had sunk in 1825 to 8000.[2] The only supplies of the precious metals which were obtained during these disastrous years, were from the

[1] Humboldt's Nouv. Esp. iii. 398.

[2] Miller's Mem. ii. 319; Alison's Europe, c. lxvii. § 85.

melting down of their gold and silver plate by the wealthy proprietors of former days, who had been reduced to ruin, and from turning over the heaps of rubbish which had been turned out of the mines in the days of their prosperity. But so diminutive and precarious were the supplies thus obtained that they rapidly declined from year to year; and in the year 1816, the whole amount raised and coined in South America was only £2,500,000, just *a quarter* of what the amount raised in all parts of the globe had been ten years before, and only a third of what had been raised and coined in South America in 1805.[1] *

[1] Alison's Europe, c. lxvii. §§ 84, 87; Nouv. Esp. Humboldt's iii. 396, 407.

This great diminution in the supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe was necessarily attended by a general fall of prices over the whole world, and was one great cause of the poverty and suffering which everywhere prevailed. But its effect was most seriously aggravated, in the particular case of Great Britain, by the simultaneous and still more serious contraction in its paper circulation, and the credit afforded to its merchants, by the declared intentions of Government in regard to the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. By the existing law under which that establishment acted, it was provided that the restriction on cash payments should continue "for six months after the conclusion of a general peace, and *no longer*."[2] As the time had now arrived when it was necessary to come to some resolution on the subject, because the six months were on the point of expiring, Ministers proposed that the restriction should be continued till the 5th July

11. Simultaneous and rapid contraction of the paper currency of Great Britain.

[2] 44 Geo. III. c. 148.

* Gold and silver coin annually raised and coined in South America:—

1803,	£5,032,227	1810,	£5,807,972
1804,	5,058,211	1811,	4,716,584
1805,	7,104,436	1812,	3,619,352
1806,	6,502,142	1813,	3,784,700
1807,	5,356,152	1814,	3,687,249
1808,	6,169,038	1815,	3,104,565
1809,	6,997,853	1816,	2,528,008

—Alison's *Europe*, Appendix, chap. xcvi.

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1818, and the Opposition strenuously contended for its being continued only to 5th July 1817. The former resolution was adopted; but the discussion of the subject, and the difficulty Government had in carrying the prolonged period, spread such a panic among bankers, that the commercial paper under discount at the Bank of England, which in 1810 had been, on an average, £20,070,000, sank in 1816 to £11,416,400, and in 1817 to £3,960,600; and the country bankers' notes in circulation, which in 1814 had amounted to £22,700,000, had fallen in 1816 to £15,096,000. Nothing in so prodigious a contraction at once of the precious metals for the use of the globe, and of the paper accommodation and circulation of Great Britain in particular, saved the country from absolute ruin, but the continuation of the restriction on cash payments by the Bank of England, which enabled it to continue its circulation of £27,000,000 of notes undiminished, and the rapid return of the precious metals from the Continent, which, in defiance of all the predictions of the Bullion Committee, flowed back in such quantities to the centre of commerce, on the termination of the demand for them on the Continent for the operations of war, that the Earl of Liverpool said, in his place in Parliament, that it had exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The price of gold in the English market fell from £5, 8s., which it had been in 1814, to £3, 19s. in 1816.[1] *

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 573, 579; Alison's Europe, c. xcvi. App.

The general distress and desponding feelings of the country, arising from the fearful contrast between the sad realities that had ensued on the return of peace and the sanguine expectations of felicity which had so gene-

* "Many of the speculations published in the Report of the Bullion Committee had been completely falsified by events. The restoration of peace in 1814, and last year, had had the effect, by stopping the foreign expenditure, of bringing back the specie even more rapidly than ever he had contemplated. But after so long a foreign expenditure as that since 1808, it was not a favourable exchange of a few months which would bring things back to their former level. This would require a considerable time."—Earl of LIVERPOOL'S Speech, May 17, 1816, *Parl. Deb.* xxxiv. 574.

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rally been formed, naturally led, as might have been expected, to important discussions in Parliament, and material modifications on our military and naval establishment, and the whole system of British finance. These discussions and measures are the more important, that they form the basis, as it were, of the whole subsequent monetary and financial policy of the empire, and all the incalculable consequences which have flowed from it. The year 1816, the first year of peace, marks the transition from the old to the new system in these respects, and therefore its legislative measures are in an especial manner worthy of attention. Four subjects, each of paramount importance, were brought under discussion—the continuance of the Bank Restriction Act, the continuance of the Property Tax, Agricultural Distress, and the Army and Navy Establishment. The priority, in point of time, belongs to the debate on the property tax; but it is difficult to fix upon any particular occasion on which the discussion on it was brought to a point, as it was renewed almost every night, during two months, on the presentation of successive petitions from all parts of the country on the subject. But, without asserting that they were contained in any one debate, the principal arguments on the subject will be found to be contained in the following summary:—

12. Important discussions on the Property Tax and other topics.

On the one hand, it was contended against the continuance of the tax, by Mr Ponsonby, Mr Baring, and Mr Brougham: "The petitions against this tax are innumerable, and all couched in the strongest possible language. They state facts which are undeniable, they advance arguments which are unanswerable. They do not come from any one class or section in the community; they come from *all* sections and all classes, and complain of an oppression, from the operation of this tax, which is universal and intolerable. The farmers complain that they are assessed, on an arbitrary rule, on property which does not exist. To pay it, they are consuming their

13. Argument against the Property Tax by the Opposition.

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capital: they can neither stock their farms, nor maintain their families, but by encroaching on their substance. How could it be otherwise, when the price of wheat had fallen from 110s. a quarter to 85s. in the last two years, and every other species of agricultural produce in the same proportion? The merchants and bankers are equally loud and emphatic in their denunciation of this iniquitous tax; the petition from the merchants and bankers of the city of London is perhaps the most numerously signed and important that ever was presented to Parliament from that or any other city. The impost is peculiarly vexatious and alarming to that class, because it implies an inquisition into their private affairs, at all times hazardous, but doubly so in a period of general gloom and contracted credit such as the present. The landed proprietors, over the whole length and breadth of the land, are equally unanimous on the subject; and it is no wonder it is so—for, from their incomes being universally known, and the tax paid, in the first instance, by their tenants, escape or evasion are alike impossible; while, from the weight of their debts, and the rapid decline of their rents, the tax, if longer continued, will in all cases essentially diminish, in some entirely sweep away, the residue which may remain to maintain their families, pay the jointures and interest of mortgages with which they are burdened, and enable them to maintain their position in society.

14. It was specifically a war tax.

"It is in vain to say that Parliament was bound, in keeping faith with the public creditor, to continue this tax longer. It never was impledged in security of loans; it was the indirect taxes alone which were so impledged. The property tax had been, from first to last, a *war* tax, and a war tax alone; it was so expressly denominated, both by Mr Pitt, on his first introduction of it in 1799, and by Lord Henry Petty, on its being raised to ten per cent in 1806; and the statute imposing it bears evidence of the same understanding, for it is laid on till the 6th April next, after the conclusion of 'a general peace, *and no*

longer.'* If anything could add to the force of these last words, it would be the cunning device adopted of *omitting* them, in the hurried renewal of the statute, on the return of Napoleon from Elba last year. It is true that the faith of Parliament stands pledged to the country on this subject, but it stands pledged to the removal of the tax, not its continuance. The country is now agitated from one end to the other; and it is universally felt than any renewal of the tax, even at the reduced rate of five per cent, and for a single year, is a direct breach of the public faith with the nation, which is little deserved, after the patience with which the tax was borne during the years when it really was unavoidable.

15. Not necessary as a general measure of finance.

"Equally vain is it to assert that the continuance of the property tax is necessary as a general measure of finance, and to uphold the credit of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says, if it is not continued, there will this year be a deficit of ten millions, which will render it necessary for him to go into the money market and borrow to that amount, which would depress the Funds, and raise the interest of money. But supposing this to be the case; supposing that it is impossible, by economy, and reducing our establishments, to avoid a considerable loan, what is the inconvenience thence arising to that which may be anticipated from the continuance, even for a single year, of this most odious and grinding tax? Nothing whatever. Ministers have told us of the prosperous state of the finances of the country, and adverted to the fact, which is undoubtedly very remarkable, that the Sinking Fund, though trenched upon since 1813, is still twelve millions. What would it take from the efficiency of this fund, to take the interest of the whole loan which may be required, which at the very utmost will not exceed

* "Be it enacted, that this Act shall commence and take effect from the 5th April 1806, and that the said Act, and the duties thereof, shall continue in force during the present war, and until the 6th April next, after the definitive signature of a treaty of peace, *and no longer.*"—§ 247, *Property Tax Debate.*

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£600,000 a-year, from that fund? Is not such a measure better than continuing a burden on the country which it is wholly unable to bear, and which threatens, if longer continued, to drain away the resources of the people, and cripple government most seriously in future years, by preventing the ordinary taxes from continuing productive? What would a loan of nine or ten millions be, which would perhaps be melted in one week into the general transactions of the country? Nothing whatever. And was the House, for so inconsiderable an advantage as avoiding placing the interest of such a loan on the Sinking Fund, to turn a deaf ear to the prayers, and shut their eyes to the distresses of the country, and ruin their character in the opinion of their constituents?" [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 1210, 1226; and xxxiv. 439, 442.

16. Argument on the other side by the Ministry.

On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer: "The principle on which the property tax was originally proposed by Mr Pitt, and subsequently extended by Lord Lansdowne, was not merely to avoid the inconvenience of a large loan. The principle was, that it is important to provide a large supply within the year, in preference to the indefinite extension of permanent taxation by the indefinite accumulation of debt, as had been the case, and thereby to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and for the future relief of the nation in peace. These objects had both been gained; and by the unswerving prosecution of this system, and the patience with which it had been borne by the nation, we had now nine millions less of permanent taxes to pay than we should have had if the opposite system had been continued. The burdens laid on during the war had been, upon the whole, collected with so much wisdom and success, that now the Consolidated Fund had a greater surplus than in the year 1791, or than was even hoped for by the Finance Committee of that year. We had now a surplus of £2,500,000, with a Sinking Fund of £11,000,000—in other words, £13,500,000 annually applicable to the

reduction of debt. Could such a favourable state of things have arisen, had not the vigorous measure of a large property tax been adopted; and now that its fruits were beginning to be reaped, is it to be abandoned?

17. No breach of faith in its continuance.

"To show that there is no breach of faith with the nation in proposing the continuance of the property tax for two years longer, it is only necessary to recollect, that when the property tax was raised to ten per cent by the Whig Administration in 1807, and when a permanent system of war expenditure, estimated at £32,000,000, was adopted, it was contemplated that the loans which would be necessary should be secured by mortgage of *all* the war taxes, including the property tax. It was no doubt said by the noble Marquis, (Lansdowne,) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, that if the war continued only seven years, it would not be necessary to mortgage the property tax; and it was also true, that instead of the war expenditure being on an average £32,000,000, it had been £52,000,000 since that time, and the contest had lasted more than seven years; but that only showed the more clearly, that the mortgage of all the war taxes was contemplated by those who extended the property tax, and that the outcry now raised as to a breach of faith with the public, in proposing its continuance, is entirely without foundation, seeing the very event has occurred which was always looked to as rendering its prolongation necessary.

18. The petitions for its repeal not unanimous.

Nothing but an imperious sense of duty could have induced his Majesty's Ministers to propose the continuance, even for a short period, of a burden in opposition to the general reluctance which it was foreseen would be felt to submit to heavy taxation after the conclusion of the war, more especially when very severe distress was at the same time experienced from extraneous and temporary causes. But Government would be shrinking from its first duty, if it did not persevere in the course they had adopted. The utmost deference was due to the public

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voice on the subject; but, numerous as the petitions against the tax had been, they are not so expressive of general opinion as might at first sight appear. They are in all 400, of which one-third come from the two counties of Devon and Cornwall. Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and all the great commercial towns, are divided on the subject. When this is considered, and the great popularity of any reduction of taxation is kept in view, it is not going too far to assert, that the strength of the demand for the remission of the tax has been much overrated, and that all that can be said is, that the nation is strongly agitated, and much divided on the subject.

19. Necessity for its continuance.

"But supposing the popular demand on the subject to be as strong as is represented on the other side, there are considerations connected with the financial situation of the country which render it the painful but necessary duty of Government to withstand it. In round numbers, the expenses for the present year may be calculated at £30,000,000, exclusive of the permanent expenditure arising from the interest of the debt. There was good reason, however, to hope that this large sum would be reduced next year by a third, or to about £20,000,000. All the retrenchments proposed by the gentlemen opposite, even if carried with unflinching rigour into full effect, would not reduce this sum by more than £2,000,000 annually. This, then, being our necessary expenses, what are our resources to meet them? Much has been said about borrowing on the credit of the Sinking Fund, or even applying a large part of that fund at once to the current expenses of the year. But as that fund does not now much exceed £11,000,000 a-year, after what has been taken from it during the last three years, if it is to be applied in whole or in part to meet the current exigencies of the year, the country will soon be in the situation of having a debt of above £700,000,000, without any fund whatever to look to for its redemption. It is upon that ground that Government feel themselves imperatively

called upon by the duty they owe to the country to resist the abolition of this tax. If it is withdrawn, Government, as a matter of necessity, must go into the market and borrow this year twelve, next year six or seven, millions: what effect will this have upon the price of the Funds, and, through it, on the rate of interest in the country? And if capital is kept locked up, or advances rendered costly by this cause, how are country gentlemen, how are merchants and traders to obtain the accommodation necessary to carry on their undertakings, or overcome the difficulties with which they were surrounded? Would the British people, with the good sense and spirit which animated them, now shrink from the exertion which was necessary for their own preservation?—would they, in fact, be so infatuated as to turn their backs upon themselves?"[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 1217, 1222; xxxiv. 447, 450.

Notwithstanding the manliness of this appeal, which came with so much weight from the Ministers who had brought the contest to a triumphant issue, and the cogent nature of those arguments, such was the weight of the public voice that it proved irresistible. Upon a division, the motion for the entire abolition of the tax was carried by a majority of 37—the numbers being 201 and 238. The division was received with rapturous cheering in the House, which continued for several minutes; and the joyous sound being heard in Palace Yard, the huzzas soon spread through the dense crowd there assembled, and in a few minutes over all London. Never, since the battle of Waterloo, had such general joy been felt through the nation as was on this occasion; nothing like it occurred again till the second capture of Cabul and the conclusion of the Chinese war were announced in a single Delhi gazette. We must not estimate the universal transports felt on this occasion by what would be felt if the modified income-tax of sevenpence in the pound, introduced in 1842 by Sir R. Peel, was now abolished—for his was a light burden in comparison, and it extended to persons enjoying an income of £150 and upwards alone;

20. Abolition of the tax.

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whereas the former was a tax of two shillings in the pound, and extended to all incomes of £50 and upwards. As the heavier tax, when it was taken off, was producing at ten per cent £15,000,000 a-year, the assessable income of Great Britain must have been, at that period, £150,000,000 a-year. And when we take into consideration the innumerable evasions generally practised, especially among the manufacturing and trading classes—where such were so easy, and difficult of detection—it is within bounds to conclude, that the aggregate incomes of persons in Great Britain above £50 must at that period have been at least £200,000,000;—an astonishing fact, when it is recollected that the whole inhabitants of the island did not, at that period, exceed thirteen millions; and that the nation had just concluded a war of twenty years' duration, in the course of which £600,000,000 had been added to the public debt, and the sums annually raised by taxation progressively increased from £20,000,000 to £72,000,000.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 451; Ann. Reg. 1816, 26.

21. Reflections on this subject.

In considering this subject, which has been of such moment in the subsequent financial and social condition of the British empire, it will probably be found, as is generally the case in such questions, that there was some truth, and not a little error, in the opinions advanced on both sides. Lord Castlereagh was unquestionably in the right when he so strenuously contended for preserving inviolate the Sinking Fund, and not, by the remission of taxation, leaving the nation in the situation of having £700,000,000 of debt, without any provision for its redemption. The manly stand which he made against a loud public clamour, on this ground, is one of the most honourable, as, unhappily, it is one of the LAST, recorded in British history. But he seems as clearly to have erred in the ground which he selected for making this stand. He should never have chosen it on the question of upholding a heavy and unpopular *direct* tax. The great and wise principle of English finance, so constantly acted

upon by Mr Pitt, was to provide for the interest of debt and the Sinking Fund for its redemption by *indirect* taxes, and to reserve direct taxes as an extraordinary war resource, to continue only to its termination. The emphatic declaration in the Property Tax Act, that it was to "continue till the 6th April next, after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace, *and no longer*," proves that this was in an especial manner the case with that burden. In striving to uphold it after peace was concluded, Government was not less violating the pledge given to the nation, on its imposition, than departing from the true principles of finance on the subject. If loans for a year or two after the conclusion of the war were necessary to wind up its expenses, they should, without hesitation, have been contracted in preference to continuing an oppressive *direct* war tax. The real error, and it was a most fatal one, was the unnecessary and often uncalled-for remission of indirect taxation in after years, by successive administrations bidding against each other in the race for popularity, which at first crippled and at length extinguished the Sinking Fund; but that mournful topic belongs to a subsequent part of this History.

22. Vital considerations on the question, which were overlooked at this time.

There is another observation on this subject, suggested by the tenor of these debates, which will frequently recur to the mind in the discussion of great and momentous questions in subsequent years. This is, that the most material parts of the argument, and the most vital consequences likely to flow from the measures under discussion, were not alluded to on either side in the course of the debate in Parliament. They were either unseen, or, if seen, were carefully concealed by both parties. Thus the most material points in any discussion upon the property tax, and those upon which public attention has been chiefly fixed when it was brought forward in after times, undoubtedly are—the injustice of taxing income derived from precarious or perishable sources, at the same rate as that derived from land, or fixed and imperishable investment; the extreme

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severity of direct taxation, when it is at all considerable, compared with indirect, when it is most productive; and the injustice of levying a heavy direct tax upon a small class of society—viz., that possessing an income above a certain level—from which all the rest of the people are exempt. Yet these topics are never once alluded to, in the course of the almost daily discussions which took place on the subject, in presenting petitions in this year, during two months! They are the topics, however, upon which most stress should always be laid, when this subject is again brought forward in future times, for they lie at its very foundation. They touch the all-important subject of the ability of the people to bear the burden—a topic far more momentous to them than interesting to their rulers. Yet, in reality, it is a topic which eventually must touch their rulers as much as themselves; for no taxes can long be levied by Government which trench deep upon the resources, and seriously abridge the comforts, of the people. Of these, however, direct taxes are, beyond all question, the most oppressive, and felt as most severe, for they always fall upon a limited class, generally not more than a thirtieth part of the community, in whose hands, however, they arrest the funds which maintain the whole; and, being not mixed up with the price of articles of consumption, their whole weight is made palpable to the people. Indirect taxes are so blended with the cost of articles that their existence is not perceived; and they are spread over so wide a surface, that their burden is not felt. No nation was ever seriously injured by taxes on luxuries consumed, because the very fact of their being consumed proved that they could be afforded, and had been paid for;—but many have been utterly destroyed by direct taxation, because it seizes upon income, or eats in on capital *before* it is expended; and ruins the poor, when they imagine they do not pay the tax, by checking the growth of capital, and draining away the funds which should purchase the produce of their industry.

It was generally supposed at the time that Ministers would have resigned, upon Parliament having negatived a proposal forming so important a part of their financial system; but, instead of doing so, they equally surprised the House of Commons and the country, by voluntarily proposing, two days afterwards, the entire remission of the war duty on malt—a tax producing at that time £2,700,000 a-year. The reason assigned by them for this unlooked-for boon was, that, as the abolition of the income tax would render it indispensable for them to go into the money market to meet the exigencies of the year, it was of little moment whether they borrowed a few millions more or less; and, therefore, that it was deemed advisable to give a material relief to the agricultural interest, which was labouring under a severer depression than any other class. There can be no question that there was much truth in this observation, although there were not wanting shrewd observers, who remarked that the boon would never have been heard of, if Ministers had not received a shake, and that this showed that the best way to inspire Government with philanthropic feelings was to make them afraid. Be this as it may, the remission of the tax was hailed with delight by the leaders of the agricultural interest in Parliament; and being levied on a beverage which the people in great part prepared for themselves, there can be no doubt that it was felt as a relief by the people generally, contrary to what too often obtains with the remission of indirect taxes, which only swells the profits of the dealers in the articles, without lessening their cost to the consumers.[1]

23. Remission of the war Malt Tax. March.

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 458; Ann. Reg. 1816, 26.

As the abolition of the property tax, and the remission of the war duty on malt, occasioned a loss to the Exchequer of fully £17,000,000 a-year, it became necessary for Ministers to revise entirely their estimates for the year, and reduce the expenditure in proportion to the large defalcation in their resources. This was accordingly done, and with a success beyond the most sanguine

24. Reduced estimates formed by Government.

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expectations of the country: £3,000,000 was borrowed from the Bank; and this, with the issue of Exchequer bills to the amount of as much more, supplied the deficiencies of the Exchequer. The reduction of the estimates gave rise to warm debates in both houses of Parliament, which are important as evincing the ideas then afloat in the country, and forming the basis on which the whole pacific expenditure of the nation since that time has been founded. The reduction effected was very great, for the expenditure, irrespective of the debt, was reduced from £62,000,000 to £25,000,000, and the loan for England and Ireland together was only £8,900,000. But the debates are peculiarly valuable, as evincing the temper of the nation on this all-important subject.[1] *

[1] Ann. Reg. 1816, 70.

On the part of the Opposition, it was contended by Mr Ponsonby, Mr Tierney, and Lord Cavendish: "War is

* The following Table, exhibiting the national expenditure for 1815 and 1816, as estimated, will show the great reductions effected in all branches of the public expenditure in the latter year:—

Supply. 1815.	
Army,	£13,876,757
Extraordinaries,	23,983,961
Barracks,	99,000
Navy,	18,644,200
Ordnance,	4,431,643
Miscellaneous,	3,000,000
	£62,135,039
Loans to foreign powers,	11,035,247
Permanent Burdens.	
Interest of debt Funded, and Sinking Fund,	£41,015,527
Do. of Unfunded,	3,014,003
	£117,199,816

Supply. 1816.		
Army,	£9,665,666	
Deduct troops in France,	1,234,596	
		£8,431,070
Extraordinaries,		1,500,000
Commissariat,	480,000	
Deduct in France,	75,000	
		405,000
Barracks,		178,000
Stores,		50,000
Navy,		9,434,440
Ordnance,	1,882,188	
Deduct in France,	186,003	
		1,696,185
Miscellaneous,		2,500,000
Indian debt,		945,491
		£25,140,186
Permanent Burdens.		
Interest of Funded debt and Sinking Fund,		43,410,059
Interest of Exchequer Bills,		2,196,177
Foreign loans,	£1,731,139	
Ireland,	2,581,148	
		4,312,287
		£75,058,709

The expenditure for 1816, however, in reality reached £80,185,828, as

only borne because it is hoped it may lead to peace; and warlike expenditure, because it may pave the way for pacific reductions. But, according to the system now pursued, we are to have the evils and burdens of war without the blessings and reductions of peace. When we consider the enormous amount of our national debt, and the complete triumph of our arms which was purchased by it, nothing can be more evident than that at no former period were large reductions in our peace establishment both more loudly called for, or more safe and practicable, than at the present moment. What is the value of our boasted victories, if, after they have been gained, we are obliged to remain armed at all points, as before the contest in which they were achieved commenced? Some reductions, it is true, have been made, but on a scale by no means proportioned to the necessities of the case; and if

25. Argument for a reduction of expenditure by the Opposition.

various articles of outlay exceeded the estimate.—See *Ann. Reg.* 1816, 70, 71; and 1817, 256, 257.

To meet this expenditure, which even in the last of the two years was immense, the following were the receipts for the two years:—

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1815.		1816.	
Ordinary Revenue, nett.		*Ordinary Revenue, nett.*	
Customs,	£9,070,554	Customs,	£8,169,780
Excise,	20,539,028	Excise,	19,013,630
Stamps,	6,139,585	Stamps,	6,184,288
Land and assessed,	7,604,016	Land and assessed,	7,257,906
Post-office,	1,755,898	Post-office,	1,659,854
Lesser resources,	189,352	Lesser resources,	67,280
Ordinary and hereditary revenue,	£45,197,368	Permanent ordinary,	£42,370,130
		Hereditary revenue,	165,270
Extraordinary.		*Extraordinary.*	
Customs,	£2,280,634	Customs,	£1,007,810
Excise,	6,737,028	Excise,	4,581,637
Property tax,	14,978,248	Property tax last year,	12,039,120
Lottery,	304,651	Lottery,	234,680
Paid by Ireland,	3,981,783	Interest of loans for Ireland,	4,558,558
Irish expenditure,	6,107,986	Ireland's share of expenses,	1,184,009
Loans,	39,421,959	Unclaimed dividends,	333,506
Lesser heads,	117,241	Lesser heads,	134,000
Total,	£119,370,629	Total without loans,	£66,579,420
		Loan, including Ireland,	8,939,802
		Total,	£75,519,222

—"Finance Statement," *Ann. Reg.* 1816, 420; and 1817, 246.

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our financial situation is considered, it will at once appear that, unless the expenditure is reduced on a very different scale from what has hitherto been attempted, the empire will be involved in inextricable difficulties.

26. Continued.

"The total sums required to be provided for the service of the year amount, according to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to £31,683,000, of which the establishments of the country formed upwards of £28,000,000. In addition to this, by the Treaty of Union, two-seventeenths of the joint expenditure of the empire was to be charged to the account of Ireland; and such was now the financial situation of that country, that its finances were not equal even to the payment of the interest of its debt,—so that, instead of its contributing anything at all to the joint expenses of the United Kingdom, Great Britain would have to advance £997,000 to make up its deficiencies. Thus the whole sum we have to provide for the service of the year is about thirty-two millions and a-half. To meet this sum, the surplus in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to his own account, is £12,700,000, leaving a deficiency in the first year of peace of no less than £19,981,000! It would be some consolation if we could flatter ourselves that this immense deficit was owing to winding up the expenses of the war, and that any considerable reduction of it could be hoped for if our present establishment continued in future years. But this was very far from being the case. When the items of the expenditure are looked into, it appears that they are all permanent, arising from the current expenses of the year; and so far from there being any prospect of a reduction in future, it is evident that next year the charges of the nation must be increased £1,000,000, and that for ever, to meet the interest of the sum to be borrowed in this very year, to meet its excess of expenditure above income. If that is our condition in time of peace, and with all the security

derived from the greatest triumphs, can anything be so deplorable as our financial situation ? CHAP. II.

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27. Continued.

" If the establishment maintained in the different parts of the empire at this time be compared with what it was in 1792, the difference is prodigious, and wholly unaccounted for by any increased necessities of our situation. On the contrary, if there is any difference, it should be found in the *diminished* force now required, from the enhanced security which our commanding situation and unparalleled victories have now procured for us. Nevertheless, Government propose just the reverse ; the establishment they have submitted to the House is more than double of what it was in 1792. The two years stand thus :—

	1792. Men.	1816. Men.
Great Britain, . .	15,919	32,000
Old Colonies, . .	16,848	27,000
Ireland, . . .	16,000	28,000
New Colonies, . .	—	25,000
	48,767	112,000

Exclusive of troops in France and India.

" If to these forces be added the troops in France and India, which are maintained by their respective countries, and comprise at least 50,000 men, it follows that we have now above 160,000 men in arms in a period of profound peace, and immediately after the conclusion of a war which is boasted of as having given us unexampled security. All that we have gained, if the statement of Ministers be correct, by a war which has quadrupled our public debt, is, that we have incurred a necessity of tripling our military establishment."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxii. 1194, 1202.

28. Argument on the other side, by Ministers.

On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Liverpool, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Castlereagh : " Much of the embarrassments and difficulties of the country during war have always arisen from our establishment in peace having been brought to so low an ebb that, on the first breaking out of hostilities, we were either absolutely powerless, or, if we attempted anything, were constantly,

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for some years, involved in disaster. This was particularly the case during the first years of the American and the late war—on the last of which occasions Mr Pitt, by whom the reductions were made, expressed bitter regret that he had been instrumental in reducing the establishment, during the previous peace, to so low an ebb that the fairest opportunity of bringing the war to an early and successful termination was lost. It was to the liberty we enjoyed that the industry and exertion which happily distinguished England from many of the Continental powers were to be ascribed; and to these advantages, which a free people only could possess, we owed all our superiority, which would not be in the smallest degree affected by the magnitude or diminution of our peace establishment.

29. Continued.

"It is a very easy matter to compare our peace establishment in 1816 with what it was in 1792, and to ask, how, when we have been successful in the war, an additional and much larger military force is requisite. Is it not well known—has it not passed into a maxim in history—that success only multiplies the demand for increased means of defence, by widening the circle from which hostility may be apprehended? Our empire in the colonies has been more than doubled during the war; and are we to be told that, after having been won with so much difficulty, they are not worth preserving, but must be abandoned, for want of a protective force, to the first enemy who chooses to grasp them? Look around upon the colonies, and say whether there is any one of them for which a supply of soldiers has been voted larger than is absolutely necessary. The fact is notoriously the reverse; they are all so under-garrisoned that the men stationed there will be over-worked, and fall victims to fatigue and the diseases of tropical climates. The new colonies obtained during the war were proposed to be garrisoned by 22,000 men, of whom not more than 15,000 could be reckoned on as effective; whereas the

aggregate of effective soldiers who marched out of them, when they were taken, was upwards of 30,000. In some of the old colonies—as Jamaica and Canada—it was proposed to station a force considerably larger than had been there before the war; but that was because America had become a considerable military and naval power, in consequence of the events of its later years.

30. Continued.

"In regard to the home stations, the number allotted for Great Britain is 25,000, being about 7000 more than the quota of 1792. But is that an excessive addition, when the increase which during the war has taken place in our population and resources is considered? The first has increased a fourth; the last, if measured by our exports, imports, and shipping, have more than doubled. The augmentation of the army at home was by no means in the same proportion. In proportion as our colonial force is enlarged, the troops at home, by whom they are to be fed or relieved, must be increased also. Then if, in addition to all this, the vast additions made to the armies of the Continental powers during the war, and the magnitude of their peace establishments, be taken into consideration, it must become at once apparent that not merely our respectability, but our very existence as an independent nation, is involved in resisting the reduction now proposed. The question at issue is not whether, by reductions in our establishment, we can get quit of the income-tax or loans in its stead, for by no possible reduction can that object be effected. It is, whether we shall compel the Crown to abandon all our colonial possessions, fertile sources of our commercial wealth, and whether we should descend from that elevated station which it had cost us so much labour, blood, and treasure to attain.

31. Concluded.

"It is unfair to charge the whole expense of the army, being £9,800,000 proposed this year, to the account of our present establishments: £2,000,000 of it is absorbed in pensions to those gallant men, now for the most part retired, who have borne us through the perils of the con-

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test; £1,000,000 is applied to the forces embodied at present, which will be disbanded in the course of the year — particularly the regular militia and foreign corps, which are to be entirely reduced. Let it be recollected, too, that since the year 1792 the pay of the soldiers has been doubled—it has been raised from sixpence to a shilling a-day, which added at least a third to the total expense of our military establishment. If these things are taken into consideration, it will be found that the proposed military establishment, so far from being excessive, is in reality extremely moderate, and could not be reduced, in the present circumstances of Europe, the empire, and the world, without serious detriment to our national character, and the most serious danger to our national independence."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 843, 872; and xxxiv. 1204, 1210.

32. Establishments ultimately voted.

Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, and the obvious inexpedience of too rapidly reducing the national establishments, from the pernicious effect which throwing a vast number of idle hands at once upon the labour market would have, such was the strength of the public cry for economy, and such the necessities of Government after the great resource of the property tax was withdrawn, that very great reductions became necessary in the army, against which the chief complaints were directed. The establishment was ultimately fixed at 111,756 men,* deducting the foreign corps disbanded in the course of

* ARMY ESTIMATE FOR 1816.

	Men.		Cost.
Land forces, including corps intended to be reduced,	111,756		£4,702,611
Regiments in France,	34,031		1,234,596
Regiments in India,	28,491		906,604
Foreign corps,	21,401		370,669
Recruiting Staff,	348		20,835
	196,027	—with lesser charges,	£11,123,577
Deduct in France, 34,031		£1,234,596	
„ India, 28,491		906,604	
	62,522		2,141,190
Remains,	133,505		£8,982,387

—*Parl. Deb.*, xxxii. 842.

the year, and the troops in France and in the East India Company's territories. Including them, the number was 196,027. The regular militia, 80,000 strong, and about 50,000 of the regular army, were disbanded in the course of the year. For the navy 33,000 men were voted—a great and immediate reduction from 100,000, who had been in the service in the preceding year. Great part of these copious reductions did not take effect till the succeeding year, and so had little effect in lessening the expenditure of this; but the disbanding of so large a number as 200,000 men from the two services, including the regular militia, however unavoidable, had a most prejudicial effect upon the labour market, and tended much to augment the suffering so generally felt by the working classes, from the diminution of employment, and the distressed condition both of the agricultural and manufacturing population.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxii. 842, 847; Ann. Reg. 1816, 9, 10.

33. Debates on agricultural distress.

Agricultural distress, as might well have been expected, from the difficulties so generally experienced by that important class of the community who were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, holds a very prominent place among the subjects of parliamentary discussion in this year. The debates of course terminated in nothing effective being done for the relief of the landed interest; for the causes of this distress were either altogether beyond the reach of remedy on the part of Government, or they arose from measures connected with the currency, which the legislature was inclined to render more stringent rather than the reverse. But they are not, on that account, the less valuable in a historical point of view, as tending to indicate the commencement of the operation of those causes of a general nature which, ere long, had so important an influence on British prosperity, and came to exercise so decisive an effect on the legislation and destinies of the empire.

On the part of the Opposition, it was contended by Mr Brougham, Mr Tierney, and Mr Western: "It is

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34. Argument of the Opposition on the subject.

superfluous to say anything on the amount and universality of the distress which exists in the country at this time. That, unhappily, is matter of notoriety, and is universally admitted. If any doubt could exist upon the subject, it would be removed by the petition presented this very night from Cambridgeshire, in which it is stated that every single individual in a parish in that county, with one exception, has become bankrupt or a pauper, and that that one, in consequence, has fallen from a state of affluence to ruin, from the rates all falling upon him. The real point for consideration is, to what is this universal and overwhelming distress owing? In 1792, the average price of wheat was 47s. a quarter; now (April 9) it is 57s. — almost twenty per cent higher; yet no complaint of ruin from low prices was heard before the war. On the contrary, such a state of things was with reason hailed as the greatest possible blessing, as the first fruits of peace and plenty. We must seek for other causes, therefore, for the present distress, than in the mere fact of low prices; and those causes seem to be chiefly the following:—

35. Continued.

"The years 1796 and 1799, it is well known, were years of very bad harvests, and they, of course, raised the price of agricultural produce, and gave a temporary stimulus to cultivation. This was increased by the profuse expenditure of the war, which, not confined to income, lavished in single years the accumulated hoards of previous generations. But the great circumstance which tended to raise prices in a lasting way, was the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England. This gave such a stimulus to that establishment, and also to all the country banks, that prices not only rose, but were retained at a high level. The consequence was, that the banks were encouraged to advance money to cultivators from the certainty of their obtaining a remunerating price for their produce, and thence a prodigious impulse was given to agriculture in all its branches. Nor is the effect of the

vast increase of our colonial possessions to be overlooked, which has operated not merely by increasing our exports and imports, but, in a far more important degree, by promoting enterprise in the cultivation of our own soil. This appears from the great amount of riches which was remitted from these colonial possessions to purchase or improve land in Great Britain; and the source from which that wealth has come may be distinctly traced in the names of estates and farms, especially in Scotland, which are in many places taken from that of places—as Berbice, Surinam, or the like—in the East or West Indies. Lastly, among the causes which gave so great an impulse to agriculture during the war, we must assign a very prominent place to Napoleon's Continental blockade, which not only gave our cultivators, during the last seven years of its continuance, an almost entire monopoly of the home market for agricultural produce, but, by throwing the whole foreign commerce of the world into our hands, powerfully promoted the prosperity of our seaport and manufacturing towns, and through them reacted upon that of the most distant parts of the country.

36. Continued.

"In consequence of this combination of circumstances, most of which were of a casual or temporary nature, there has occurred in this country what may without impropriety be called an *over-trading in agriculture*, and consequent redundance of agricultural produce. Enclosure bills to the amount of twelve hundred have been passed during the last ten years, and the number of acres thereby brought into cultivation has been estimated at two millions. Certain it is that, between the newly enclosed land and the improvement of that which was formerly under cultivation, at least the produce of two millions of acres, which may be taken at six millions of quarters of grain, has been added to the national supply. But the population of the island has only increased two millions during the war, and, taking a quarter of grain for the average consumption of each individual, it follows

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that two millions of quarters only have been added to the demand, and six millions to the supply. This sufficiently explains the glut of agricultural produce, and consequent fall of prices, and the distress which now universally prevails amongst the cultivators and landed proprietors.

37. Continued.

"Supposing, as is perhaps the case, that these calculations of political arithmetic are not altogether to be trusted, we may rely on a much safer testimony, the evidences of our own senses, to be convinced of the extraordinary advance which our agriculture has made of late years. The improvements in most parts of the country have been so great, that the most careless observer must have been struck by them. Not only have wastes for miles and miles disappeared, giving place to houses, fences, and crops; not only have even the most inconsiderable commons, the very village greens, and little stripes of sward by the wayside, been subjected to division and exclusive ownership, but the land which formerly grew something has been fatigued with labour and loaded with capital until it yielded much more. The work both of men and cattle has been economised, new skill has been applied, and a more dexterous combination of different kinds of husbandry practised, until, without at all comprehending the waste lands wholly added to the productive territory of the nation, it may be safely said, not, perhaps, that two blades of grass now grow where only one grew before, but certainly that five now grow where only four used to be; and that this kingdom, which foreigners were wont to taunt as a mere manufacturing and trading country, inhabited by a shopkeeping nation, is in reality, for its size, *by far the greatest agricultural state in the world.*

38. Continued.

"It is since 1810 that these causes have in an especial manner come into operation, as appears in the price of wheat, which, on an average, has been above 100s. the quarter since that time—a striking contrast to the woeful depression which has taken place since the peace. What

is very remarkable, this depression is the very reverse of what took place on former pacifications; for on the peace of Paris, in 1763, wheat rose from 36s. to 41s. a quarter, and to 42s. 6d. on an average of five years ending 1767; and on the peace of Versailles, in 1784, it rose 5s. a quarter. In the present contest, however, the battle of Leipsic, which induced the hope of a speedy peace, at once lowered the price from 120s. to 86s., and before November 1813, wheat was at 68s. No man who attends to these figures and dates, can doubt that the fall of prices was connected with the prospect of an approaching termination of the war. Nor is it difficult to see how it is that this effect took place. A sudden diminution of expenditure, to the extent of £50,000,000 annually by the Government of this country alone, could not take place without immediately affecting the market both for manufactured and rude produce; and a derangement in the former is sure, sooner or later, to be followed by distress in the latter. The commercial and manufacturing difficulties of 1811 and 1812, which are yet fresh in all our recollections, contributed powerfully to increase the dangers of our mercantile situation; for after the cramped and almost blockaded situation in which we had been kept for several years, a sudden rush into speculations and adventures took place on the reopening of the European harbours, which was so violent that it seized all classes of the community, and induced unheard-of losses. English goods were soon selling cheaper at Buenos Ayres and in the north of Europe, than either in London or Manchester. All this reacted, and that quickly, too, on agriculture; for the commercial interests of the country can never suffer without its being felt, and that right speedily, by the cultivators of the soil, who mainly live on their expenditure.

39. Continued.

"Excessive taxation is the last, and perhaps the most powerful cause to which the present depressed condition of the agriculturists is to be ascribed. During the last twenty-

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five years, our revenue has increased from £15,000,000 to £66,000,000—our expenditure in one year exceeded £125,000,000; in this year of peace it is to be £72,000,000, and no hopes are held out of its being permanently below £65,000,000. These figures sound immense, and convey an idea of apparently interminable resources; but if we descend into detail, and examine how, in so short a time, so prodigious an increase of revenue has been effected, the illusion will be dispelled, and it will at once appear that it is owing to excessive and grinding taxation. Not only has the direct taxation risen to a most enormous amount—certainly not less, while the income-tax lasted, than 15 per cent on the income of all persons liable to that tax—but the most ordinary and indispensable necessaries of life have come to be taxed with a severity which almost amounts to a prohibition. The duty on salt, which in 1792 was 10d. a bushel, had been raised, previous to 1806, to 15s., its present amount. The tax on leather has been doubled within the last four years. The duty on malt has been raised from 10s. 7d. a quarter to 34s. 8d., of which 16s. is war duty; that on beer from 5s. 7d. (in 1802) to 9s. 7d.; that on spirits from 7d. to 1s. 9d. Sugar is taxed 30s. per cwt., instead of 15s., the rate in 1792.

40. Concluded.

"Add to all this, also, the excessive inequality and injustice of our mode of levying and rating for the poor-rate. The whole burden of maintaining the poor is laid upon the land; and this reduces the price of labour below its natural level, at the sole expense of the cultivator. The money raised for the relief of the poor is, in direct opposition to the intention of the 43d Elizabeth, from a defect in the Act, laid entirely upon the land. Manufacturers and merchants are rated only as owners of large houses. In this way it often happens that a man who has an income of £10,000 a-year from trade, is rated no higher than one who derives £500 a-year from land. The gross injustice of this is rendered more glaring from

the fact—the manufacturer creates the poor, and leaves the farmer to maintain them. The farmer employs a few hands only, the manufacturer a whole colony; the former causes no material augmentation in the number of paupers, the latter multiplies them wholesale; the first creates the poor, leaving it to the last to maintain them. In addition to this injustice, which is glaring enough, the custom has spread widely, and become almost universal, of 'making up,' as it is called, wages to a certain level out of the poor-rates; a system which has just the effect of compelling the land to bear, not only its own burdens, but part of the wages of all employed by the rest of the community. The magnitude of this burden may be estimated from the fact, that the total sum levied for the use of the poor, which before the American war was under £2,000,000, now exceeds £8,000,000. When, in addition to this huge burden, it is considered how large a proportion of the taxation of £66,000,000 annually is paid by the land, the price of the produce of which has sunk within eighteen months to half its former amount, it will cease to be surprising that the agricultural interest should be suffering, and evident that no substantial relief can be expected, as long as these burdens continue to oppress it."[1] *

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 1086, 1110; Brougham's Speeches, i. 504, 545.

41. Argument on the other side by the Ministry.

On the other hand, it was maintained by Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr Vansittart: "It is so far consolatory to find that the Bank Restriction Act of 1797, which has been so often held out as the cause of all our calamities, is now admitted, not only to have had no such effect, but to have produced, in some part at least, great prosperity. In fact, it has been the mainspring of our strength; and no reasonable man can now deny that, had it not been for that measure, this country must long since have sunk in the conflict, and we have become a province of France. It is now seen, and

* The above is a mere skeleton of the able and instructive speech of Mr, now Lord Brougham, on this important subject.

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admitted on the other side, by whom the system had so long and vehemently been condemned, that it was not only by this wise measure of Mr Pitt's that the country has been saved, but that under this artificial circulating medium the prosperity of the country, even during war, had increased to an unparalleled degree.

42. Continued.

"The existing distress is to be ascribed entirely to the simple fact, that during the last two years, and particularly during the last year, the great and necessary articles of human consumption have been depreciated at least a half. Every one knows what effect so great a change must produce on any interest in the community. What, then, must it be upon the farming property of the empire —that great interest which creates, notwithstanding all the increase of our manufactures, at least nine-tenths of the entire wealth of the empire? Then how has this great depreciation been brought about? It began, as has been correctly stated, in 1813; and the cause to which it was then owing was very obvious. It was the prospect of the opening of the Baltic harbours, and the letting in of the great harvests of Poland on our markets, coupled with the fine season of that year, which produced the fall. The farmers of this country, who, from the effects of the war, had long enjoyed a monopoly in the home market, were suddenly exposed to the competition of great grain-growing countries, where corn could be raised at a third of the cost at which alone it can here be reared. It was to mitigate this danger—one of the most appalling which could befall any nation—that the corn-law of 1814 was passed, without which the depression, great as it has been, would have been far greater.* It is consolatory to find that that measure, which, at the time it was introduced, was the subject of such unmeasured condemnation by the gentlemen opposite, is now admitted to have not only been a necessary measure in our own defence, but the only effectual anti-

* See *History of Europe*, chap. xcii. § § 22, 29.

dote to the still greater difficulties in which we are now involved. CHAP. II.

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"Corn, which in 1812 was selling at 120s. or 130s. the quarter, has now fallen to 56s. Nothing more was requisite to explain the agricultural distress which everywhere prevailed. It induced that most fearful of all contests which can agitate a community, the contest of *class with class* in the struggle to shake the burden off upon each other. But there is no reason to believe that this alarming contest will continue long. Shut out as this country is, in a great measure, from foreign supply, there is no reasonable room for doubt that the price of wheat will gradually rise to an average of 80s., and, with it, the profits of agricultural industry again reach a remunerative level. Great pressure is unhappily now felt, and some land has probably been brought into tillage which had better have been left in pasturage. There was no reason to suppose that the paper circulation was excessive, or would produce any very dangerous convulsion; still less that the great mass of agriculture was in a tottering state. It is secured against the only enemy who can beat it down—foreign; it is also secure from domestic competition, arising from other modes of employing capital; and this being so, it must in the end attain remunerative prices. 43. Continued.

"Coincident with the fall in the price of corn has been a great reduction in the amount of the circulating medium, and with it unhappily has departed the confidence which had existed before. Beyond all question, this is the principal cause of the distress which now generally prevails. But this diminution of the circulating medium is not founded on causes of a permanent nature. The return of peace must eventually lead to the return of old maxims—to the return of those common principles on which the circulation of every country ought to be regulated. All must see that the time is fast approaching when the country will again possess a large circulating 44. Concluded.

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medium, and, with it, the means of carrying on industrial operations of all sorts. The Bank Restriction Act will expire in two years; and before that time comes, the return of the precious metals to the country will have rendered it a safe measure to resume cash payments. But, above all, let it never, under any circumstances, be proposed to trench upon the Sinking Fund, the sheet-anchor of the country, and any serious diminution of which will render its financial affairs altogether desperate."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 1119, 1127.

45. Measures of Government in regard to the restriction of cash payments and a loan from the Bank.

No legislative measure did, or could, result from this debate, how interesting or important soever, for it related to a subject altogether beyond the reach of human remedy. But it was otherwise with another subject closely connected with the former, on which the measures of Government had a great and decisive effect on the future condition and ultimate destinies of the country. The proposal of Government on this point was, that the Bank should lend the Treasury £6,000,000, and, in return, receive a prolongation of the suspension of cash payments for two years subsequent to 4th July 1816. In this way, it was thought, the double object would be gained, of providing a supply adequate for the necessities of the state, the resources of which had been so much impaired by the repeal of the property-tax, and giving time for the Bank to make the necessary arrangements for the resumption of cash payments. This proposal gave rise to animated and important debates in both Houses of Parliament, which are of the highest importance, as indicating the views entertained at that period on this all-important subject, on which subsequent experience has thrown such a flood of light.[2]

[2] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 719.

46. Argument of the Opposition against the continuance of the Bank Restriction Act.

On the part of the Opposition it was contended by Mr Horner, Mr Ponsonby, and Mr Tierney: "If anything is to be regarded as fixed in the legislation, or to which the Government of the country is pledged, it is that the restriction on cash payments is to continue till the conclusion of a general peace, and no longer. The pro-

posal now made to continue this restriction for two years longer has already had this pernicious effect, that it has thrown a doubt upon the sincerity of all the former professions of Ministers on this subject. The Bank directors had declared, time out of mind, that they were most anxious to resume the system of cash payments; but it now appears that they eagerly grasp at the first opportunity of postponing that happy consummation. They have no objection to continue the system of over-issue, from which they have so long derived such exorbitant profits. The conduct of the Bank directors evinces such an example of rapacity on the part of a corporate body, and of acquiescence on the part of Government, as stood unrivalled in the financial history of any country of Europe. It is evident that Government have no settled ideas at all upon the subject, but that they have a confused notion that the longer the present system continues, the better; and that, by mixing up present measures of finance with its prolongation, it may be continued for an indefinite period.

47. Continued.

"Even when first introduced, and when the fatal principle of making the restriction last as long as the war continued was adopted, it was universally understood, and most solemnly declared, that it was to cease within six months after the conclusion of a general peace. Last year, when the prospect of a durable peace was not nearly so favourable as at present, the prolongation was only made to the 5th July in the present year. Now, however, it was to be prolonged for two years longer, for no reason that can possibly be assigned, but that it has become mixed up with a loan from the Bank, and is thought to be connected with the general agricultural distress. But if the Bank restriction is to be continued to uphold the profits of the farmers, why is it to be limited to two years? Why not render it perpetual? If the prospect of resuming cash payments is the cause of the agricultural distress, will it not recur, perhaps, with additional force

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whenever cash payments are resumed? If this view be well founded, we are only postponing the dreaded evil, not averting it.

48. Continued.

"Are there no evils arising from the system now going on of indefinitely postponing the resumption of cash payments? During the war we borrowed money when it was of small value, and we are now obliged to pay it off when it is of high value; and this evil is every day increasing with the postponement of cash payments. This is by far the greatest danger which now threatens the country; for the debt was for the most part contracted in one currency, and the taxes, which come in from year to year, are paid in another. A greater and more sudden contraction of the currency has never taken place in any country than in this since the peace, with the exception, perhaps, of France, after the failure of the Mississippi scheme. This sudden contraction has been the cause of all our distresses; it is, and will long continue to be, the cause of all our difficulties. It arose from the previous fall in the price of agricultural produce. This had occasioned a destruction of the country bank paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. The Bank of England had also reduced its issues. The average amount of its currency during the last year had not exceeded £25,000,000, while, two years ago, it had been £29,000,000, and at one time was as high as £31,000,000. But we must consider the vast reduction of country bank paper as the main cause of the vast fall of prices which had ensued.

49. Continued.

"A fluctuating currency is the greatest curse which can by possibility befall an opulent and commercial community. At all times, and to all classes, it is pregnant with disaster; at one time unduly elevating the creditor at the expense of the debtor; at another, as unjustly benefiting the debtor at the expense of the creditor. This is a state of things so fraught with ruin, first to one class and then to another, that it never can too much occupy the attention

of a wise and paternal Government. As long as we have no standard, no fixed value of money, but it is allowed to rise and fall like quicksilver in the barometer, no man could conduct his property with any security, or depend upon any certain profit. If prices were fixed and steady, it is immaterial what is to be assumed as the standard. Last year, though it was for the most part one of peace, gold was never below £4, 8s. the ounce; this year, as so great a contraction of the country bankers' notes has taken place, it has fallen to nearly the Mint price of £3, 17s. 10d. the ounce. This, however, all took place in consequence of the impending resumption of cash payments, which, by the existing law, was to begin on July 5, 1816. If, however, a further suspension of cash payments takes place, the banks will begin issuing in all directions as before; prices will again rise, and we shall, a second time, enter upon that fatal mutation of prices from the effects of which we are just escaping. This is openly announced in certain publications. It is said, if the restriction on cash payments is continued, and the issue expands again, prices may be run up to 100s. a quarter of wheat. Are the gentlemen opposite prepared to support this measure on such grounds? If not, now is the time to stop short, and avoid entering on a cycle flattering in the outset, but fraught with ultimate ruin." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 139, 147.

50. Answer of the Ministry.

On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Liverpool, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer: "The Bullion Committee themselves were of opinion that cash payments should not be resumed for two years after the return of peace, so strongly were even they impressed with the dangers to property and existing engagements which would result from the sudden contraction of paper credit. The difference between the two parties is not so great as would at first sight appear; it is a difference in point of time only, not of principle. There is no man on this side of the House who contends for the eternity of the restriction; none on the other who pleads for

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its instant termination. Is not two years a fair compromise between them? Preparations on the part of the Bank were indispensable before facing so great a change; one of the most necessary would be the permitting the Bank to issue £2 and £1 notes after the restriction ceased, as they had so long formed the staple of the circulation of the country. No reason had been assigned why two years was an unadvisable period; and although it did seem rather long, yet it was better to delay than precipitate important changes.

51. Continued.

"It is a mistake to say prices have been forced up by the copious issue of the currency; on the contrary, the increased issue was the effect of the previous high prices. The rise of prices preceded the increase of the currency; and it has now been proved, that the fall has not proceeded from its contraction, for it is admitted on the other side that it preceded that contraction. It is no doubt true that, when the prices of all articles of consumption began from the great importation to fall, the country banks, seized with panic, drew in their advances, and thereby augmented the general distress; but what did this prove? Nothing, but that paper currency could not be extended beyond what the circulation required. The variations in the price of gold showed they were unconnected with the price of grain. In the beginning of 1813, wheat was at 120s. 7d., in the end of the same year it was 82s. 4d.; while the price of gold in the beginning of that year was £5, 6s. 6d. an ounce, and in the end £5, 10s. This showed distinctly that the price of gold arose from the demand for itself, arising from causes abroad, and was wholly irrespective of the amount of paper issued at home. To the eternal credit of this country, it will be recorded in history, that the Bank restriction, though perhaps originally forced upon the country by necessity, and having forced up the price of gold, had proved the salvation of Europe, by enabling us to carry on a system which could not otherwise have been supported.

"The opinions of those who would uphold prices by a continued and lavish issue of paper, are as much condemned on this side of the House as the other. Nothing is farther from the intentions of Government than to make the restrictions on cash payments permanent. It is merely a question of time when they are to cease. The Bullion Committee had recommended two years from the conclusion of peace—all he asked for was two years and seven months. It was not till December last that the ratifications of the definitive treaty were interchanged. Several of the most eminent members of the Bullion Committee had concurred in this opinion. The restoration of the old state of the currency must obviously be done gradually, and with ample time for preparation; for it was to be recollected the Bank of England would be called upon to furnish cash for demands, not only on the Bank of England, but those of Ireland and Scotland." Upon a division, Mr Horner's motion, which was for a select committee to inquire into the resumption of cash payments, was negatived by a majority of 146 to 73.[1]

52. Concluded.

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 139, 166.

These debates on agricultural distress and the currency are almost as memorable for what was left unsaid, as what was said in the course of their discussion. Both parties were to a certain degree right, and to a certain degree wrong, in the opinions they advanced. Lord Liverpool was unquestionably right when he affirmed that the nation, and through it Europe, had been saved by the suspension of cash payments during the war; for but for it the armaments never could have been produced which brought it to a successful issue. He was equally right in saying that the rise in the price of gold, which took place in its latter years, was owing to the increased demand for that article of commerce to meet the exigencies of war on the Continent, where hostilities on a great scale were going on. On the other hand, Mr Horner, who had thought and written more profoundly on the subject of the currency than any other person

53. Reflections on this subject.

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then in existence,* was equally right when he observed, that the extensive issue of paper during the war was the cause of the rapid and extraordinary enhancement of prices which then took place in every article, whether of rude or manufactured produce, while it lasted; that the still more rapid and disastrous fall of prices which had taken place since the peace, was the result of the great contraction of the currency, especially of country bankers, which had ensued from the prospect of immediately resuming cash payments in terms of the existing law on the termination of hostilities; and that by far the greatest evil which impended over the country was the necessity of paying off in a contracted, and therefore dear, currency during peace, the debts, public and private, which had been contracted during the lavish issue of a plentiful, and therefore cheap, currency during the war.

54. Extraordinary insensibility to right conclusions which then prevailed.

The extraordinary thing is, that when so many of the true and undeniable views on the subject were entertained by the ablest and best-informed men in the country, the obvious conclusions which flowed from them were, by common consent, rejected on both sides. Mr Horner saw clearly that we had been so prosperous, and done such mighty things during the war, because we had possessed a currency adequate to our necessities, and had languished and suffered since the peace, because it had been suddenly and violently contracted from the prospect of immediately resuming cash payments. He saw also that interminable disasters impended over the country in the attempt to pay off war debts, public or private, in a peace currency. But neither he nor his opponents on the Treasury Bench perceived, what is now evident to every reasonable person who, apart from interested motives, reflects on the subject, that all those difficulties and dangers might have been averted, without either risk or

* Several of that most able and lamented gentleman's papers on the subject in the *Edinburgh Review*, as well as his speeches on it in Parliament, are models of clear and forcible reasoning.

detriment, by the simple expedient of taking the paper currency, like the metallic, at once into the hands of Government, and issuing, not an unlimited amount of notes, like the French assignats, not convertible into the precious metals, but such a *limited* amount as might be adequate to the permanent and average wants of the community. He saw clearly that oscillations in the value of money, and consequently in the price of every article of commerce, were among the most grievous evils which can afflict society, and rendered property and undertakings of every kind to the last degree insecure; and he thought that he would guard effectually against them, by fixing the entire currency on a gold basis,—forgetting, what he himself at the same time saw, that gold itself is an article of commerce, and, like every other such article, is subject to perpetual variations of price; and that, from its being so portable and valuable, and everywhere in request, it is subject to more sudden and violent changes of value than any other article in existence.

55. General errors on the subject which then prevailed.

He saw clearly that the great contraction of the currency was owing to the prospect of the resumption of cash payments; but he could see no remedy for the evils thence arising, but in the immediate adoption of such payments. He saw the impossibility of paying off war debts in a peace currency; but it never occurred to him that the whole difficulty might be avoided by extending the war currency, under adequate safeguards against abuse, into peace. He was as much alive as any man to the perils of a sudden contraction of the currency; but it never occurred to him how fearfully these dangers must be aggravated by the contraction of paper going on at the very time when a still greater contraction of the annual produce of the treasure mines for the use of the globe was going on, from the disasters consequent on the South American revolution. The truth is, that, as generally occurs in human affairs, men's attention was fixed exclusively on the *last* evils which had been

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experienced; and as these had been the ruinous rise of prices, and destruction of realised property which had resulted from the frightful abuse of the system of assignats in France, the eyes of a whole generation were shut to the still more serious and lasting evils resulting from the undue *contraction* of the currency, and the fixing it entirely on a metallic basis, of which Great Britain was ere long to furnish so memorable an example.

56. Consolidation of the English and Irish Exchequers. May 20, 1816.

A measure of great importance to both countries passed both Houses in this session of Parliament, for the consolidation of the English and Irish Exchequers. It appeared from the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the unredeemed debt of Ireland was £105,000,000; the Sinking Fund, £2,087,000; and the whole charge of the debt, interest, annuities, and Sinking Fund, £5,900,000. On the other hand, the entire permanent revenue was only £2,681,000 a-year, having risen to that amount from £847,000 in 1797. The entire gross revenue of the island was £7,000,000; but the clear produce, after deducting the expense of collection, was £5,752,000; and as it was stipulated in the union that two-seventeenths of the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed by Ireland, the result was that the clear revenue of Ireland was unable to defray the interest of its own debt, without contributing anything at all to the joint expenses of the United Kingdom; which for several years past had been entirely provided for by Great Britain. In these circumstances, a consolidation of the two Exchequers had become a matter of absolute necessity, and it was accordingly unanimously agreed to.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 588, 615.

57. Reflections on this subject.

This was undoubtedly a very great improvement; for, as matters stood before, the confusion arising from the separate charges for Ireland had been such as to occasion very great difficulty in arriving at a clear idea of the revenue and financial condition of the United Kingdom.

Unhappily, however, the state of Ireland has ever since been such that it has been found impracticable to carry into execution the declared intentions of Government, in bringing forward the consolidation, of subjecting both countries to a similar measure of taxation. Ireland has from first to last been most generously treated by England in the article of assessment. It never paid the income-tax or assessed taxes, nor, till within these few years, any poor-rates. With the exception of a trifling hearth tax, no man in Ireland has ever paid any direct tax to Government. Yet such has ever been the improvidence and want of industry of its inhabitants, that although possessing triple the population, and more than triple the arable acres of Scotland, Ireland has never paid its own expenses; while Scotland has yielded, for half a century, above five millions a-year of clear surplus to the Imperial Treasury; and in the great famine of 1846, while Ireland received £8,000,000 from the British Exchequer, Scotland, great part of which had suffered just as much, got nothing.

58. Motion respecting the Holy Alliance by Mr Brougham.

In a very early period of the session, Mr Brougham moved for a copy of the treaty concluded at Paris on the 26th September 1815, entitled the "Holy Alliance," of which an account will hereafter be given. This treaty he stigmatised as nothing but a convention for the enslaving of mankind, under the mask of piety and religion. Lord Castlereagh, without denying the existence of such a treaty which he stated had been communicated to the Prince-Regent, and of the principles of which he entirely approved, added that it had not received his royal highness's signature, "as the forms of the British Constitution prevented him from acceding to it." This being the case, the rules of Parliament forbade the production of any treaty to which this country was not a party. The House, upon a division, supported the latter view, the numbers being 104 to 30. There can be no question of the wisdom of this determination on the part of the

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British Government; for however sincere and philanthropic were the feelings which undoubtedly prompted the Emperor Alexander to bring about that celebrated alliance, they were such as could be acted on only by absolute governments, omnipotent for good or for evil, and never could be rendered palatable to a popular government such as Great Britain, divided by the passions, political and religious, of a whole people, and ruled by a legislature chiefly intent upon the present necessities and practical wants of its subjects.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxii. 350, 363.

59. Bill for the detention of Napoleon.

A warm debate also ensued on another topic of foreign policy, a bill for the detention of Napoleon in St Helena. This bill was strongly opposed by Lord Holland and Lord Lauderdale, who stigmatised the detention as illegal, unjust, and ungenerous; while it was defended by Earl Bathurst and Lord Castlereagh as a measure for the general security of the world, agreed to by the whole allied powers, and rendered unavoidable by his breach of all his engagements, and open declaration of war against the Allies, by returning from Elba and dethroning Louis XVIII. The debates on this subject, which terminated in the bill being passed in both Houses without a division, are of little historical value; for if the detaining Napoleon in captivity was illegal, it could not be validated by any British Act of Parliament—if legal, it required no such authority for its support. But it must always be a matter of regret to every generous mind in Britain that the conduct of so great a man, in breaking his engagements, had been such as to render his detention a matter of absolute necessity; and of gratification to every British subject, that necessary as that detention was, it excited so strong a feeling of commiseration and regret in the breast of a large portion of the English people.[2]

[2] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 1014, 1019.

Another topic was soon brought forward, of still more general interest, and which passed both Houses of Parliament without a dissentient voice, as it excited a universal

feeling of joy throughout the country. On the 14th March, Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, respectively presented a message from the Prince-Regent, to the effect that he had consented to a marriage of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte Augusta, to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg. The announcement of this auspicious union was received with the utmost satisfaction by both Houses of Parliament, and universal joy by the country; and on the next day the House of Commons fixed the provision of her royal highness at £60,000 a-year, of which £10,000 was to be for her own privy purse, and £50,000 for the support of their establishment. The like sum was settled as a provision for the Prince of Cobourg, in the event of his surviving his august spouse. These provisions were independent of £60,000 for the outfit of the royal pair, and were all agreed to without a dissenting voice. The marriage, from which so much was hoped, took place on the 2d May following, and ere long the situation of her royal highness gave hopes of an heir to the monarchy. The Prince and Princess fixed their residence at Claremont, near London, now an object of melancholy interest to every British heart, where their simple, unostentatious life, their fervent and mutual attachment, their kindness and affability of manner, won the affections of all who approached them, as the noble example of domestic virtue and purity which they exhibited in their conduct commanded the respect of the whole nation.[1]

60. Marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. March 14.

March 15.

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiii. 378, 382; Ann. Reg. 1816, 96.

The heart of the nation still beat violently at the recollection of the glorious events of the war; and the chill of indifference and economy had not yet paralysed the expression of it by public grants. At an early period of the session a monument at the public expense was unanimously voted for the battle of Waterloo, to which, soon after, one was also agreed to for the battle of Trafalgar. These graceful tributes of a nation's gratitude

61. Votes for public monuments.

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to the gallant men by whom it had been brought through the perils of the war, gave universal satisfaction, and great expectations were formed of the magnificence of the monuments which would thus be added to the growing splendour of the metropolis; for it was understood that £250,000 would be expended on each monument. Unfortunately, however, although the monuments were unanimously voted, their cost did not enter the estimates for the year, and thus nothing was done towards their commencement at that time. In subsequent times, the national ardour cooled, or the national necessities had increased; and the result has been, that two sterile votes of the House of Commons remain as the only national monument for the greatest and most glorious triumphs which ever immortalised the history of a nation in modern times.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxi. 1049; xxxii. 311.

62. Monuments to Sir T. Picton and others.

To the memory of individual heroes who had died in the contest, however, the public gratitude was evinced in a more satisfactory way. Monuments were voted to Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Edward Pakenham, and Generals Hay, Gore, Skerrett, Gibbs, and Gillespie, and the requisite funds set apart for their completion. They were with great propriety placed in St Paul's, as Westminster Abbey was so full that space could scarcely be found for any additional structures, and began that noble circle of sepulchral sculpture which now adorns that sublime cathedral, and which, having been commenced at a period when taste was comparatively pure, and the finest monuments of antiquity were accessible to artists, is in a great measure free from that painful exhibition of conceit and bad taste by which, with a few exceptions, those of Westminster Abbey are characterised. A great impulse was given to sculpture in this year, and the only secure foundation laid for national eminence in that art, by the grant from Parliament of £35,000 for the purchase from Lord Elgin of the Friezes, which he had by the permission of the Turkish Government brought from the Parthenon of Athens. Certainly, however much the traveller

who sees the chasms which their removal has made on the still exquisite remains of that inimitable edifice may regret the spoliation, no Englishman can fail to feel gratification at beholding them arranged with so much taste and effect as they now are, in the noble halls of the British Museum; and not only forming the last stage in the historic gallery beginning with the Nineveh sculptures which are there preserved, but laying the best foundation, in the study of ancient perfection, of the desire to emulate it, in the only nation perhaps now in existence capable of approaching it.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 1027, 1039; xxxi. 913; and xxxii. 822.

63. Grants to the officers and men employed in the war.

Magnificent grants, bespeaking the nation's gratitude, were bestowed by Parliament on the officers and men engaged in the war. A vote of thanks was proposed and carried with enthusiastic cheers, in the Houses of Lords and Commons, to the Duke of Wellington, Prince Blucher, the Prince of Orange, and the officers and men engaged in the Waterloo campaign. An additional grant of £200,000 was bestowed on the Duke of Wellington, —making, with former grants, £500,000 which he had received from the justice or gratitude of his country. On this occasion, Mr Whitbread, who had always been a vigilant opponent of Government, and had more than once condemned in no measured terms the military conduct of the Duke of Wellington, made an *amende honorable* to both, which cannot be read without emotion by any generous mind, and which is not less honourable to the party making than to those who received it.* Finally, the sacrifices of the war were wound up by a grant of £800,000 to the troops engaged in the Peninsula from

* "He had always been one who watched with an eye of extreme jealousy the proceedings of Ministers; but their conduct in the prosecution of the war, waiving for the moment all consideration of its necessity or policy, was such as extorted his applause; and he had no hesitation in saying, that every department of Government must have exerted itself to the utmost, to give that complete efficiency to every part of the army which enabled the genius of the Duke of Wellington, aided by such means, to accomplish the wonderful victory he had achieved. It was gratifying to the House to hear the traits of heroism which have been mentioned of that noble Duke, especially that of his throwing himself into one of the British squares when charged by the enemy. To see a commander of his eminence, distinguished above all the commanders of the

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1807 to 1814, for the stores and munitions of war captured by them during its campaigns. And although this grant rather fell short of than exceeded the value of the captures made by the army, yet it must always be considered an honourable trait of the English Parliament that they agreed to so considerable a payment to their gallant defenders after the contest and the danger were alike over, and the nation was labouring under the accumulated evils of general distress and a fearfully diminished revenue.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxi. 978, 999.

64. New coinage.

A measure of less thrilling interest, but great practical importance, was passed in this session of Parliament, the benefit of which the nation has ever since experienced. This was the formation of a new silver coinage. The old coins, which had been for above half a century, some a whole century, in circulation, had become extremely worn out and debased, and a new issue, especially of shillings, was loudly called for—the more so as, from the contemplated return to cash payments, it was evident that the entire currency of the country would ere long be rested on a metallic basis. An act passed accordingly, authorising a new silver coinage, and the calling in and remoulding of the old one. This great improvement was carried into execution with entire success—the new coins were elegant in design, and substantial in material; and to such an extent did the issue take place, that in the following year no less than £6,711,000 was thrown off at the Mint and sent forth to the public.[2]

[2] Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 1018, 1027; Alison's Europe, c. xcii. App.

Long as the preceding abstract of the parliamentary proceedings in the year 1816 has been, it will not by the

earth, throw himself into a hollow square of infantry, as a secure refuge till the rage and torrent of the attack was passed, and that not once only, but twice or thrice during the course of the battle, proved that his confidence was placed not on one particular corps, but in the whole British army. In that mutual confidence lay the strength and power of the British army. The Duke of Wellington knew he was safe when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men, and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus confided to them could never be wrested from their hands. If such a trait were recorded in history as having occurred ten centuries ago, with what emotions of admiration and generous enthusiasm would it be read!"—Mr WHITBREAD'S Speech, June 23, 1815. *Parl. Deb.* xxxi. 991, 992.

reflecting mind be deemed inordinate. During peace, it is the national thought and social interests which are the real objects of historic portraiture; its battles and sieges are to be found in the debates of the legislature. There is no period of repose, in this view, which is so interesting and important, both in England and France, as this year; for not only was the transition then made from war to peace, but the great questions then emerged which have distracted the later period, and still divide the opinions of the world. The immense fall of prices then began, which has ever since, with a few intervals, been felt as so serious an impediment to British industry. The sudden contraction of the currency, from the prospect of a speedy resumption of cash payments, then involved one-half of the farmers and traders of the United Kingdom in bankruptcy. The evils of an excessive importation of the principal articles of consumption reacted by forcing on a ruinous export of our manufactures, in search of a market which general cheapness had so much injured at home. The Exchequer shared in the universal embarrassment, and the demand for a general remission of taxation was so loud and general, that Government were reluctantly compelled to abandon at once above a fourth of the revenue, and thereby, for the time at least, completely to nullify the action of the Sinking Fund. The difficulties of peace rose up in appalling magnitude in the very first year of its endurance; and it is not the least important part of history to unfold their origin, trace their effects, and portray the contemporary ideas which they awakened in the general mind.

65. Reflections on the preceding Parliamentary narrative.

When so many causes contributed to produce, in an unexampled degree, general distress and suffering through the country, it was not to be expected that the efforts of faction were to be awanting to inflame the general discontent, and direct it to the demand for a great and theoretical change in the government. This accordingly was in a very remarkable manner the case in Great Britain at this period; and perhaps at no time in its long

66. Efforts of the factious to stir up sedition.

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annals was discontent more general, or were the efforts of faction more systematically directed to inflame it into sedition, or involve it in overt acts of high treason, than in this and the three succeeding years. Persons unknown before, unheard of since, suddenly shot up into portentous celebrity with the manufacturing classes, by magnifying their sufferings, inflaming their passions, and ascribing all the public distresses to the measures, the corruption, and the oppression of their superiors. According to these men, the reckless prodigality of Government, supported by a corrupt majority in Parliament, and sustained by fictitious paper credit, was the source of all our distresses; it was this which made provisions high, wages low, imports ruinous, and want of employment universal. The only remedies for these evils were a great reduction of expenditure, reform in Parliament, and a return to a metallic currency. The Common Council of London, that faithful mirror of the feelings of the *populace* of the metropolis, at this juncture presented a petition to the Prince-Regent, which, as a picture of the capacity of that body for the duties of legislation in peace, deserves a place beside the celebrated specimen of their fitness for the duties of war, afforded by their diatribe against the Duke of Wellington after the battle of Talavera.* It is remarkable that the measures which they recommended as likely to alleviate the public distress —viz., a sudden reduction of expenditure, and return to a metallic currency—are the very ones which experience has now proved were best calculated to increase it.[1] †

[1] Ann. Reg. 1816, 95; Hughes' History of England, vi. 314, 315.

* Vide *History of Europe*, chap. lxii. § 67.

† "We forbear to enter into details of the afflicting scenes of privations and sufferings that everywhere exist; the distress and misery which for so many years has been progressively accumulating has at length become insupportable. It is no longer partially felt, nor limited to one portion of the empire; the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests are equally sinking under its irresistible pressure; and it has become impossible to find employment for a large mass of the population, much less to bear up against our present enormous burdens.

"Our grievances are the natural effect of rash and ruinous wars, unjustly commenced and pertinaciously adhered to, when no rational object was to be attained; of immense subsidies to foreign powers to defend their own terri-

When ideas so extravagant, and language so intemperate, were adopted by the first incorporation of the kingdom, with the Lord Mayor of London at their head, in addressing the Sovereign, it may readily be conceived that inferior functionaries and demagogues were still more intemperate and violent in their measures. An example of this soon occurred in the metropolis. On December 2, a mob, collected by hand-bills plentifully dispersed over the whole manufacturing districts of London, and roused by the speeches delivered at a seditious meeting held in the same place a fortnight before, assembled at Spafields to hear the answer to a petition they had voted at the former meeting to the Prince-Regent. They waited some time for Mr Henry Hunt, the leading orator, who was expected to address them; and as he did not make his appearance, they proceeded with tricolor flags and banners, and entering the city, headed by a man of the name of Watson, they attacked a gunsmith's shop, whom they shot when defending the entrance; and having rifled the shop, and loaded the guns they got, they marched on in military array to the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Shaw, and a strong body of police; but notwithstanding their resistance, the rioters forced their way into the building, when three of the ringleaders were seized and made prisoners. The mob upon this fired over the rails, which had been closed upon the magistrates, and moved off to the Minories, where they broke into two other gunsmiths' shops, and remained for a considerable time in possession of that part of the town. Strong bodies of police and military, however,

Spafield riots. Dec. 2.

tories, or to commit aggressions on those of their neighbours; of a delusive paper currency; of an unconstitutional and unprecedented military establishment in time of peace; of the unexampled and increasing magnitude of the civil list; of the enormous sums paid for unmerited pensions and sinecures; and of a long course of the most lavish and improvident expenditure of the public money throughout every department of Government,—all arising from the corrupt and inadequate representation of the people in Parliament, whereby all constitutional control over the servants of the Crown has been lost, and Parliaments have become subservient to the will of Ministers."—*Address of the Lord Mayor and Council of London*, Dec. 9, 1816. *Ann. Reg.* 1816, 417. *State Papers.*

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now rapidly arrived and surrounded the insurgent district; and the mob, finding themselves overmatched, by degrees dispersed. Two of the persons seized were condemned and executed; but the greatest criminal, Watson's son, escaped to America. This tumult, as is generally the case with such disorders, when promptly and firmly met by those in authority, was in the end attended with beneficial effects, by awakening the vigilance of the Government, by whom such meetings were afterwards carefully watched, and showing the people with what danger they are attended, what were the real objects of their leaders, and how thin is the partition which separates seditious assemblages from general pillage.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1816, 190, 191; Chronicle, Hughes, vi. 316, 317.

68. Expedition to Algiers.

One glorious exploit, second to none which has graced the annals of the British navy, illustrated this year. It had long been a matter of reproach to the Christian powers that the piratical states of Barbary were still permitted, with impunity, to carry on their inhuman warfare against the states of Europe, and that their prisons exhibited captives of every nation, who were detained in hopeless slavery, and exposed to the most shocking barbarities. In one instance, fifty out of three hundred prisoners died of harsh usage, at Algiers, on the very day of their arrival. Neither age nor sex was spared; and one Neapolitan lady of rank was rescued by the British, in the thirteenth year of her captivity, having been carried off with her eight children, six of whom had died in slavery! Notwithstanding these enormities, such had been the jealousies of the European powers, and their animosity against each other, that these audacious pirates had in an unaccountable manner been allowed to carry on their hostilities against the Mediterranean states with impunity, and it was suspected that the British connived at these depredations, as their flag, being the only one which was respected, gained an advantage in navigating that inland sea.[2] The piracies were renewed on a more extended scale with the revival of commerce after the

[2] Ann. Reg. 1816, 97; Hughes, vi. 317.

peace; and the only check which the corsairs received was from the Americans, who, in the year 1815, in a very spirited manner, vindicated the honour of their flag, which had been insulted by these ferocious attacks.

69. Outrages which led to it.

At length, however, the general system of piracy which the Dey of Algiers had adopted, brought him into contact with the subjects or allies of Great Britain—in particular the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, and of Naples and Sardinia. LORD EXMOUTH,* accordingly, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to proceed to Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, and insist upon the inhabitants of these states being included in the same pacification as Great Britain, and, if possible, obtain a general abolition of Christian slavery. April 4.

* Edward Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, was born at Dover on April 19, 1757. His father was commander of the Post-office Packet on the Dover station; his mother a daughter of Edward Saughton, Esq., of Herefordshire, a woman of extraordinary spirit and determination of character. Early difficulties drew forth young Edward's energies. His father, who was a most exemplary man, died in 1765, leaving six children; and a subsequent imprudent marriage of their mother having deprived them of the support of their surviving parent, they were thrown on the world with scarce any resources. Edward entered the navy in 1771, in the Juno, Captain Stott, in which he was sent to the Falkland Islands. Soon after he sailed in the Blonde, Captain Pownall, an officer of the kindest and most elevated character. There he soon showed both his daring and humane disposition. On one occasion, in 1775, when the vessel was taking General Bourgoyne out to America, the general was horrified at seeing a midshipman on the yard-arm standing on his head; but Captain Pownall quieted him by saying, it was one of the usual frolics of young Pellew, and that he need not be uneasy, for if he fell, he would only go under the ship's bottom, and come up on the other side. What was then spoken in jest by the captain was actually realised by young Pellew; for on an occasion soon after, a man having fallen overboard when the ship was going fast through the water, he actually sprang from the foreyard of the Blonde and saved the man. Captain Pownall reproached him for his rashness, but never spoke of it again without tears in his eyes. After the American war broke out, a party from the Blonde, of whom young Pellew was one, was sent across to Lake Champlain, where he was employed in the Carleton, and distinguished himself so much by his gallantry in performing a service of extreme danger, which no other man would execute, that it drew forth a letter of strong commendation from his commander, Sir Charles Douglas, and a holograph letter, appointing him lieutenant, from Lord Howe, the First Lord of the Admiralty. He was afterwards attached with a party of seamen to General Bourgoyne's expedition, which terminated in such disaster at Saratoga; but even here he contrived to distinguish himself, for he recovered a vessel containing provisions with such skill and gallantry, that General Bourgoyne thanked him in a letter written with his own hand. When the capitulation was

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May 23. 23d May, as the crews of a number of Italian, Corsican, and Neapolitan vessels were preparing, under the shelter

proposed, Pellew, who was the youngest officer in the council of war, earnestly entreated to be allowed to fight his way back with his handful of sailors, alleging he had never heard of seamen capitulating; and it was with great difficulty that Bourgoyne succeeded in dissuading him from making the attempt, by representing it would lead to a general ruin and violation of the capitulation. He returned to England in 1777, and was immediately promoted. He had already acquired such extraordinary skill in rowing and swimming, that he often ran the greatest risk by the dangers incurred, from his confidence in his own powers, and the fearless courting of danger which he constantly exhibited. In 1780, when on board the Apollo, still with Captain Pownall, he fell in with the Stanislaus of heavier calibre, and Captain Pownall was badly wounded early in the action. "Pellew," he said, "I know you won't throw the ship away," and died in his arms. He continued the action an hour longer, and drove the enemy dismasted ashore, but was disappointed of his prize, by her claiming protection from a neutral harbour. His gallant conduct on this occasion led to his being appointed to the command of the Hazard sloop in July 1780, and afterwards to the Pelican, in which he performed many important services. When the war of the French Revolution broke out, he was appointed to the Nymph frigate, in which, after a desperate action, in which the commanders and crews of both vessels displayed the utmost skill and courage, he captured the French frigate Cleopatra, for which he was knighted. He was next appointed to the Arethusa frigate, in which, on 23d August 1794, he took La Pomone, French frigate. After this he nearly lost his life in attempting to save two of his crew who had been washed overboard; and signalised himself in the most distinguished way at the wreck of the Dutton, near Plymouth, when he boarded the vessel as it was lying a wreck on the coast, took the command, and, by his energy and skill in running a hawser to the shore, succeeded in saving the whole crew, who would otherwise infallibly have perished. For this extraordinary act of heroism he was created a baronet. He was next appointed to the Indefatigable frigate, and by his great skill and admirable seamanship not only rendered most important service off the west coast of France, but by his admirable seamanship saved

of the British flag, to hear mass and join in the solemnities, they were, on the signal of a gun fired from the castle, suddenly assailed by a body of two thousand Turks and Moors, who cut the greater part of them to pieces, tore to pieces the English flag, broke into and pillaged the English consul's house, and thrust him into prison. Upon receiving intelligence of this outrage, the English Government, in a worthy spirit, not only resolved on demanding entire satisfaction, but on seizing the opportunity of destroying the nest of pirates who had so long inflicted their barbarities on the whole states of Christendom. Lord Exmouth was informed any force he might deem requisite would be placed at his disposal, and the equipment of the necessary squadron proceeded with the utmost activity.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1816, 97, 99; Hughes, vi. 317, 318.

his own vessel when all but wrecked, in company of the Amazon which perished. The mutiny, which proved so formidable in 1797, broke out twice on board his vessel, and was only quelled by his undaunted conduct in twice arresting the ringleaders with his own hand, and ordering his officers to cut down the first man who resisted. When, on another mutiny, three of the ringleaders, on board the Prince at Port Mahon, were brought up for execution, Sir Edward, addressing the men who had followed him from the Indefatigable, said—"Indefatigables, stand aside; not one of you shall touch the rope; but YOU who have encouraged your shipmates to the crime by which they have forfeited their lives, it shall be your punishment to hang them." The men of the Prince felt it as such; they wept aloud, but obeyed. These were terrible days—more terrible than any conflict with the enemy to the British navy; and it was Sir Edward Pellew's firmness, in a great degree, which brought it through the crisis. During the peace of Amiens he obtained a seat in Parliament for the borough of Barnstaple, and he made a short but powerful speech in defence of the Admiralty, in a debate which ensued when the war broke out again. He was then appointed to the Tonnant of 80 guns, and soon obtained the command of the squadron blockading Ferrol; after which he was made commander-in-chief on the Indian station, where he remained till 1808, and rendered the most essential service, both by the destruction of several of the enemy's ships of war, and the protection afforded to British trade. In 1811 he proceeded as commander-in-chief to the Mediterranean, which position he held to the close of the war, anxiously watching for a general battle with the Toulon fleet, which the caution of the enemy caused them to avoid. He died on 23d January 1832, with the calm serenity of a Christian. "Every hour of his life," said an officer who was much with him at that time, "is a sermon; I have seen him great in battle, but never so great as on his deathbed."—See OSTLER'S *Life of Lord Exmouth*, p. 1-361, a most interesting work; and which, with the *Life of Collingwood*, by G. L. COLLINGWOOD, should be studied by all who would learn the spirit, at once courageous and humane, simple and noble, pious and patriotic, which then animated the British navy.

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70. Description of Algiers.

The city of ALGIERS, which had so long been an object of terror and curiosity to the Christian powers, and has been the theatre of so many memorable actions by the principal states of Europe, is, like Genoa, built on the declivity of a steep hill, with its lower part washed by the ocean. It is in a triangular form, the sea being the base, and the apex high up on the hill; and as it is entirely enclosed within walls, and the buildings are of a white colour, rising one above another, its appearance from a distance, when first descried by the mariner, is that of a huge sheet stretched out upon the dusky slope. Its fortifications are very strong, being surrounded by walls of immense thickness, which, like those of Genoa, run to the summit of the hill behind the town; and towards the sea, especially, the defences are of the most formidable description. A broad straight pier, 300 yards long, projects into the sea from a point about a quarter of a mile from the seaport of the town. From the end of this pier a mole is carried, which bends round in a south-western direction towards the town, forming in its course nearly a quarter of a circle. Opposite the mole-head is another smaller pier, and between the two is the entrance of the harbour, which is about 120 yards wide. The mole is constructed on a ledge of rock, which stretches out about 200 yards towards the north-east, beyond the angle at which it unites to the pier. All the points commanding the entrance to the harbour were covered with the strongest fortifications. At the pier-head stood the lighthouse battery, a large circular fort, mounted by fifty heavy guns, in three tiers, exactly like those of a three-decker. At the outer extremity of the rock was another battery of thirty heavy guns and seven mortars, arranged in two tiers. The mole itself was also lined with cannon in two tiers, like the sides of a line-of-battle ship; but the eastern end, near the lighthouse, had an inner fortification with a third tier of guns, making sixty-six in the mole alone. On these batteries, at the

entrance of the harbour, were mounted 220 guns, almost all thirty-two or twenty-four pounders. On the sea-wall of the town were nine batteries, the strongest of which was the fishmarket battery, in three tiers. Altogether there were nearly 500 guns defending the sea approaches of Algiers; and as the ramparts were admirably constructed of hard stone, and in the very best order, a more formidable object of attack could hardly be imagined.[1]

[1] Ostler's Life of Lord Exmouth, 307, 309; Ann. Reg. 1816, 101; Hughes, vi. 310.

71. Lord Exmouth's preparations for an attack.

Nelson, in a conversation with Captain Brisbane on a former occasion, had said that Algiers could not be successfully attacked by less than twenty-five ships of the line. Great, therefore, was the surprise of the Admiralty when Lord Exmouth proposed to assault it with five sail of the line, five frigates, and as many bomb-vessels; and many of the most experienced officers at the Board considered the works so strong, that the place was altogether unassailable. The opinion of that gallant and experienced officer, however, was founded on actual observation, which Nelson's was not, and it proved entirely correct. The truth is, that not one-half of the ships which Nelson spoke of could have found room abreast of the Algerine batteries; and being of necessity crowded one behind another, they would only have augmented the confusion, and presented an additional mark to the enemy's fire. He explained his plans accordingly to the Admiralty, showing the position which each ship was to occupy, and the works it was intended to rake; and they very wisely allowed him to act on his own judgment, though they entertained serious apprehensions as to the result. Indeed, there were not wanting those who predicted that the undertaking could terminate in nothing but disaster. His own confidence, however, never wavered. "All will go well," he said—"at least so far as depends on me. If they open their fire when the ships are coming up, and cripple them in the masts, the difficulty and loss will be greater; but if they allow us to take our stations,[2] I am sure of

[2] Ostler's Life of Exmouth, 310.

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them, for I know nothing can resist a line-of-battle ship's fire."

72. The manning and fitting out of the fleet.

Scarcely was Exmouth appointed to this perilous service, when officers in crowds, tenfold greater than could be accepted, came forward to offer their services. He left the entire selection to the Admiralty, and refused all his own relations, though many were anxious to accompany him. An entirely new squadron was fitted out, none of the ships which had just returned from the Mediterranean being sent back. It was thought best that a fleet which was going to fight a severe battle should be manned entirely by volunteers. No difficulty, however, was experienced in getting sailors for the squadron; as soon as it was known it was going on a service of danger, the volunteers came forward in crowds. The ship's company of the Leander, then on the point of sailing for the North American station, where it was to be the flag-ship, volunteered to a man. Among them were a great number of smugglers, who had been taken on the west coast and sentenced to five years' service in the navy: they implored to be allowed to share in the perils of the expedition, and Lord Exmouth acceded to their request, and took them into his own ship, the Queen Charlotte. His confidence was not misplaced: they behaved with such gallantry in the action which ensued, that Lord Exmouth applied to the Admiralty after his return, and obtained their discharge. Rear-Admiral Milne, a noble veteran, who had just got the command on the North American station, obtained permission to go out with the Leander; and as Sir Charles Penrose did not join at Gibraltar, he hoisted his flag on board the Impregnable, as second in command. Before Lord Exmouth sailed, he made every arrangement, as if for immediate death. Among the rest, he wrote a long letter to his eldest son, detailing the duties which would devolve upon him as a British nobleman, which was found among his papers after his death.[1] He felt that he was setting out on what

[1] Ostler's Life of Exmouth, 310, 312.

might truly be deemed a holy war: his feelings were those of Godfrey of Bouillon, or Raymond of Toulouse, when they mounted the breach of Jerusalem.

73. Departure of the fleet, and voyage to Algiers.

Lord Exmouth hoisted his flag on board the Queen Charlotte of 100 guns. His fleet consisted of five line-of-battle ships, of which two were three-deckers, three large frigates, and two smaller ones; four bomb-vessels, and five gun-brigs. His plan of attack, which was fully explained to all the officers in the fleet, was, that four of the line-of-battle ships were to breast the fortifications on the mole; a fifth cover them from the batteries of the town on the one side, while the heavy frigates did the same on the other; and the bomb-vessels, aided by the ships' launches, fitted up as rocket and mortar boats, were to keep up an incessant fire on the ships in the harbour, arsenal, and town. The fleet left Portsmouth on 25th July, and on the 28th was off Falmouth, where Lord Exmouth parted with his brother, at the very place where, three-and-twenty years before, he had sailed to fight the first battle of the war. From that place the Minden of 74 guns was sent on to Gibraltar, to provide supplies, and thither the whole fleet arrived on the 9th August, the evening after the Minden. On the voyage, the crews of all the ships were sedulously trained to their guns and ball practice; and on Tuesdays and Fridays the whole were cleared for action, and each fired six broadsides. On board the Queen Charlotte, the captains of guns were constantly exercised by firing a twelve-pounder at a small target hung from the fore-topmast studding-sail boom; and to such expertness did they soon arrive, that after a few days' practice the target was never missed, though it was only three feet square, and ten or twelve bottles were hit every day. By these means, and by the effect of the mental excitement arising from the noble enterprise on which they were proceeding, the crews of all the vessels were highly elated, and kept in the best possible spirits. Not a doubt of their success was entertained by any one on

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board any of the vessels; and such was the effect of this mental excitement on the health of the men, that scarce a name was on the sick-list; and when the Queen Charlotte was paid off on her return, only one man had died, excepting those slain in action, out of a thousand who had joined her three months before.[1]

[1] Ostler, 316, 317.

74. Preparations of the Algerines.

At Gibraltar the fleet was joined by Vice-Admiral the Baron Von Capellan, with a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, who, on learning the noble object of the expedition, solicited and obtained leave to join it. On the 13th, every vessel was furnished with a plan of the fortifications, and the place assigned to each in the attack. To the Dutch ships was allotted the attack of the fort and batteries towards the south of the town, a duty formerly allotted to the Minden and Hebrus, which were now brought up among their comrades on the front of the mole. On the same evening the Prometheus arrived from Algiers, bringing the wife, daughter, and infant child of Mr MacDonnell the English consul, the consul himself and fourteen of the crew of the Prometheus being detained in prison. The two former had escaped disguised as midshipmen; the last was detected by its crying as it passed the gate, and arrested; but the Dey sent it on board next morning—"a solitary instance of humanity," said Lord Exmouth, "which ought to be recorded." The Prometheus brought the most formidable accounts of the preparations made at Algiers to resist the attack. Forty thousand troops had been collected in the town, all the Janizaries called in from the distant garrisons, and the fortifications and batteries put in the best possible state of defence. The whole naval force of the regency, consisting of four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty-seven gun-boats, were assembled in the harbour, manned by their most experienced and daring sailors.[2] This intelligence, instead of daunting, contributed only to animate the sailors on board the British fleet, by showing the importance of the service on which they

[2] Ostler, 318, 319.

were bound, and the magnitude of the blow against the enemies of Christendom they were about to strike.

75. Arrival of the fleet off Algiers. Aug. 27.

On the morning of the 27th August, at daybreak, the fleet was off Algiers; Lord Exmouth immediately despatched a flag of truce to the Dey, with the terms dictated by the Prince-Regent, which were the entire abolition of Christian slavery and liberation of all captives, and full compensation to the British consul, and the sailors of the Prometheus who had been imprisoned. An answer was promised by the port-captain in two hours, and meanwhile the fleet stood into the bay and anchored within a mile of the town. At two P.M. the boat was seen returning with the signal that no answer had been given. Lord Exmouth immediately made the signal, "Are you ready?"—and the affirmative being returned from every vessel, the signal to advance was given, and every ship bore up for its appointed station. The Queen Charlotte headed the line, and made straight for the mole-head. It was Lord Exmouth's intention not to have opened his fire unless that of the enemy became very galling, and the guns on the upper and lower deck, accordingly, were not primed till the ship had anchored. But the Algerines, confident in their defences, and hoping to carry the principal vessels by boarding, after they had taken their stations, allowed the Queen Charlotte to bear in without molestation, until she anchored by the stern, just half a cable's length from the mole-head, and was lashed by a hawser to the mainmast of an Algerine brig that lay at the harbour's mouth. Meanwhile the other vessels, in silence and perfect readiness, moved slowly forward under a light sea-breeze to their appointed stations. Not a word was spoken in the vast array; every eye was fixed on the enemy's batteries, which were crowded with troops, with the gunners standing with lighted matches beside their pieces.[1]

[1] Lord Exmouth's instructions, Ostler's Memoirs, App. p. 319, 320.

"There was silence deep as death
As they drifted on their path,
And the boldest held his breath
For a time."

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76. Commencement of the battle.

The mole-head at this time presented a dense mass of troops, whose turbans and schakos were distinctly seen crowding on the top of the parapets. Standing on the poop, Lord Exmouth waved with his hand to them repeatedly to get down, as the firing was about to commence. When the ship was fairly placed, and her cables stoppered, the crew gave three hearty cheers, which were answered from the whole fleet. The Algerines answered by three guns from the eastern battery, one of which struck the Superb. At the first flash Lord Exmouth gave the word "Stand by;" at the second, "Fire;" and the report of the third gun was drowned in the roar of the Queen Charlotte's broadside. So terrible was the effect of this discharge, that above five hundred men were struck down on the mole by its effects. In a few minutes, and before the action had become general, the fortifications on the mole-head were ruined and its guns dismounted; upon this the Queen Charlotte sprang her broadside to the northward, and brought her guns to bear upon the batteries round the gate which leads to the mole and the upper tier of the lighthouse battery. With such accuracy were the shot directed, that the lighthouse tower was soon in ruins, every successive discharge bringing down some of the guns; and when the last fell, a Moorish chief was seen springing up on the fragments of the parapet, and with impotent rage shaking his scimitar at the giant of the deep which in so brief a space had worked such fearful devastation.[1]

[1] Lord Exmouth's Desp., Ostler, 320, 324, 436; Ann. Reg. 1816, 101.

77. Continuance of the action, and positions taken by the ships.

Meanwhile the Algerines were not idle; a tremendous and well-sustained fire was kept up from every battery and gun on the ships as they approached and cast anchor; every bastion and battlement streamed with flames, and the roar of above a thousand cannon on the two sides, within a space not more than half a mile in breadth, exceeded anything, since the battle of Copenhagen, heard in naval war. The Leander closely followed the flagship, and, passing, anchored ahead of her; next came the

Superb, which took her station two hundred and fifty yards astern of the Queen Charlotte; the Minden anchored about her own length from the Superb. Astern of the Minden lay the Albion, the former passing her stream cable out of the larboard gun-room port to the Albion's bow, and lashing the two ships together. The Impregnable came in last, and was anchored astern of the Albion in a situation very much exposed to the enemy's batteries. The three large frigates and the Dutch squadron went into action with a gallantry which never was surpassed, and took their stations amidst a tremendous fire with the utmost accuracy. The Leander was placed athwart the Queen Charlotte's bows, her starboard broadside bearing upon the Algerine gun-boats with the after-guns, and on the fishmarket battery with the others. The Severn lay ahead of the Leander with all her starboard broadside also bearing on the fishmarket battery. Beyond her the Glasgow was stationed, and brought her larboard guns to bear on the batteries of the town. The Dutch took their position with great steadiness in front of the works to the south of the town. The two smaller frigates, the Hebrus and Granicus, were left to come into the line wherever they could find an opening. The former pressed forward to get next the flagship, but being becalmed, she was obliged to anchor on the Queen Charlotte's larboard quarter. Captain Wise, of the Granicus, steered straight for where Lord Exmouth's flag was seen towering above the smoke, and, with a skill equal to his intrepidity, succeeded in placing his vessel in the open space between the Queen Charlotte and the Superb—thus taking a position, as Lord Exmouth justly said, which a three-decker might have been proud to occupy.[1]

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[1] Lord Exmouth's Desp., Ann. Reg. 1816, 232, App. to Chron.; Ostler, 322, 323.

Eastward of the lighthouse, at the distance of two thousand yards, were placed the bomb-vessels, the shells from which were thrown with admirable precision by the marine artillery; while the flotilla of gun, rocket, and

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78. Destruction of the ships and flotilla.

mortar boats, distributed in the openings of the line, kept up an incessant and destructive fire on the ships in the harbour. Soon after the battle became general, the Algerine flotilla, under cover of the smoke, advanced, with true Mussulman intrepidity, to board the Queen Charlotte and Leander, and they were very near before they were descried; but when they were so, the fatal precision which the British gunners had acquired appeared conspicuous. The Leander brought her broadside to bear upon them, and, by a few discharges, thirty-three out of thirty-seven of the gun-boats were sent to the bottom. The thick smoke round the Queen Charlotte prevented the admiral from seeing the vessels as they came in and took up their position; but he soon received joyful proof of their presence, and the accuracy of their fire, by the yawning breaches and crumbling ruins which appeared, when the smoke for a few seconds cleared away, in the walls opposite to the positions assigned to them. At four o'clock, as a close action of an hour's duration had produced no signs of submission, Lord Exmouth determined to attempt the destruction of the Algerine ships. The nearest frigate was accordingly boarded by Lieutenant Richards in the Queen Charlotte's barge, accompanied by Major Gossett, of the marine artillery; and in a few minutes she was in a perfect blaze. When the frigate burst into a flame, he telegraphed to the fleet the animating signal, "Infallible;" and as the barge returned alongside, she was received with three cheers. The burning ship broke from her moorings, and drifted along the broadsides of the Queen Charlotte and Leander, and grounded ahead of the latter, under the town wall, so that the conflagration did not spread. Upon this the gun-boats and barges opened a fire with bombs and carcasses on the largest frigate in the centre of the harbour, and she was soon in flames, from which the fire spread to the other ships around, which were all consumed, with the exception of a sloop and brig. The arsenal also took fire, and, with all its stores, was totally consumed.[1]

[1] Lord Exmouth's Desp., Ann. Reg. 1816, 233, App. to Chron.; Ostler, 324, 326.

After sunset a message was received from Admiral Milne, in the Impregnable, which had suffered extremely from her position, exposed to the batteries, and had lost 210 men killed and wounded, and requesting that a frigate might be sent to take off from her some of the fire under which she was suffering. The Glasgow immediately weighed anchor for that purpose, and gallantly stood forward into the thickest of the fire; but it was found impossible to reach the desired position, owing to the want of wind. An ordnance vessel was accordingly run ashore under the lighthouse battery, and blown up, which in some degree slackened the enemy's fire in that quarter. Towards night the fire of the Algerines slackened in all quarters, and at last entirely died away, except from the Emperor's Fort,* on the high ground, which, being above the range of the guns, continued firing with destructive effect to the very close of the action. On the side of the British, also, the fire slackened considerably; for, the chief objects of the expedition having been gained, it became necessary to husband their powder and shot, the consumption of which had been beyond all parallel.† A little before ten the Queen Charlotte's bow-cable was cut, and her head hauled round to seaward. Warps were run out to get out, but they were in part cut by shot from the Emperor's Fort, and the batteries south of the town, which had been only partially engaged. About half-past ten the land breeze, on which Lord Exmouth had calculated, sprang up, and, by the aid of the boats towing, she, with the remainder of the fleet, was got out of fire. Soon after the breeze freshened, and a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning came on, with torrents of rain, which lasted three hours, but could not extinguish the flames of the burning ships, arsenal, and houses, which cast an awful light over the scene of ruin.[1]

The fleet moves out of the bay.

[1] Lord Exmouth's Desp., Ann. Reg. 1816, 233, 234, App. to Chron.; Ostler, 229, 230; Von Capellan's Account, Ann. Reg. 242, 243.

* So called from having been built by the Emperor Charles V. when he besieged the town in 1557.

† They had fired 118 tons of powder, 50,000 balls, weighing above 500 tons of iron, and 960 thirteen and ten inch shells thrown by the bomb-vessels and launches.

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Before it had subsided, Lord Exmouth assembled in his cabin all the wounded who could be moved, that they might unite with him and his officers in thanks to the Almighty Disposer of events for their victory and preservation.

80. Results of the battle, and killed and wounded.

Such was the battle of Algiers, one of the most glorious even in the resplendent annals of the British navy. It was, withal, one of the most bloody—the best proof of the desperate nature of the service, and the heroic courage requisite to render it successful. In the British squadron, 128 were killed and 690 wounded—in all, 818 : a greater proportion to the number engaged than in any action during the preceding war ; for in Copenhagen itself, the bloodiest of that contest at sea, there were only 1200 killed and wounded out of eleven line-of-battle ships engaged ; * but here there were 818 in five ships. The loss fell chiefly on three ships : in the Impregnable, which bore Admiral Milne's flag, there were 50 killed ; and in the Leander and Granicus, which also took up line-of-battle positions, the loss was very severe. In the other line-of-battle ships the entire loss was only 26 killed and 62 wounded. The Dutch squadron had 13 killed and 52 wounded. Lord Exmouth had several most narrow escapes: he was struck in three places ; a cannon ball carried away the skirts of his coat, and a shot broke the spectacles in his pocket. On the side of the Algerines it was computed by Lord Exmouth that 7000 had perished—a fearful loss, but which is not improbable when the crowded state of the batteries and the extraordinary precision of the English fire are taken into consideration. The British loss would have been much greater but for the commanding position taken at the very commencement of the action, and maintained throughout by the Queen Charlotte, which swept by her broadsides the whole batteries on the mole, the most formidable in the enemy's defences. Admiral Capellan estimated that 500 men were thus saved to the allied

* Alison, *Europe*, chap. liii. § 60.

squadron, who otherwise would have been destroyed. During the action the Queen Charlotte was often in the most imminent danger of being burned, from the blazing Algerine vessels which floated close past her, which came so near that Lord Exmouth was almost scorched as he stood on the poop, and he was obliged to haul in the ensign to prevent its being consumed. But when Admiral von Capellan and the other captains, seeing his imminent danger, offered him the assistance of the boats of the fleet to haul him out, he replied, "that, having calculated everything, it behoved them by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue their fire with redoubled zeal for the execution of his orders, and according to his example."[1]*

[1] Admiral Capellan's Desp., Ann. Reg. 1816, 242, 243, App. to Chron.; Ostler, 330, 332; Lord Exmouth to Mr Pellew, Sept. 8, 1816; Ostler, 336, 337.

81. The Algerines submit, and peace is concluded.

Next morning Algiers presented the most melancholy aspect. The mole, the lighthouse battery, and all the fortifications near them, were totally ruined; cannon, carriages, and dead bodies, lay one above another, intermingled with huge stones and masses of masonry, in one undistinguished mass to the water edge. In the walls of the town, huge gaps appeared opposite the broadsides of the vessels; and behind them, long lanes cut in the houses as far as the horizontal shot could reach up the town, told how fatal the fire had been, and with what precision the shot had been directed. At daylight a flag of truce was sent in with the same demands as the afternoon before, the bomb-vessels at the same time resuming their

* Admiral Capellan, who nobly seconded Lord Exmouth on this occasion, bore the following honourable testimony to Lord Exmouth's conduct during the battle: "The Dutch squadron, as well as the British force, appeared to be inspired with the devotedness of our magnanimous chief in the cause of mankind; and the coolness and precision with which the terrible fire of the batteries was replied to, close under the massy walls of Algiers, will as little admit of description as the heroism and self-devotion of each individually, and Lord Exmouth in particular, in the action of this memorable day. Till nine o'clock he remained with the Queen Charlotte in the same position, in the hottest of the fire, encouraging every one not to give up the work begun till the whole was completed; and thus displayed such perseverance that all were animated with the same spirit; and the fire of the ships, against a brave and desperate enemy, appeared to redouble."—Admiral CAPELLAN'S *Despatch*, Aug. 30, 1816. *Ann. Reg.* 1816, 242—*Appendix to Chronicle.*

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positions, so as to renew the attack. This, however, was rendered unnecessary. The Dey at once submitted, and the conclusion of peace was announced by a salute of twenty-one guns. The terms were the abolition of Christian slavery for ever; the instant delivery of the slaves of all Christian nations; the restitution of all money received for slaves since the commencement of the year; reparation to the British consul for the injuries he had received; and a public apology for the conduct of the Dey. These terms were all complied with, and on the following day twelve hundred slaves were embarked at Algiers, and restored to their country and friends. The total number liberated there, and at Tunis and Tripoli, was 3003. The author was at Genoa when the Sardinian slaves, 62 in number, which had been delivered, were brought there in one of the English sloops which had shared in the action. The cheers of the people as they entered the harbour, and the thunder of the artillery which saluted the victors, still resound in his ears. It was one of those moments which make a man proud of his country and of the human race.[1]

[1] Lord Exmouth's Desp., Ann. Reg. 1816, 237, 239, App. to Chron.; Ostler, 333, 335.

82. Honours bestowed on Lord Exmouth and the fleet.

Lord Exmouth was deservedly made a Viscount for this glorious victory; and promotion on the usual scale was bestowed on the other officers engaged. Admiral Milne was knighted; and the achievement was noticed in the most flattering terms in Parliament, by whom thanks were cordially voted. "No one," said Lord Cochrane, who spoke on this occasion, "was better acquainted than himself with the power possessed by batteries over a fleet; and he would say, that the conduct of Lord Exmouth and the fleet deserved all the praise which that House could bestow. The attack was nobly achieved, in a way that a British fleet always performed such services; and the vote had his most cordial concurrence, for he never knew or had heard of anything more gallant than the manner in which Lord Exmouth had laid his ships alongside the Algerine batteries."[2] These are

[2] Parl. Deb. xxxv. 181.

noble words, such as the brave only can apply to the brave; rendered doubly striking, and not less honourable to the giver than the receiver, when it is recollected under what unmerited obloquy Lord Cochrane laboured at that time, and the shameful ingratitude with which he had been treated by his country. There were not wanting, however, many who thought that, on such an occasion, honours and rewards might have been bestowed with a more liberal hand, and that Government would have acted more gracefully if they had seized this opportunity to bestow, perhaps, an unusual amount of the royal favour on a service which, during the last years of the war, had received so little of it, simply because the magnitude of its former victories had swept every enemy from the ocean. But the admiration and gratitude of the world was the real reward of the victors. Never, perhaps, since the fall of Jerusalem resounded through Christendom, had such a unanimous feeling pervaded every civilised state. Differences of race, of nations, of institutions, were forgotten in the common triumph of faith. The Roman Catholic grasped the hand of the Protestant, the Lutheran of the Greek. Through two hundred millions of human beings, one simultaneous burst of joy broke forth; the unity of feeling, which is the charm of love between two faithful hearts, was for once felt by an entire fifth of the human race.[1]

[1] Ostler, 345.

"Was ist Liebe, ich der sage?
Zwei Seelen, ein Gedanke,
Zwei Herzen einer Schlag." *

The battle of Algiers was memorable in another point of view, still more important to the general interests of humanity. It was the first of the great and decisive triumphs of the Christians over the Mahommedans. Other victories had been gained in former days, but they were

* "What is Love? I tell thee—
Two Souls, one Thought,
Two Hearts, one Throb."
Der Sohn der Waldniss.

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83. Reflections on this battle, and the commencement of the ascendant of Christianity over Mahommedanism.

in defence only, or were obliterated in the consequences of subsequent disaster. The battle of Tours, in the days of Charles Martel, the deliverance of Vienna by John Sobieski, the victory of Lepanto by Don John of Austria, only averted subjugation from Christendom; the glories of Ascalon, the conquest of Jerusalem, the heroism of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, were forgotten in the disaster of Tiberias, the fate of Ptolemais, the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land. Even the more recent successes of the Russians over the Turks had been deeply chequered with disaster; the storming of Oczakow was balanced by the disaster of the Pruth; the Balkan had never been crossed by the followers of the Cross, and the redoubtable antagonists still exchanged desperate thrusts, with alternate success, on the banks of the Danube. But with the battle of Algiers commenced the decisive and eternal triumph of the Christian faith; the Cross never thereafter waned before the Crescent. Other triumphs not less decisive rapidly succeeded, and the Ottoman Empire was only saved from dissolution by the jealousies of the victors. Navarino wrenched Greece from its grasp; Acre saw the sceptre of Syria pass from its hands; Koniah brought it to the verge of ruin; Algiers delivered its sway over Africa to France; the passage of the Balkan rendered it tributary to Russia. Nor was the waning of the Crescent less perceptible in Asia. The bastions of Erivan gave the Muscovites the command of Georgia; the Cross was placed on the summit of Ararat, the resting-place of the Ark; the British standards were seen on the ramparts of Ghuznee, the cradle of the Mahommedan dominion of India.

84. Progressive ascendant of Christianity over Mahommedanism.

These memorable occurrences, in a certain degree, lift up the veil which conceals the designs of Providence from mortal eyes. Whence proceeded this sudden and decisive superiority on the part of one of those antagonists, who for five centuries had struggled with each other with alternate success and equal resources? Evidently from

the energy which a spiritual faith and unfettered thought had communicated to the Christian powers, and the vast development of military skill which had taken place in the principal European states from the wars of the French Revolution. And whence arose those memorable wars, disastrous to humanity at the time, but from which, as from the dragon's teeth, have sprung the armed men who are subduing the globe? From the efforts of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists to deride and destroy Christianity. Such is the system of Divine administration: it is hard to say whether it is most advanced by the efforts of its enemies, or the sacrifices of its friends. That which all the devotion of the Crusaders could not effect, has been brought about at the appointed season by the agency of the Infidels; the preaching of Voltaire has done that which that of Peter the Hermit had left undone. Humanity may cease, therefore, to deplore the ceaseless wars between civilised nations, when it perceives the superiority which they give to the arms of civilisation over those of barbarism; it will discern, in them the severe training by which the race of Japhet is prepared for its predicted mission to dwell in the tents of Shem, to overspread the earth and subdue it. Christianity, indeed, is destined to spread mainly by its winning the hearts of men; but in a world of selfishness and violence, it is not thus alone that mankind are to be converted even to their own blessing; the first entrance must be sometimes won by conquest; and he who bears even the olive branch and Cross in one hand, may often despair of success if he is not prepared, when necessary, to wield the naked sword with practised skill in another.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM THE SECOND RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII., TO THE ORDINANCES OF SEPT. 7, 1816.

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1. Extraordinary difficulties of the Government of France after the battle of Waterloo.

If England, which had been victorious in the strife, and closed a conflict of twenty years with glory unprecedented in its annals, still found itself grievously straitened and reduced to the greatest difficulties on the return of peace, what must the condition of France have been, and what the difficulties of its government, when, after having had the national passions excited to the very highest degree by the long triumph of the Republic and the Empire, it was suddenly stript of all the fruits of victory, shorn of its conquests, humbled in its pride, with its armies defeated, its emperor a captive, its capital taken? To any nation such a series of reverses must have been a subject of deep humiliation and regret; but to the French it was doubly so from the warlike character of the people, their eager desire for military glory, and the unparalleled series of successes which, in the early wars of the Revolution, had fanned this desire into a perfect passion. Seven hundred thousand armed men, in the summer of 1815, invaded the territory of the Great Nation, from the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and spreading themselves, after the contest ceased, over its whole extent, systematically began the work of retribution on France for the innumerable evils and humiliations they had experienced from it in the days of its triumphs. England alone, which

had felt no such evils and mortification, attempted no such retaliation; the state which had successfully withstood Napoleon in the plenitude of his power, now alone strove to appease the wrath of the conquerors, and restrain the uplifted arm of vengeance.

2. Difficulties arising from the changeable disposition of the French people.

To have founded a government and restored a dynasty with any prospect of success amidst such a whirlwind of disaster, would have been a matter of the utmost difficulty under any circumstances, and with any people. But in the case of the French, the difficulty was infinitely enhanced by the mobility of disposition, and extremes of passion by which they, beyond any other people recorded in history, have ever been characterised. Nations have their distinctive character as well as individuals, and what is first impressed on them by the signet-ring of nature as the peculiarity of the race, is rarely if ever changed in any subsequent period of their history. No one can have been acquainted with the men, and still more the women, of that highly intellectual and agreeable people, without being convinced that proneness to change, and readiness to pass from one extreme to another, is their great characteristic; and what individuals do in days, the nation as a whole does in years or centuries. "Emporté comme une femme" has in every age been their distinctive temperament. An eloquent French writer, who knew them well, and had himself experienced their mutability, has given the following graphic picture of the disposition of his countrymen: "The people," says Lamartine, "are like individual men; they have their passions, their reactions, their exaltation, their depression, their repentance, their hesitation, their uncertainty. What we commonly call public opinion in free governments, is nothing but the moving needle on the compass, which marks the variations in the atmosphere of human affairs. That instability is more sudden and prodigious in France than in any other country in the world, if we except the ancient Athenian races. It has become a

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byword in Europe. The French historian is bound to confess this vice in his country, of which he records the vicissitudes and signalises the virtues. That very mobility is allied to a noble quality of the great French race—Imagination; it forms part of their destiny. In war it is termed ardour; in the arts, genius; in reverses, despondency; in that despondence, inconstancy; in patriotism, enthusiasm. They are the people in modern times who have the most fire in their souls. It is the gales of that mobility which feed the flame. It is impossible to explain, but by this peculiarity in the character of the French race, the accessions of delirium which at times gain possession of the whole nation, and induce them unanimously to support, at only a few months' distance from each other, principles, men, and forms of government the most opposed to each other."[1]

[1] Lamartine, Histoire de la Restauration, v. 329, 330.

3. Important effects this produced in 1815, and causes of the violence of opinion.

Never did this extraordinary peculiarity of the French nation appear in more striking colours, or induce more important effects, than in 1815, after the return of Louis XVIII. from Ghent, and the re-establishment of the monarchy of the Bourbons in Paris. The passion for freedom, and the forms and privileges of a constitutional monarchy, which had burst forth so strongly at the opening of the Revolution, and been after suppressed by the blood of the Convention and the glories of the Empire, had broken out afresh, and spread immensely during the year of peace which followed the first restoration in 1814. Whatever had been the faults of the Bourbons during that period—and doubtless they were many—they had been against themselves and the cause of monarchical government alone; they had all redounded to the advancement and spread of Liberal opinions. An opposition to the Court, that invariable mark of a constitutional monarchy, had sprung up; and all the errors of the Executive had only weakened its own respect and augmented the influence of the Opposition. The days of sabre dominion were at an end; the access to power was to be sought

by other means than the jingling of spurs in the ante-chambers of the palace. A powerful opposition had sprung up in the Chambers, and been supported by a large portion of the public press, in the free discussion of which the newly emancipated French people took the greatest delight. The nightmare of the Revolution, the dreams of the Empire, were past, and in their stead the morning of freedom appeared to have dawned again, gilded with all the colours which, twenty-five years before, had lured the world by their brilliancy.[1]

[1] Lam. Hist. de la Rest. v. 332, 334.

4. Unbounded humiliation and sufferings of France at this time.

These hopes and expectations had been alike dashed by the second return of Napoleon, and the sudden catastrophe by which it was terminated. The rule of constitutional government was at an end; the ambition which had turned into the channels of peace was at once blasted. The delusive colours with which the generosity or policy of the allied chiefs had disguised the first conquest of France had disappeared; the veil had been suddenly withdrawn, and subjugation, with all its bitterness, had fallen upon the people. There was no longer any semblance of moderation in the language or conduct of the conquerors; the stern law of retaliation—an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth—had become the principle; the maxim *Væ victis* was not only in every mouth, but directed the movements of every hand. Requisitions, enforced by all the rigour of military execution, were everywhere made, and brought the anguish and weight of conquest home to every bosom. Already 700,000 armed men, and above 100,000 horses, were quartered in this manner on France; before autumn, their number amounted to nearly 1,040,000. The villages in the country, the small towns in the provinces, were all occupied by corps of Prussians, English, Austrians, or Russians; and every one had a story to recount of an indignity they had experienced, or a loss they had suffered. The general wrath, which had been restrained for a moment by the fascination of Napoleon's return, the terrors of the army, the

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vigour of the Imperial police, and the hopes of a return of the days of glory, now broke out on all sides in loud complaints and lamentations; and it was no consolation to the suffering peasants to be told by the old soldiers that all this was only the fate of war, and that the blow which descended on their shoulders from the Prussian troops was no more than they had themselves inflicted on the Prussians ten years before.[1]

[1] Capefigue, Hist. de la Restauration, iii. 6, 7; Lam. v. 334, 335.

5. Which occasions a universal reaction against Napoleon and his adherents.

Pride is the last weakness which can be conquered in the human heart. When either individuals or nations have undergone a great calamity, the first thing they think of is to find some individual or party on whom it can be laid; they will turn any way rather than ascribe it to its real cause—their own follies or sins. Great as may be the weight of external evils, it is as nothing to the sting of the secret mental reproach of having induced them. A scapegoat is invariably sought for to bear the burden of the sins of the nation, and take away the last and bitterest drop in the cup of misery, the consciousness of having deserved it. This scapegoat was found by the French at this disastrous epoch in Napoleon and his party. Great as had been the enthusiasm in 1789 in favour of the Republic, unbounded the exultation in 1806 at the glories of the Empire, they were equalled now by the unanimous burst of indignation at the same conqueror and his followers. All classes joined in it; all heads were swept away by the torrent. Royalists, Liberals, proprietors, merchants, agriculturists, artisans, clergy, Vendeans, Republicans, Catholics, Protestants, seaport towns, the provinces, the capital —all joined in one universal chorus against the fallen Emperor. The mothers recounted their two or three sons who had been sacrificed in Spain or Russia to the ambition of the conqueror; the fathers, their fortunes or means of subsistence that had been wrested from them by the Continental blockade or the war contributions. All had a loss to lament, a wrong to avenge.[2] They forgot that they themselves had been the first to swell the song of

[2] Lam. v. 335; Cap. iii. 6, 7; Lacretelle, Hist. de la Restauration, i. 320, 322.

triumph when these bloody successes were gained. General opinion threw itself, without measure, without reflection, into indignation against one man and his military followers, and that universal transport seized men's minds which, be it right or be it wrong, the forerunner of blessings or the herald of disaster, is generally found to be for the time irresistible.

6. Difficulties which these feelings threw in the way of the new Government.

As this transport of indignation was all directed against the enemies of the Bourbons, it might naturally be supposed that it would have favoured the return, and facilitated the government of Louis XVIII.; yet it was just the reverse; and, in truth, nothing augmented the difficulties of his position, in the first years of the second restoration, so much as the inconsiderate ardour of his party. Vengeance was the universal cry. The passions of the Revolution, the thirst for blood, again appeared, but directed against a different object. It was no longer against the Royalists or aristocrats, but against the Imperialists and revolutionists, that the persecution was directed. Misfortune had made them change sides. The people now loudly demanded the heads of those who had formerly been the objects of their idolatry. It was no easy matter for the Government, returning after so sad a calamity as the disaster of Waterloo, to moderate the vehemence of a nation torn by such violent passions, and demanding, with great semblance of justice, the sacrifice of such a multitude of delinquents. The rank, talent, and consideration, even the sex, of many who were loudest in the outcry, added to the difficulty of restraining it; for experience then again illustrated the truth, proved by so many passages in history, that when the passions are violently excited, it is in the softer sex that they appear with the most violence. Virgil never showed his knowledge of the human heart more than when he wrote the line—

"Gnarus, furens quid femina possit."

"Women," says Lamartine, "of the highest rank were implacable in their demands for blood. It would seem

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that generosity is the companion of force, and that the weaker the sex is the more is it pitiless. History is bound to say so in order to stigmatise it. Neither high birth, nor great fortune, nor literary education preserved in that crisis, more than it had done in many others, ladies of the aristocracy of Paris and of the court from the thirst for vengeance, and the sanguinary joys which had actuated women of the most abject condition under the Reign of Terror, and at the gates of the Revolutionary Tribunal."[1]

[1] Lam. v. 429; Cap. iii. 4; Lac. i. 348.

7. Difficulties of Louis XVIII. in the choice of his Ministers.

Louis XVIII., as is always the case with sovereigns in similar circumstances, was the first to feel the pressure, and he did so even before he arrived in Paris from Ghent. The necessity of choosing his ministers as soon as the battle of Waterloo had reopened to him the path to the throne, at once brought it home to the monarch. Chateaubriand had held the portfolio of the Interior during the exile of the court at Ghent, and by his great abilities, evinced in many articles in the *Courier de Gand*, had powerfully contributed to aid the Royalist cause when it seemed desperate, and was all but deserted by the world. But experience has abundantly proved that the independence of real genius is in general but ill calculated for the address and suppleness necessary for success in courts; and that Lord North was right when he said, on being urged to bring Dr Johnson into Parliament, where his great abilities, it was thought, might aid the Ministry—"Sir, he is an elephant; but he is as likely to trample down his friends as his enemies!" M. de Blacas was the Prime Minister of the fugitive monarch; but though Louis was very partial to him, his known unpopularity in France, owing to the violence of his royalist opinions, rendered it impossible for him to continue to hold that office when the court returned towards Paris. Pozzo di Borgo, the moment the news of the battle of Waterloo was received, wrote to Louis to set out immediately, and travel quickly, or he might find his place taken before he arrived. To that

timely information Chateaubriand does not hesitate to say the king owed his restoration to the throne.[1] As M. de Blacas was of necessity dismissed, the office of Prime Minister was vacant, and Louis, who instantly set out from Ghent on receiving Pozzo di Borgo's letter, at first thought of offering it to M. de Chateaubriand, and even went so far as to say to him, "I am going to separate from M. de Blacas; the place is vacant, M. de Chateaubriand."[2]

[1] Chateaubriand, Mem. d'Outre Tombe, vii. 39, 40.

[2] Ibid. vii. 44.

8. Talleyrand and Fouché are appointed to the Ministry.

But the monarch soon found that, in a constitutional monarchy, the sovereign has not in reality the choice even of his own ministers. Ere he had reached the French frontier, M. de Talleyrand had arrived; and though in the first instance coldly received by Louis, his great influence, and the important part he had played in the first restoration, in a manner forced him upon that monarch as the successor of M. de Blacas. A more serious difficulty arose soon after, from the proposal to take Fouché into the Cabinet, to which the king, as well he might, evinced the utmost repugnance. He was strongly supported, however, by the Count d'Artois and the whole extreme Royalists, whom he had succeeded in persuading that without his co-operation the Restoration was impossible. Talleyrand also supported him, as did Marshal Macdonald and Hyde de Neuville; and the Duke of Wellington, who came up and had an interview with Louis at Mons, strongly urged Louis to submit to the cruel necessity. A formal cabinet council was held at Gonesse on the 25th June on the subject, and Chateaubriand, with the utmost vehemence, maintained the opposite side. "The elevation," said he, "of such a man must produce one of two results: the abolition of the charter, or the fall of the ministry at the commencement of the session. Let us figure to ourselves such a minister, on the 21st January,* interrupted every moment by a deputy from Lyons with the words, 'You are the man!' Men of that stamp can

* The day on which Louis XVI. was executed.

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never be ostensibly beat with the mutes of the seraglio of Bajazet or the mutes of the seraglio of Napoleon. What would come of the ministers if a deputy from the tribune, with a *Moniteur* of the 9th August in his hand, should demand the expulsion of Fouché from the ministry, as, in his own words, 'a robber and a terrorist, whose atrocious and criminal conduct reflected dishonour and opprobrium on any assembly of which he may be a member?'" [1]

[1] Mém. de Chateaub. vii. 57, 58; Lac. i. 328, 329.

9. Formation of the Ministry, and retirement of Chateaubriand.

Strong as these considerations were, the necessity of the case was still stronger, and all the practical men about the king impressed upon him so urgently the impossibility of guiding the vessel of the state through the breakers with which it was surrounded, without the aid of so experienced a pilot, that he was obliged most reluctantly, at the eleventh hour, to submit. M. Talleyrand was named President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fouché, Minister of Police, with the superintendence of public opinion; Baron Louis resumed the seals of Minister of Finance; M. Pasquier became *Garde des Sceaux;* Gouvion St Cyr, Minister at War; M. Jaucourt, of the Marine; the Duke de Richelieu, the Household of the King. M. Pozzo di Borgo was offered the Ministry of the Interior, but declined it. Chateaubriand retired, being resolved to take no part in a ministry of which Fouché was a member. The party of the Count d'Artois were in transports, not less at the retirement of the sturdy royalist, than at the admission of the dexterous regicide. "Without Fouché," they exclaimed, "there can be no safety for France. He alone has saved France; he alone can complete the work he has begun." Every consideration of principle, honour, loyalty, consistency, was forgotten in the universal joy at regaining their offices and emoluments by the aid of the arch-traitor. Many went so far as to assert that, if their heads were still on their shoulders, they owed it to Fouché. Louis XVIII. and Chateaubriand, though constrained to yield to the torrent,

were not less decidedly of an opposite opinion; and before separating at St Denis, on their advance to Paris, they had the following remarkable conversation—"Eh bien!" said Louis XVIII., when they were left alone. "Eh bien, sire," replied Chateaubriand, "you have taken the Duke of Otranto." "It was unavoidable," replied the monarch; "from my brother to the *bailli de coupon*, who at least is not suspected, all said I could not do otherwise. What think you of it?" "Sire," replied Chateaubriand, "the thing is done; I request permission of your Majesty to be silent." "No, no, speak out; you know how I have resisted ever since we left Ghent." "Sire, I only obey your orders; pardon my fidelity; I think it is all over with the monarchy." The King remained some time silent, and Chateaubriand began to fear he would have cause to repent his boldness, when at length he answered, "To say the truth, M. de Chateaubriand, I am of your opinion."[1]

[1] Lac. i. 328. 329; Chateaub. Mém. vii. 69, 70.

10. The King's proclamation from Cambray. June 28.

Before leaving Cambray, the King, on the 28th June, issued a proclamation to the French people, which deserves a place in history, from the magnanimity which it breathes, and the spirit of moderation, in the most difficult circumstances, by which it was distinguished. "The gates of my kingdom," said he, "are opened before me; I hasten to collect my wandering subjects, to place myself a second time between the allied armies and the French, in the hope that the regard which I hope they feel for me may turn to the advantage of my subjects. That is the only part which I wish to take in the war; I have not permitted any Prince of my family to enter any foreign corps, and I have restrained the courage of my servants, who were desirous of ranging themselves in arms around my person. Returned to the soil of my country, I rejoice to speak to my people in the voice of confidence. When I first appeared among them, I found the minds of men carried away and agitated by passions, difficulties, and obstacles. Faults were scarcely to be

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avoided in such circumstances; perhaps they were committed. There are times when even the greatest purity of intention will not suffice; when sometimes it even misleads. Experience is then the only safe guide; it shall not be thrown away: I wish all that can save France. My subjects have learned by bitter proofs that the principle of legitimacy in sovereigns is one of the fundamental bases of the social order—the only one which can establish in the midst of a great people a wise and well-regulated liberty. That doctrine has been promulgated as that of entire Europe. I had consecrated it beforehand in my charter; and I have in view to add to it such guarantees as may secure its benefits. Much has been said, of late, of the restoration of titles and feudal rights: that fable, invented by the common enemy, has no need of being refuted. It is not to be expected that the King of France is to demean himself to reply to calumnies and lies. If the holders of national domains have conceived disquietudes, the charter should reassure them. Have I not myself proposed to the Chambers, and caused to be executed, sales of those properties? That proof of my sincerity is decisive; I do not intend to banish from my presence any but the men whose renown is a subject of grief to France, and terror to Europe. In the conspiracy which they have set on foot, I perceive many misled, some guilty; I promise—I who, as Europe knows, have never promised in vain—to pardon all the Frenchmen who have been misled, all that has passed from the day when I quitted Lille in the midst of so many tears, until that when I re-entered Cambray in the middle of so many acclamations. But the blood of my children has flowed from a treachery without example in the annals of the world. That treachery has brought the stranger into the heart of France; every day reveals to me a new disaster. I owe it then to the dignity of my throne, the interest of my people, the repose of Europe, to except from the pardon the instigators and

authors of that horrible calamity. They shall be marked out for the vengeance of the law by the two Chambers whom I propose to assemble without delay. Frenchmen, such are the sentiments which he whom time cannot change, nor misfortune exhaust, nor injustice depress, brings back into the midst of you. The King, whose ancestors have reigned over you for eight centuries, returns to devote the remainder of his days to your defence and consolation." [1]

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[1] Lac. i. 315, 317.

11. His entry into Paris. June 8.

The King arrived at St Denis on the 6th June, but he remained two days there, awaiting the occupation of the capital by the English and Prussian troops. They made their public and triumphant entry on the 7th July, and on the day following it was determined that the King should make his entrance. M. Decazes, dreading the Faubourg St Denis, through which the cortège required to pass, and which was in a violent state of fermentation, advised Louis to postpone the entry till the night; but the King replied in a worthy spirit, in allusion to the nocturnal entry of Napoleon on the 20th March, "No, I will traverse Paris at mid-day, and in the middle of my people; when they see their King in France, conspirators disappear." Still the ministers insisted, and, as the King proposed to enter in an open carriage, they represented that a shot or a stone, thrown from one of the roofs in the Rue St Denis, might prove fatal to the country. "There is a misfortune," said he, "which I shall never know—that of fearing my people." In effect, the King made his entry at noon on the 8th. Though the utmost efforts were made by the police to put the people on a wrong scent, the crowd was immense on the passage; from the Porte St Denis, where the procession entered the capital, to the Tuileries, where the King alighted, the streets seemed paved with human heads. Ever passionately fond of theatrical display, the Parisians on this occasion had a still more pressing motive for crowding to see the entry; they sought a momentary distraction to

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their thoughts—they hoped to see in the pacific monarch the dove with the olive branch, which returned with the glad tidings that the deluge was retiring. The National Guard in full uniform everywhere lined the streets, and evinced for the most part, with perfect sincerity, the utmost enthusiasm on the occasion. The applause was universal; white flags were generally hung out from the windows or suspended from the roofs, and the cheers of the multitude resembled rather the exultation felt at the sight of a triumphant conqueror, than the feelings awakened by the return of a fugitive monarch in the rear of foreign bayonets. The partisans of Napoleon, few in number, humiliated in feeling, and execrated by their countrymen, had retired with the army behind the Loire, or sheltered themselves in obscure corners of the metropolis. The feelings of all present were unanimous; tears flowed down many cheeks; the extremity of disaster had reconciled many enemies—caused many feuds to be forgotten; cries of "Vive Henri IV.!"—"Vive Louis XVIII.!" were heard on all sides; and in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and public disasters, the monarch experienced a few minutes of heart-felt joy as he re-entered the palace of his fathers.[1]

[1] Lac. i. 326, 327; Lam. v. 157, 161; Cap. iii. 3, 4.

12. Violence of the Royalists, and difficulties of Louis.

But the pleasing illusion was of short duration; and Louis soon experienced the bitter truth, that the worst possible foundation for a dynasty is conquest by foreign arms. It is impossible to imagine the violence of the victorious Royalists, or the urgency with which they besieged the sovereign for vengeance, speedy, general, and unrelenting, against the authors of all their calamities. An entire purification of the Chamber of Peers, of the magistracy, of the army, and of the ministry; the restoration to the provinces of the power of the clergy, and of the noblesse, were the conditions held out as indispensable by such of the Royalists as were most moderate, and least inclined to sanguinary measures. Argument was out of the question: there was no discussion or

division of opinion in the saloons of the Faubourg St Germain; universal transport gave vent to the universal fury. But in the midst of these dangerous excesses, the king had a very difficult part to play; for there were perils, and no light ones, on the other side; and the ministry contained men who were themselves the chief objects of popular reprobation, and yet whose aid could not be dispensed with in the critical state of public affairs. Talleyrand and Fouché, on their part, as strongly inculcated the extreme danger of any violent reactionary movement, and represented the strength of the party in France which was attached to the principles of the Revolution, enriched by its spoils, and resolute not to be stripped of any of its acquisitions. To add to the general difficulties, the allied cabinets loudly demanded some guarantee for the peace of Europe, by the punishment of the most guilty among those who had disturbed it; while the French, on all sides, as loudly complained of the dreadful exactions of the allied troops, and insisted that the first care of the sovereign should be to endeavour to procure some mitigation of the sufferings of his subjects.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 4, 7; Lac. i. 332, 333.

13. Difficulty in regard to the convocation of the Chambers, and debates on it.

But there was a question of still greater nicety, and attended with more lasting consequences, which remained behind, and that was the convocation of the legislature, without the aid of which it was evidently impossible that any of these objects could be attained, or even the government be carried on for any length of time. Two plans here suggested themselves; but each was attended with very great difficulties. The one was to convoke the deputies of 1814, who were the existing legislature at the period of the return of Napoleon from Elba; passing over the Hundred Days entirely, as a usurpation of no legal effect, and entitled to no consideration. The second was, to have a new election. It was impossible to go on with the Chamber recently elected under Napoleon, as it was of so extremely democratic a character that even his firm hand had proved unable to guide it. To an English-

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man, accustomed as the people of this country have been to the vicissitudes of a constitutional monarchy, there could be no doubt what course in these circumstances should have been pursued. This was to convoke simply both Chambers as they stood at the departure of the king for Ghent, as was done in this country on the restoration of Charles II. in 1661. But the French cabinet decided otherwise, on the ground that the first requisite of a representative legislature is to be in harmony with the feelings of the people; that the events which had passed since the preceding March were equivalent to an ordinary century; and that no unity of feeling could be expected between the representatives of the first and the people of the second restoration.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 11, 12.

14. The King issues an ordinance, changing the mode of elections, of his own authority.

But another question was wound up with the first, and upon its decision the future fate of France in a great measure hinged. By what laws were the elections to be regulated? By those of the Empire, or of preceding times during the Revolution? The Acte Additionnel, passed by Napoleon during the Hundred Days, was felt to have contained some important modifications of the charter in this respect; and it had been determined at Ghent to adopt some of them, if a second restoration should take place. In particular, the reduction in the age requisite for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies, an increase in their number, and the power of proposing laws or resolutions, seemed desirable, and in harmony with the spirit of the age. In the absence of any existing legislature, there was no authority from which these changes could emanate but that of the king in council; and the 14th article of the charter, which reserved power to the king of introducing such modifications in the charter as the interest of the state required, seemed to give sufficient authority for such a proceeding. In conformity with these views, an ordinance

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was issued, which stated in the preamble: "It was his Majesty's intention to have proposed to the two Chambers a law for the regulation of election of deputies for

the departments. His wish was to have modified, in conformity with the lessons of experience and the well-understood wishes of the nation, many articles of the charter, especially those touching the conditions of eligibility, the number of deputies, the initiative in laws, and the mode of deliberation. The misfortunes of the times having interrupted the sitting of the Chambers, the king still felt that at present the number of deputies in the departments was much too small to render the nation sufficiently represented. It seemed in an especial manner to be necessary that the national representation should be numerous; that its powers should be periodically renewed; that they should emanate directly from the electoral colleges; in fine, that the elections should be the expression of public opinion at the moment. As no act of the legislature can authorise these changes, any more than the modifications intended to be introduced into the charter, the king thought it was just that the nation should, in the mean time, enjoy the advantages it would derive from a legislature at once more numerous and less restricted in the conditions of eligibility. Wishing, at the same time, that any modification of the charter should not be considered as definitive until it had received the constitutional sanction, the proposed ordinance will be the first object in the deliberations of the Chambers. Thus the legislature will jointly enact on the law of election, and the changes to be made in the charter in that particular; and the king only takes the initiative in them so far as they are indispensable and urgent, and under the obligation to follow as closely as possible the charter and the forms already in usage."[1]

[1] Moniteur, July 12, 1815; Cap. iii. 13, 14.

15. Royal ordinance, changing the modes and rules of election. July 12.

In pursuance of these motives, the Chamber of Deputies, elected in 1814, was dissolved, and a new one summoned on an entirely new basis, which rested only on the royal ordinance. The electoral colleges were divided anew into Colleges of Departments, and Colleges of Arrondissements. The latter presented the candidates,

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among whom the colleges of departments chose the half of the deputies. The electors were permitted to vote at twenty-one, instead of twenty-five, the time fixed by the charter. The deputies were declared eligible at twenty-five, instead of thirty, the former age. The number of deputies was increased from 262 to 395; and all members of the Legion of Honour were admitted, on that qualification alone, to the suffrage. The payment of direct taxes to the amount of 300 francs (£12) was the general basis of the qualification for voting. It is particularly worthy of observation, that this great change in the constitution of the country, introducing an entire new class of voters, drawn from the army, and adding no less than 133 new members to the Chamber of Deputies, was introduced by the *sole authority of the king*, without the concurrence of any other branch of the legislature, and by a royal ordinance alone. But being for the most part a concession in favour of the democratic party, the thing passed without objection, and they silently acquiesced in an exercise of the royal power which, in this instance at least, was in their favour. The Chamber was convoked for the 24th September.[1]

[1] Ordinance, July 12, 1815; Moniteur, July 12, 1815; Cap. iii. 15, 16.

16. Disunion between the King and the Duke d'Angoulême and Count d'Artois as to the Prefects.

By this ordinance an immense deal of power was thrown into the hands of the prefects of departments, who were, especially in the south, almost entirely in the hands of the Royalist committees, composed of the most ardent and vehement Royalists. The Duke d'Angoulême had, in the first tumult, and amidst the first necessities of the restoration, received from the King the most unlimited power for the organisation of the royal authority in the southern provinces, which he had traversed in their full extent, and where he had rendered the most important services. He was intrusted in them all with the nomination of new prefects in lieu of those placed by Napoleon, subject to the approbation, however, of the king in council. As he was entirely ignorant of the proper persons to be nomi-

nated, he necessarily followed the advice of the Royalist committees; and they proposed persons so violent that great part of his nominations were not confirmed by the King. As soon as the Duke d'Angoulême was informed of this, he hastened to Paris to lay his complaints before the throne; but he was without difficulty brought to see that, in so important an affair, and one on which the ensuing elections would in a great measure depend, it was indispensable that the prefects should be in entire harmony with the cabinet. It was not so easy a matter, however, to deal with the Count d'Artois, and the Royalist committees in the north, which were under his direction; and such was the resistance experienced in many places by the royal prefects, that Talleyrand went so far as to propose in the cabinet that that Prince should be exiled from the kingdom. This strong measure was not gone into, but every effort was made to strengthen the interior administration. M. DE BARANTE was appointed Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, and M. GUIZOT Minister of Justice; and a circular, equally eloquent and judicious, soon after issued by the Government to the prefects, which had the happiest influence, revealed the pen of the former of these accomplished writers.[1]* But it augured ill for the harmony of administration, and the future fate of the monarchy, when schisms so serious took place so

[1] Ordinance, July 18, 1815; Moniteur, July 19; Cap. iii. 21, 23.

* "Faites sentir aux habitans de votre département, combien le cœur du Roi souffre surtout de ne pouvoir empêcher les désastres que la guerre entraîne à sa suite, mais que les désastres seraient plus grands encore, que notre avenir serait pour ainsi dire sans espérances, si un gouvernement honorable et toujours esclave de sa foi, ne donnait à l'Europe une garantie, que rien ne pourrait suppléer ni remplacer. Nos malheurs sont grands aujourd'hui, mais il y a quatre mois que tous les bons Français en gémissaient d'avance, et les voyaient venir à la suite du destructeur de notre patrie. En exposant nos maux je viens de tracer vos devoirs, c'est en ne vous écartant jamais de la ligne constitutionelle que suit le gouvernement du roi, en vous occupant sans relâche de tous les détails de vos fonctions, en portant vos soins sur la conduite et l'expédition des affaires, en rendant à tous une justice exacte et bienfaisante que vous pourriez apaiser quelques esprits encore exagérés et inquiets. L'appui et les avantages individuels que chaque citoyen recevra d'un régime de liberté, et d'une administration régulière, sont le meilleur et même le seul moyen de conciliation entre tous les partis."—*Circulaire aux Préfets, du Ministre de l'Intérieur*, 17th July 1815; *Moniteur*, 18th July.

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early in the royal family. At length matters came to such a pass that, after a few days' deliberation, an ordinance was issued, withdrawing the powers of the extraordinary commissioners, and restoring the whole power in the kingdom to the prefects appointed by the King.*

17. The freedom of the press is restored in all but the journals. July 15.

Ere there was time for the royal authority to obtain the benefit of these judicious ordinances, in calming, to a certain degree, the passions which distracted the country, a new subject of difficulty of the most urgent nature presented itself, and that was in regard to the press. Talleyrand and Fouché strongly urged on the cabinet the necessity of some great relaxations in this respect, as bringing the administration more in harmony with public opinion, which passionately longed for the consolation to be derived amidst all their distresses from the liberty of complaining. The liberty of the press had, by means of the censorship been totally extinguished under Napoleon; and though restored at the first restoration in 1814, it was soon found to be so dangerous an arm that it was deemed indispensable to impose some check upon it. Accordingly, the law of October 21, 1814, subjected all pamphlets or journals of less than twenty leaves to the censorship. Now, however, when public opinion was declaring itself so strongly in favour of the restoration and against the Napoleonists, it was thought that the journals alone were to be considered as dangerous, and that works of thought and reflection in the form of pamphlets, how-

* "Les circonstances extraordinaires dans lesquelles s'était trouvée la France depuis trois mois, et l'impossibilité de la faire gouverner par les magistrats royalement institués, avaient obligé de déléguer, soit par sa Majesté elle même, soit par ses ministres, des pouvoirs extraordinaires à quelques sujets dévoués qui tous avaient servi avec zèle et courage, et qui presque toujours avaient agi avec succès pour faire reconnaitre l'autorité légitime. Aujourd'hui que le Roi avait repris les rênes de son gouvernement, que le ministère était organisé et en correspondance avec les administrateurs nommés par sa Majesté, les fonctions des commissaires extraordinaires devenaient superflus et même nuisibles à la marche des affaires, en détruisant l'unité d'action qui est le premier besoin de toute administration régulière. Le Roi voulait donc que les fonctions des commissaires extraordinaires cessassent sur le champ."—*Ordonnance de* 18*me July* 1815; *Moniteur*, 19*me July*; and CAPEFIGUE'S *Hist. de la Restauration*, i. 23, 24.

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ever brief, would favour the government rather than the reverse. Louis did not share that opinion, and kept the ordinance several days beside him before it received his sanction; but at length, on the pressing solicitation of his ministers, he affixed his signature to the ordinance, removing the censorship from every publication except the journals.[1]

[1] Ordinance, July 15, 1815; Moniteur, July 16; Cap. iii. 25, 26.

18. Reasons which rendered the punishment of the leading Napoleonists necessary.

A still more hazardous subject, because one more immediately affecting the passions, required next to be considered, which was the selection of the delinquents who were to be capitally proceeded against or banished for their accession to the rebellion of 1815. Fouché was intrusted with the preparation of the lists—ostensibly as the Minister of Police—really as the person in France best acquainted with the threads of the conspiracy, and most qualified, by his familiarity with traitors, to trace them out and mark them out for public justice on this occasion. Many circumstances rendered it indispensable to select and proceed against the delinquents, and that without delay. The universal opinion at the Court, and among the Royalists, was, that it was a deep-laid conspiracy which had brought back Napoleon; that the army, under the guidance of its leading officers, was the principal agent in it; and that, if the chief conspirators were only convicted and punished, the delusion would be almost entirely eradicated in the country. The great majority of the nation, grievously wounded in their feelings by the presence, and injured in their purses by the exactions of the Allies, loudly called for the punishment of the authors of these disasters; while the representatives of the allied sovereigns at Paris, in a voice less loud, but still more effective, insisted that a great example was necessary, and that the leaders of a revolution which had involved Europe again in the flames of war, compelled a million of armed men to enter France, and cost the allied powers at least £100,000,000 sterling, must be brought to condign justice. Clemency and

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generosity had been tried at the first restoration, and failed; firmness and decision were the qualities which had now become indispensable. Louis was not ignorant with what perils any measures of severity against the marshals or generals of the army would be attended; but the circumstances left him no alternative, and orders were given to Fouché to prepare the lists of proscriptions.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 26, 27; Lac. i. 330; Lam. v. 226, 227.

19. Lists of persons to be accused prepared by Fouché, and sanctioned by a royal ordinance. July 24.

The veteran traitor drew up two lists, embracing a great proportion of the survivors of those who had been linked with himself in his innumerable treacheries and treasons during his long career; and he put the crowning act to the whole by countersigning the ordinance which marked them out for punishment. As originally prepared by him, the lists were much larger than was finally agreed to. The number of those ordered to leave Paris within twenty-four hours, which at first contained sixty names, including two ladies,* was reduced, by the humanity of Louis, or the intercession of his ministers, to thirty-eight; and nineteen were ordered to be arrested and delivered to the proper military tribunals for immediate trial. The number, considering the magnitude of the conspiracy, and the terrible results which had flowed from it, was not great; but it had a melancholy interest from the celebrity of many of the names, immortal in history, which were contained in it, and the great and glorious deeds in French annals with which they had been connected. The names were—"Marshal Ney, Labedoyère, the two brothers Lallemand, Drouet, D'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Ameile, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Deville, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, Lavalette, Rovigo." To all who are acquainted with the history of the revolutionary wars, many of these names are as household words.[2] The second list, containing the names of those who were to be banished forty leagues, was more numerous, and contained names not

*Ordinance, July 24, 1815; Moniteur, July 26; Cap. iii. 30, 31; Lac. i. 330, 331.

* Mesdames Hamelen and De Souza.

less illustrious; but it has not the absorbing interest of the former, from none of the persons contained in it having met with the same tragic fate.*

20. Ordinances regarding the Chamber of Peers, which is declared hereditary. July 24, Aug. 17, and Aug. 20.

Before any person could be brought to trial under this ordinance, two other ordinances appeared, regarding the Chamber of the Peers. By the first of these, issued on the same day as the fatal lists prepared by Fouché, it was declared that all those of the former Chamber of Peers sitting under the monarchy, who had accepted seats in the one convoked by Napoleon during the Hundred Days, should be held to have, *ipso facto*, vacated their seats in the former assembly, and be now erased from the list of its members. By another ordinance, dated 17th August, no less than eighty-two members were added to the peerage. This large addition was anxiously considered both by the king and his cabinet; and many names, after being inserted, were erased, and again inserted. The list, as finally arranged, contained many illustrious names, then for the first time elevated, or restored to that dignity, and exhibited a curious proof of the various and contending interests which had been at work in its formation. The king invested with the peerage M. de Blacas, the Count de la Chatres, the Dukes d'Enars, d'Avaray, and d'Aumont, the Count d'Artois, Viscount Chateaubriand, Count Mathieu de Montmorency, Jules de Polignac, and the Marquis de Rivière, the Duke d'Angoulême, General Monnier, Admiral Gantheaume, the Duke de Berri, the Count de la Guichè, and the Count de la Ferronnays,[1]

[1] Ordinance, Aug. 17, 1815; Moniteur, Aug. 18; Cap. iii. 41, 42.

* "Les individus dont les noms suivent—Lavois, Maréchal Soult, Alex. Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehul, Toussaint, Gen. Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Pierre Barrere, Arnault, Pomereul, Regnault de St Angely, Arrighi de Padoua, Dessau (fils,) Garraw, Réal, Bouvier, Dermstard, Merlin de Douai, Durbach, Divat, Defermont, Bory St Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin, Jancon, (fils aîné,) Letorque, Dideville—sortiront dans trois jours de la ville de Paris, et se rètireront dans l'intérieur de la France, dans le lieu que nôtre Ministre de la Police-Générale leur désignera, et où ils resteront sous sa surveillance, en attendant que les Chambres statuent sur ceux d'entre eux qui devront ou sortir du royaume ou être livrés à la poursuite des tribunaux."—*Ordonnance*, July 24th; *Moniteur*, July 25, 1815.

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M. de Talleyrand, the Abbé de Montesquieu, the Marquis d'Ormond, the Duke d'Alberg, and several others. To these were afterwards added the sons of the Duke of Montebello, of Marshal Berthier, and Marshal Bessières.

21. The peerage is declared hereditary. Aug. 19.

A still more momentous change took place by an ordinance which appeared a few days after, on August 19, making the seat in the Peers hereditary, which was the subject of long and anxious discussions during four days in the cabinet. Louis argued strongly that, in agreeing to this change, he was stripping the crown of one of its most important prerogatives, and of nearly all its influence in the Chamber of Peers. "With the cessation of ambition," said he, "my influence over the peerage is at an end. When it becomes a family inheritance, I have no power over it: I can no longer put a ring on the finger of one of my own household." Talleyrand insisted vehemently for the hereditary succession: "We must have," said he, "stability: *we must build for a long future.*" At length it was carried for the hereditary right; and the preamble of the ordinance bore—"The king being desirous to give to his people a new pledge of his anxiety to establish in the most stable manner the institutions on which the government reposes, and being convinced that nothing insures more the repose of states than that inheritance of feeling which is created in families, by being called to the exercise of important functions, which creates an uninterrupted succession of persons in high stations, whose fidelity to their prince and devotion to their country are guaranteed by the principles and examples they have received from their fathers." There can be no doubt that these observations are well founded, but unfortunately something more is required to render a hereditary House of Peers either useful or influential—either a rampart to the crown, or a barrier against its encroachments—and that is, a corresponding succession of fortune to support the dignity, which can only be

secured by territorial aristocracy, and the right of primogeniture. Both were swept away in the very commencement of the Revolution, and with them the possibility of reconstructing society in France on the basis of European freedom, in which a powerful hereditary aristocracy is an essential element. Without it there remains to society only the choice of Oriental despotism, or American equality; the tyranny of pachas and agas, or prefects, in the Old World, or the imperious commands of a numerical majority in the New.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 42, 43; Ordinance, Aug. 19, 1815; Moniteur, Aug. 20.

22. Arrival of the Allied Sovereigns in Paris. July 8 and 11.

In the midst of these important discussions, the allied sovereigns returned to Paris. The importance of the negotiations of which it had become the theatre rendered their presence indispensable. But their entry was very different from what it had been the year before: the melodramatic display of generosity was at an end; the reality of vengeance was to commence. They came without external pomp or parade, and after their arrival were entirely occupied with the important negotiations which were going forward. If they appeared at all, it was attended by a single footman, and driving in a travelling caleche with a pair of horses. They had no need of the pomp of royalty in the metropolis; their attendants were sufficiently numerous through the country. They extended from the British Channel to the Pyrenees. Never had such an inundation of armed men poured over a single country. Eight hundred thousand warriors in the highest state of discipline and equipment had already entered, and the stream still continued to flow on without any visible abatement. The eastern provinces could no longer contain the armed multitude; already they extended over the central parts of the country, and were even approaching those which were washed by the Atlantic waves. A certain district behind the Loire, occupied by the troops which had retired from Paris, and the wreck of the army which had fought at Waterloo, alone remained in the hands of the French,[2]

[2] Cap. iii. 44,45; Lam. v. 189, 190.

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surrounded by the innumerable multitude of their enemies; but even this last relic of nationality was ere long swept away.

23. Army of the Loire.

The army which had retired under the command of Marshal Davoust behind the Loire was still 45,000 strong, with 120 guns; and as it was for the most part composed of the corps of Marshal Grouchy, which had, comparatively speaking, suffered little during the brief campaign in the Netherlands, it presented a very imposing appearance. The peasants in the departments in which it was cantoned, seeing those dense battalions, splendid regiments of cavalry, and long trains of artillery and caissons, still in the finest possible order, could not be persuaded that the army had suffered any serious reverse, and loudly demanded to be incorporated in its ranks, and led against the enemy. The soldiers, and nearly all the colonels and inferior officers, shared the same sentiments; insomuch that it was with no small difficulty that they were restrained within the bounds of discipline, and prevented from breaking into open revolt. The chiefs of la Vendée had entered into correspondence with them, and offered to array the whole strength of the western provinces round the sacred standard of national independence. But noble as these sentiments were, and honourable to the men who in this extremity forgot their former feuds in the common desire to save their country, they were far from being shared by the superior officers and generals of the army—Marshal Davoust, General Haxo, General Gerard, and Kellerman, who were at its head. Without undervaluing their own resources, they were more aware of the strength of the enemy opposed to them. It was in vain to expect that 45,000 or 50,000 men could maintain a contest with 400,000 or 500,000, who could be brought to bear upon them. Davoust accordingly issued a proclamation to the soldiers on the 14th July, in which he called on the troops to unite themselves to the king;[1] and, however unpalatable

[1] Lam. v. 182, 183; Cap. iii. 49, 50.

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to them the stern realities of their situation, it carried conviction to every breast.*

24. Its submission. July 15.

So general was the feeling of the absolute necessity of these sentiments, that on the day following Davoust was enabled to present to the king the unqualified submission of the troops. "Sire!" said he, "the army, full of confidence in your generosity, and determined to prevent, by uniting itself to you, civil war, and to bring back, by their example, such as may be estranged from you, flatters itself that you will receive its submission with kindness, and that, throwing a veil over the past, you will not close your heart to any of your children." On the day following, Davoust ventured on the still more decisive and perilous step of causing them to hoist the white flag. "Soldiers!" said he, "it remains for you to complete the act of submission you have just made, by a painful but necessary sacrifice. Hoist the white flag! I know that I demand of you a great sacrifice; during twenty-five years we have gloried in the colours which we bear. But, great as it is, the good of our country demands that sacrifice. I am incapable, soldiers, of giving you an order which is contrary to your honour: preserve for your country a brave and numerous army."[1]

[1] Moniteur, July 17, 1815; Lam. v. 183, 184.

25. Disbanding of the army of the Loire.

But although the army of the Loire had thus hoisted the white flag, and submitted to the royal authority, it still formed a formidable body, and its dissolution was justly deemed by the allied sovereigns an indispensable condi-

* "Les commissaires donnent l'assurance qu'une réaction ne sera pas à craindre, que les passions seront dominées, les hommes respectés, les principes sauvés; qu'il n'y aura point de destitutions arbitraires dans l'armée, que son honneur sera à couvert. On en a pour gage la nomination du Maréchal St Cyr au ministère de la guerre, celle de Fouché au ministère de la police. Ces conditions sont acceptables. L'intérêt national doit réunir franchement l'armée au roi. Cet intérêt exige quelques sacrifices; faisons les avec une énergie modeste. L'armée, l'armée unie deviendra au besoin le centre de ralliement des Français et des Royalistes eux-mêmes! Unissons-nous, serrons-nous, ne nous séparons jamais. Soyons Français! Ce fut toujours, vous le savez, le sentiment qui domina mon âme. Il ne me quittera qu'avec mon dernier soupir." — *Proclamation du Maréchal Davoust*, July 14, 1815; *Moniteur*, July 15, 1815.

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tion of a general peace. The Emperor Alexander, in particular, was in an especial manner urgent upon that point, and through his minister, Nesselrode, demanded, in peremptory terms, its immediate disbanding. Several secret notes had been presented to that sovereign, which painted in strong but not exaggerated colours the danger of allowing a powerful body of turbulent men, trained by twenty years of war and license, to remain as a nucleus for the disaffected in the heart of the country.* No sooner was the formal demand for the dissolution of the army of the Loire presented by the allied sovereigns to the French Government, than they took the most effective means to enforce compliance with the requisition. 225,000 men rapidly defiled towards the Loire, and took up positions around it in every direction, which rendered resistance or escape alike impossible. The king made no opposition to the demand, too happy to have the powerful armies of the Allies to enforce a measure, indispensable alike for the stability of his throne and the peace of his kingdom. No new ordinance was promulgated; the ordinance of 23d March 1815, which proclaimed the disbanding of the army on Napoleon's return, was only officially published, and ordered to be acted upon by the authorities. Thus France was spared the mortification of seeing her army disbanded by an ordinance emanating directly from the allied headquarters.[1]

[1] Moniteur, July 24, 1815; Cap. iii. 45, 47; Lam. v. 192, 193.

Marshal Gouvion St Cyr, as war minister, was intrusted with the regulations for the reorganisation of

* "Vingt années de guerre et de licence ont formé en France une population militaire qui se refuse à tout ordre et à toute soumission. L'armée voulait la chance des hazards, les dotations, et les avancements dans les grades. Elle ne les voyait que dans le rappel de son chef, et elle y était decidée avec rage. L'armée Française rappelle à la fois les souvenirs des Mameluks en Egypte, de la Garde Prétorienne à Rome, des Arabes fanatiques sous Mahomet. Pour servir à l'époque de la paix, cette armée doit être décomposée, moralisée, si on ne parvient pas à en détruire les trois quarts. Il faut donc l'attaquer sans perdre de temps. Il n'y a pas à hésiter; il faut que cette armée soit attaquée, détruite, les prisonniers conduits en Russie doivent y rester assez longtemps pour s'amender comme les déportés à Botany Bay."—CAPEFIGUE, i. 45, 46.

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the army. The great object in view, in that measure, was to extirpate the *esprit de corps* which attached so strongly to particular regiments from the memory of glorious deeds, and substitute in its room the attachments and associations connected with the provinces. For this purpose the whole army was not only disbanded, but entirely broken up, the officers and men detached from each other, and rearranged in new battalions formed after a totally different manner. Eighty-six departmental legions, of three battalions each, were formed, and fifty-two of cavalry and artillery. Every soldier, conscript or recruit, was enrolled in the legion of the department where he had been born; and the old soldiers of the Empire were so scattered through the different legions that not only was their spirit broken, but their numbers rapidly declined, and their ascendancy was at an end. This plan, the execution of which was intrusted to the experienced hand of Marshal Macdonald, was admirably calculated to extinguish the military *esprit de corps* in the army, which had proved so fatal to France and to Europe; but it was likely to induce hazards of a different kind if serious internal troubles arose again, and the ardent Royalist legions of la Vendée and Provence came to be arrayed against the sturdy republicans of Burgundy or Alsace.[1]

26. Reorganisation of the army into departmental legions.

[1] Cap. iii. 49, 51; Lam. v. 193; Lac. i. 343, 344.

Another mortification, not so great in reality, but more galling, because more visible to the senses, awaited the Parisians in the breaking up of the great museum, and the restoration of those glorious works of art which had been carried off by the French from all the countries which they had conquered. This important event, which has been already noticed as closing the great drama of the French Revolution,[2] requires to be again mentioned in this place, as commencing the new drama which was to succeed it; for such is the ceaseless succession of human events, and the connection between the chains which unite them, that what appears to terminate with poetic justice

27. Breaking up of the Museum.

[2] Hist. of Europe, c. xcv. §§ 18, 23.

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one epoch, is found to have been only the commencement of a new one. Among the many difficulties which beset the government of the Bourbons during the first years of the Restoration, not the least arose from the ulcerated feelings which this great act of retributive justice awakened in the breasts of the French people. They were incapable of appreciating the dignified self-restraint which led the Allies, when they had the power, to abstain from following their bad example, and to confine the abstraction to the restitution of the works of art which they had reft from the European states. They saw only in the breaking up of the museum a convincing proof of the reality of their subjugation, and themselves experienced the anguish which they had so often inflicted on others. No one could deny the justice of their doom—

"Neque enim lex æquior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

But no one need be told that, however much the justice of this rule may satisfy the feelings of others, it is anything but a consolation to the sufferers under it; and that, of all the aggravations of the pains of punishment, there is, perhaps, none so great as the secret consciousness of having ourselves induced it.[1]

[1] Lac. i. 338, 339; Lam. v. 185, 186.

28. Desperate state of the finances.

The state of the finances of the kingdom was so desperate that nothing could well exceed it; and if some breathing time had not been given by the Allies in their requisitions, utter ruin must have overtaken the French nation. Baron Louis, the new finance minister, had entered upon the duties of his office on the evening of the 10th July. He found the coffers empty, credit ruined, the revenue forestalled by the requisitions in the provinces, or dried up by the impossibility of collecting any taxes. In the general despair, every one looked only to his own security; and the most obvious and efficacious way of doing that appeared to be for every person to hold fast by his own property, and cease altogether the payment of any demand by another. Revenue there

was none; for the bayonets of the Allies, who had overspread three-fourths of the territory of France, forced payment of their scourging requisitions without leaving a sous to meet any other demand. Several measures to raise a supply for the immediate necessities of the state were adopted, as the sale of woods, and certain properties belonging to municipalities, which the Crown had a right to dispose of. But this was a trifling and temporary relief only; the material thing was to get some modification in the grinding requisitions of the Allies, which rendered all collection of the revenue for the internal necessities of the kingdom hopeless. The capitalists, who had great confidence in the good faith of the Government and credit of the country, made this an absolute condition of any advances on their part to meet the necessities of the state; and at length, on the urgent representations of Baron Louis, an arrangement was concluded which in some degree alleviated the distress of the treasury. It was agreed that, in consideration of the sum of 100,000,000 francs, (£4,000,000 sterling,) instantly paid down, the requisitions should cease for two months. This sum was raised by forced loans laid on the chief towns, in payment of which the Government agreed to take bills payable at distant dates, which the treasury discounted on reasonable terms. The measure was violent, but the public necessities left no alternative; *

* The following table exhibits the income and expenditure of France for the last years of the war, and first of the Restoration:—

	Receipts.		Expenditure.	
	Francs.		Francs.	
1812,	1,070,000,000	or £42,800,000	1,076,014,000,	or £43,000,000
1813,	1,150,000,000	" 46,000,000	1,171,418,000,	" 46,800,000
1814,	637,432,000	" 25,500,000	709,394,626,	" 28,280,000
1815,	876,318,232	" 35,000,000	931,441,404,	" 37,200,000
1816,	1,036,804,534	" 41,400,000	1,055,854,028,	" 42,250,000,

—*Statistique de la France*—Finance, p. 12.

During the reign of Napoleon, nearly half the expenditure of France was levied on foreign states, and did not appear in the finance accounts at all. From 1814 downwards it was reduced to its own resources. The great expenditure of 1816 was owing to the war-contributions to the Allies.

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and to the credit of the French capitalists it must be added that they came liberally forward, and aided the municipalities powerfully in providing for the sums assessed upon them. So successful were their efforts, that the crisis was surmounted better than could have been expected. The deficit for the year was only 55,000,000 francs, (£2,200,000,) the income being 876,318,232 francs, (£35,000,000,) and the expenditure 931,441,404 francs, or £37,200,000.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 51, 52; Stat. de la France, Art. Finances, pp. 7, 8.

29. Settlements of the allied troops in France, and their exactions.

Notwithstanding this convention, which afforded great relief when it was once fully acted upon, and the regular payments begun, the exactions of the Allies continued without intermission; and on all sides fresh bodies of armed men were continually pouring into the devoted country. There seemed no end to the crusade: large as France is, it seemed almost incapable of containing the prodigious multitude which poured into its territory. The Allies divided its provinces between them, and the districts they severally occupied were deemed ominous of an approaching partition of their country. The English, Hanoverians, and Belgians, 80,000 strong, were quartered in the provinces between Paris and the Flemish frontier. The Prussians were encamped in a mass round Paris, and stretched from thence to the Loire and the Atlantic Ocean: their insolence and overbearing manner, as well as exactions, the requital of six years of French bondage, excited universal indignation. The Austrians, Bavarians, and Wirtemburgers, were scattered over Burgundy, the Nivernois, the neighbourhood of Lyons, and Dauphiné. The Piedmontese and Austrians from Italy occupied Provence and Languedoc; the numerous corps of the Russians overspread the plains of Lorraine and Champagne; the Saxon and Baden troops, Alsace; the Hungarians were spread out along the shores of the Mediterranean. "Pour comble de malheur," as the French historians say, 40,000 Spaniards crossed the frontier, and inundated Roussillon and the roots of the Pyrenees,

not to engage in the conflict, for it was entirely over, but to share in the expected booty. The Duke d'Angoulême, by hastening to the spot, and by great personal exertions, succeeded in persuading this uncalled-for and unruly body of invaders to retire. Never before — not even in the days of universal mourning, when the Northern nations overthrew the Roman Empire, and, advancing like a resistless torrent, drove the whole native population before them—had such an inundation of armed men overwhelmed a country; and never had a people been so thoroughly subjugated, for already 800,000 foreign soldiers occupied their territory, and their native army was disbanded. The moderation of the conquerors was their last remaining hope.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 167, 168; Lam. v. 189, 190; Lac. i. 345, 346.

30. Reaction in the south. June 25.

This dreadful accumulation of evils produced its usual result in ulcerating the minds of men. In the south, especially, the effect appeared with extraordinary vehemence, for not only were the inhabitants of its provinces all of a warm and ardent temperament, but the party feuds of centuries' duration between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and subsequently between the Royalists and Republicans, had inspired them with the most violent hatred against each other. Disorders there were already seen to be inevitable during the month of June, when the Imperial armies were collected on the frontier, and few armed men remained in the provinces to suppress the general effervescence, when, on the 25th of that month, the news of the battle of Waterloo arrived, and the telegraph brought to General Verdier, the commander of the district, at the same time the intelligence of the abdication of Napoleon. The news arrived at Marseilles on Sunday at noonday, when the people were just leaving church, and instantly spread like wildfire through the city and the adjoining districts. Being all ardent Royalists, the intelligence excited them to the very highest degree. The transports were universal—the enthusiasm unbounded. General Verdier had a regiment of infantry, a battery of

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artillery, and several squadrons of horse, at his command, and with military instinct they arranged themselves round their commander on the commencement of the crisis; and the firm countenance of the troops, who shouted incessantly "Vive l'Empereur," for a time restrained the ardour of the people, among whom the cry of "Vive le Roi" was on the point of breaking out. But the Royalists got possession of the church steeples, and sounded the tocsin; and its well-known clang, with the flying rumours already in circulation, soon brought a prodigious concourse of peasants from the country into the streets. This accession of strength rendered the transports of the Royalists uncontrollable. Cries of "Vive le Roi" burst from all sides. The troops were soon enveloped by an insurgent and menacing multitude; and Verdier, despairing of the possibility of maintaining himself in his posts, though there were two forts commanding the city, and dreading the responsibility of commencing a civil war, while as yet uncertain what authority was to obtain the ascendancy at Paris, evacuated the town in the course of the evening, and retreated with all his forces to Toulon.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 404, 406; Cap. iii. 171, 173; Lac. i. 347, 348.

31. Massacre at Marseilles. June 25 and 26.

This retreat was the signal for the commencement of the massacre; and never did the violent passions and savage disposition of the inhabitants of the south of France appear in more frightful colours. The effervescence was so great, the people so violent, that the troops had considerable difficulty in making their way through the multitudes which thronged around them on every side; but after they were gone, all order ceased, and the reaction burst forth with ungovernable fury. It began with the murder of a few Mamelukes, with their wives, who had followed the army of Napoleon back from Egypt. They were cut down without mercy, many on the harbour's edge, where they had fled in hopes of finding barks to escape from their murderers. The whole, with their wives and children, were slaughtered, and

thrown into the water. A few who had swam out to sea were despatched by musket shots after they had gained a considerable distance. Having once tasted of blood, the multitude was as fierce as maddening wolves in pursuit of their prey. During the whole night, and the day following, they sought out the old officers and soldiers of the Imperial army, and bayoneted them without mercy. Among the victims was M. Angles Capefigue, a man of eminence and respectability, the friend of Massena, and many of the leading men of the Empire; his body was pierced in a hundred places with pikes. Powerless, and passed by their followers, in the strife, the Royalist Committee remained passive spectators of the massacre. At length, after two days of tumult and bloodshed, and the loss of above a hundred lives, a sort of urban guard was assembled, and messengers despatched to some English vessels in the bay, and by the aid of succour sent by them an end was put to the massacre. Marseilles proved on this occasion the satanic wisdom with which the chiefs of the Gironde had sent for and awaited the arrival of the Fédérés de Marseilles, to head the insurrection on the 18th August 1792.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 174, 176; Lam. v. 405, 406; Lac. i. 349, 350; Hist. of Europe, c. vii. § 90.

32. Departure of Marshal Brune for Paris. July 31.

Marshal Brune was at this time intrusted with the general command in the south of France; and he was at Toulon when Verdier arrived with the troops from Marseilles, followed soon after by intelligence of the frightful atrocities committed in that city. Uncertain at first which party was to gain the ascendancy at Paris, he temporised for a few weeks, but in the end of July, finding the authority of the king firmly established in the capital, and generally recognised throughout France, he hoisted the white flag, and sent in his adhesion. The Royalists had no fault to reproach him with but his ready recognition of Napoleon, and tardy return to the colours of the monarchy. To explain his conduct in these particulars, the marshal set out on the 31st for Paris by land. His friends, who dreaded the catas-

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trophe which followed, in vain besought him to change his route, and embark at Toulon for Havre de Grace. The old soldier revolted at such a proposal as an imputation on his courage, and, only the more resolute to brave the dangers from the representations of their reality, persevered in his intention of proceeding by land.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 407; Cap. i. 177; Lac. i. 351.

33. He is murdered at Avignon. Aug. 2.

On the 2d August he arrived at Avignon, whither the rumour of his approach had preceded him. He stopped in the morning at a hotel near the Rhone to change horses; his countenance was recognised, and a crowd immediately assembled, in which the ferocious passions and vehement spirit of the south were soon conspicuous. A rumour, as false as it was certain to be believed, spread rapidly through the crowd, that he had been actively concerned in the massacres of September 1792 in Paris, and had actually carried the head of the Princess of Lamballe, affixed to a pike, to the windows of the king. His friends in vain represented that he was not in Paris at all, but on the frontier with the army, on the occasion. That statement, though true, did not produce the slightest impression. It was added, that he was not going to Paris, but to the army of the Loire, to aid in leading the troops and renewing the war. Twice he set out from the hotel under the escort of the prefect, M. de St Chamont, the mayor of Avignon, and a handful of intrepid citizens, who, though Royalists, had hastened with generous devotion to save the life of their opponent at the hazard of their own; and twice he was forced to return, from the experienced impossibility of forcing a passage. At length the people became so furious that all resistance was in vain; they violently assaulted the principal gate of the hotel, and while the prefect and mayor, with a handful of troops, bravely made good that post, a few dastardly assassins got in by a back window, and, breaking into the room where the marshal was, laid him dead at their feet by

two shots from carbines. Ferocious shouts, as from the demons of hell, immediately followed the bloody deed: the body was dragged by the heels through the streets, and cast into the Rhone. That rapid stream quickly floated it down to the sea, by the waves of which the body was cast ashore in a deserted haven between Arles and Tarascon, where it was descried amidst the sea-weed by the vultures, which in those warm climates never fail to discover their prey. Their concourse attracted the attention of a poor fisherman, who approached the spot and discovered the corpse. He retired at the moment for fear of danger to himself, for, being an old soldier, he recognised the features of him who had once been his general; but returned at night, and with his own hands gave it a decent sepulture in the sands of the shore—as if to prove that the most renowned tragedies of antiquity were to find a parallel in those which arose out of the French Revolution.[1] *

[1] Lam. v. 408, 411; Cap. iii. 178, 179; Lac. i. 351, 352.

34. Farther massacres in the south. Aug. 15.

Such was the impotence, not merely of the constituted authorities, but of the Royalist committees, who were supposed to direct the public movement, that the official gazette announced that Marshal Brune, menaced by the populace of Avignon, had committed suicide. It was not for a considerable time after that the real facts became known—so powerful is popular passion, not merely in instigating to the most atrocious deeds, but in concealing their enormity, or misrepresenting their character. The horrid example was not long in being followed in the adjoining provinces. Bands of assassins, issuing from Avignon, Nîmes, and Toulouse, devastated the houses of the suspected persons wherever they could be found, and perpetrated cruelties on the unhappy inmates, which recalled the memory of the worst atrocities of the Revolution. After sacking the chateau of

* The classical reader need not be reminded of the freed man and old soldier of Pompey celebrating the funeral obsequies on the shores of Egypt, after the battle of Pharsalia.

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Vaquerville, the wretched inhabitants were burnt alive in its flames. At Toulouse, General Ramel, commander of the department, was murdered in his own hotel in open day. A band of assassins burst into the room where he was sitting. "What do you wish?" said he. "To kill you, and in you, an enemy of the king," was the reply of one, pointing his musket at his breast. A sentinel sprang forward and turned aside the muzzle. Ramel drew his sword and advanced, determined to sell his life dearly; but while he did so, a fresh shot pierced him through the breast, and he fell mortally wounded beside the faithful sentinel, who had been already slain by his side. The dying general was carried up to his room and stretched on his bed; but soon the assassins burst in, and although the surgeon on his knees besought them to spare the last minutes of a dying man, they hacked him with sabres, and plunged pikes in his body, till he was literally cut to pieces. When this was done, the frightful multitude defiled regularly in, and went round the bed singing songs of triumph, and dipping their pikes in the blood of his mangled remains.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 447, 448; Cap. iii. 181, 182; Lac. i. 353, 354.

35. Atrocities at Nîmes and the surrounding country.

These atrocities were but a specimen of what went on during the whole of August in the south of France. At Nîmes, the brave General Lagardt was severely wounded, while endeavouring at the head of his troops to suppress a sedition in the public square, which had arisen from no other cause but his having had the courage to arrest Trestaillon, the chief of the assassins. This open contempt of the law produced a great impression on the king, who ordered an unlimited number of troops to be quartered on the town till the guilty parties were given up. But this act of firmness produced no result. Justice, as usual in such cases, was impotent in the midst of crime; the tyrant majority was alike guilty and secure of impunity. Unable to make head against such a universal *débâcle* of violence, the prefect of the department, M. Darbaud de Jouque, a moderate but

firm man—selected for that perilous office from his known ability to discharge its duties—entreated the Duke d'Angoulême to come to Nîmes, in the hope that the presence of a deservedly beloved prince of the blood would tend to calm the effervescence of his impassioned adherents. He arrived accordingly, and for a time succeeded in overawing the violence of the Royalists. When pressed by numerous influential bodies, especially among the Roman Catholic clergy, to order the liberation of Trestaillon, he replied, "No! I will never screen assassins and incendiaries from the law." Trestaillon accordingly was brought to trial; but then the inherent weakness of jury trial amidst the effervescence of the passions became apparent. Both he and Bovines, the assassin of Lagardt, were, in the face of the clearest evidence, acquitted unanimously by the jury, and immediately carried in triumph through the streets of the town which they had disgraced by their crimes.[1]

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[1] Lam. v. 413, 416; Lac. i. 352, 353; Cap. iii. 181, 182.

36. Persecution of the Protestants by the Roman Catholics.

The impunity with which these atrocious crimes were committed led to a fearful multiplication of similar deeds of blood. The passions of the moment became engrafted on those of centuries' duration, and the power of murdering without risk revived the frightful thirst for blood which in those regions had led to the crusade against the Albigeois, and all the savage deeds which have for ever disgraced the Roman Catholic religion. The two most violent and dangerous passions which can inflame the human breast—political zeal and religious fanaticism—were aroused with the utmost violence at the same time, and for once pulled in the same direction. The Royalists held that they were entitled by their temporal wrongs to wreak their vengeance without restraint on the Napoleonists; the Roman Catholics deemed themselves secure of salvation, when they burned the temples or plunged their pikes in the bosom of the Protestants. The crusade of the thirteenth was blended with the reaction of the nineteenth century. In vain the allied

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sovereigns interested themselves in the unhappy Protestants of the south; in vain the Duke of Wellington, with generous humanity, made the utmost efforts for their protection. The king issued a noble proclamation, denouncing these atrocities, and calling on the magistrates to bring the guilty parties to justice.* The prefects followed his example, and called on all good citizens to aid them in the discovery and prosecution of the assassins, who were a disgrace to society. It was all in vain; the guilty majority was omnipotent. The free institutions which France had won proved the safeguard of the criminals. The guilty were screened from arrest; if taken, witnesses were suborned, removed, intimidated; juries proved "the judicial committee of the majority,"† and acquitted in the face of the clearest evidence; and, to the disgrace of free institutions be it said, the whole of this long catalogue of frightful crime in the south of France passed over without *one single criminal being brought to justice*, while more than one judicial murder, on the other side, proved that the passions of the moment could direct the verdicts of juries as well as the pikes of assassins.[1] Tranquillity was not restored till, by orders from headquarters at Paris, the

[1] Lam. v. 419, 422; Cap. iii. 55, 182, 184; Lac. i. 353.

* "Nous avons appris avec douleur, que dans les départements du Midi, plusieurs de nos sujets se sont récemment portés aux plus coupables excès; que sous prétexte de se faire les ministres de la vengeance publique, des Français, satisfaisant leurs haines et leurs vengeances privées, avaient versé le sang des Français, même depuis que notre autorité était universellement rétablie et reconnue dans notre royaume. Certes, d'infâmes trahisons, de grands crimes, ont été commis, et ont plongé la France dans une abîme de maux:- mais la punition de ces crimes doit être nationale, solennelle, et régulière; les coupables doivent tomber sous le glaive de la loi, et non sous le poids de vengeances particulières. Ce serait bouleverser l'ordre social que de se faire à la fois juge et exécuteur pour les offences qu'on a reçues, ou même pour les attentats commis contre notre personne. Nous espérons que cette odieuse entreprise de prévenir l'action des lois a déjà cessé; elle serait un attentat contre nous et contre la France, et quelque vive douleur que nous pussions en ressentir, rien ne servit épargné pour punir de tels crimes. C'est pourquoi nous avons recommandé par des ordres précis à nos ministres et à nos magistrats de faire strictement respecter les lois, et de ne mettre ni indulgence ni faiblesse dans la poursuite de ceux qui les ont violées."—*Moniteur*, July 20, 1815; CAPEFIGUE, i. 54.

† De Tocqueville in regard to America.

allied troops were spread over the disturbed districts, and the Imperialists and Protestants found that shelter under the bayonets of their enemies, which they could no longer look for in the justice of their countrymen.

37. Temper of France during the elections.

It was in the midst of this vehement effervescence of the passions that the elections took place over France; and never was evinced in a more striking manner the extreme danger of appealing to the people during a period of violent public excitement than on that occasion. Already the King and Council of State, who were resolutely bent on moderate measures, had become apprehensive of the violence of the current which was setting in in their own favour, and strove by every means in their power to moderate it. Secret instructions were sent down to the prefects and presidents of colleges, to favour as much as was in their power, or consistent with their duty, the return of members who might not by their violence occasion embarrassment to the Government. Fouché set all his agents and intrigues, and they were not a few, in motion, to support the Republican candidates, and form a respectable minority, at least, in favour of liberalism. But it was all in vain; and the elections of 1815 afforded the first indication of what subsequent events have so completely proved, that though France in general is entirely submissive to Paris, and follows with docility the mandates of the capital, yet its real opinion is often very different; and when an opportunity does occur, in which it can make its voice be heard, it does so in a way which cannot be mistaken.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 185, 186; Lam. v. 333, 335; Lac. i. 354, 357.

38. Their ultra-Royalist character.

Public opinion in the provinces threw itself, without reflection and without reserve, into the very extremes of Royalist prejudice. Prudence, wisdom, foresight, moderation, justice, were alike disregarded; one only voice was listened to—it was that of passion; one only thirst was felt—it was that of vengeance. A flood, broad and irresistible as the tides of the ocean, overspread France from the banks of the Rhine to the shores of the Atlantic.

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All attempts to stem it were in vain, or rather, by irritating, they tended only to inflame its violence. Even the presence of the allied troops, and their occupation of the cities and departments where the elections were going on, was no restraint upon the general fervour: on the contrary, they tended only to increase it; for who had brought that burden upon themselves—that disgrace upon their country? Mortified by defeat, humiliated by conquest, oppressed by contributions, irritated by insult, the French people had no mode of giving vent to their universal feelings of indignation, but by returning to the legislature members animated by the same sentiments; and so strong were their feelings, so universal their indignation, that they sent to Paris a Chamber of Representatives more counter-revolutionary than the allied sovereigns—more Royalist than the King.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 335, 336; Cap. iii. 186, 187.

39. Dismissal of Fouché from the ministry.

The known tendency of these elections, and the increasing vehemence with which extreme Royalist opinions were promulgated in the now unfettered pages of the Parisian press, rendered the position of the two leaders of the revolutionary party in the ministry every day more precarious. Fouché in particular, against whom, from the bloody reminiscences connected with him, and his unparalleled tergiversations, the public indignation was in an especial manner directed, began to perceive that he would not be able much longer to maintain his ground. The party of the Count d'Artois daily insinuated to the King that public opinion was now declaring itself so strongly that all attempts to withstand it were in vain, and that both Talleyrand and Fouché must be dismissed. The latter, conscious of the sinister eyes with which he was regarded, came now very rarely to the Tuileries: when he did so, a murmur always ran through the courtiers, "There is the regicide." The very persons who, a few months before, had joined in the chorus that he was the saviour of France, and the only man who could extricate it from its difficulties, because it was likely to favour their ambition, were now

the first to exclaim against him, because he threatened to oppose it. In despair of being able to influence the affections of men, he appealed to their fears, and wrote with his usual ability several reports on the state of public opinion and of the country, ostensibly intended for the eye of the King, but which, from the extensive circulation surreptitiously given to them, were obviously intended to intimidate the Court. In them he portrayed in strong, even exaggerated colours, the dangers of the country, and the strength of the party, especially among the great body of the rural proprietors, who were still attached to the principles of the Revolution.* Notwithstanding the sinister appearances against him, he was nothing daunted. He married a young lady of good family, Madame de Castellane, whom he had met at Aix at the close of the Empire; and relying on his talents, his good fortune, the favour of the Duke of Wellington, and the political necessity which had compelled the King to get over his repugnance, he still hoped to overcome the difficulties with which he was surrounded. He now openly professed his adherence to the principles of monarchy.[1] "When one is young," said he, "revolutions please; they excite—they agitate, and

[1] Cap. iii. 114, 115; Lam. v. 336, 341; Lac. i. 356, 357.

* "Les villes sont opposées aux campagnes, dans l'ouest même, où l'on vous flatte de trouver des soldats. Les acquéreurs de domaines nationaux y résisteront à quiconque entreprendrit de les déposseder. Le Royalisme du midi s'exhale en attentats. Des bandes armées parcourent les campagnes et pénétrent dans les villes. Les pillages, les assassinats se multiplient. Dans l'est, l'horreur de l'invasion et les fautes des précédents ministres ont aliéné les populations. Dans la majorité des départements on trouverait seulement une poignée de Royalistes à opposer à la masse du peuple. Le repos sera difficile à l'armée; une ambition démesurée l'a rendue aventureuse.

"Il y a deux grandes factions dans l'état. L'une défend les principes; l'autre marche à la contre-révolution. D'un côté le clergé, les nobles, les anciens possesseurs des biens nationaux aujourd'hui vendus, les membres des anciens parlements, des hommes obstinés, qui ne veulent pas croire que leurs idées anciennes soient en défaut, et qui ne peuvent pardonner à une Révolution qu'ils ont maudite; d'autres qui fatigués du mouvement, cherchent le repos dans l'ancien régime; quelques écrivains passionnés flatteurs des opinions triomphantes. Du côté opposé, la presque totalité de la France, les constitutionnels, les républicains, l'armée, et le peuple, toutes les classes des mécontents, une multitude de Français même attachés au Roi, mais qui sont convaincus qu'une tentative, et qui même une tendance à l'ancien régime, serait le signal d'une explosion semblable à celle de 1789."—*Mémoire de Fouché*, LAMARTINE, v. 339, 340.

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we love to mingle in them; but at my age they have lost their charm: we sigh for repose, order, and security; we no longer wish to gain, but to enjoy."

40. Fall of Fouché, and his death.

Talleyrand now saw that Fouché was no longer necessary to the maintenance of his power—that, on the contrary, the prejudice against him was so violent that it seriously impeded the Government. He consented, therefore, not unwillingly, to the instances of the Count d'Artois and his party, who urged his dismissal. To give a colour to his downfall, he was in the first instance appointed minister at the court of Saxony. With his fall from power, Fouché's influence was at once at an end; and with such violence did the public indignation burst forth against him, that he was obliged, in crossing France on his way to the Rhine, to travel in disguise under a false name, and with a false passport. Within a few months after his arrival at Dresden, he was recalled from that office, forbidden to return to France, and exiled to Austria, where he spent the last days of his life in obscurity at Lintz, alike detested and despised by all parties in the world. His vote for the death of Louis XVI., and his atrocities at Lyons, had for ever shocked the Royalists—his signature of the recent lists of proscription alienated the Republicans. His only consolation was in the kindness and tenderness of his young wife, who, with a true woman's fidelity, clung only the more closely to him from the desertion of all the rest of the world. Tormented to the last by the thirst for power, he never ceased to solicit M. Decazes, then minister to Louis XVIII., and Prince Metternich, for leave to reside at Paris or Vienna; but they both withstood his importunities. Cast away on the shore, he could not, like the sea-bird, live at rest on the strand, but ever threw a lingering look on the ocean on whose waves he had been tossed; and his last thoughts were in anticipation of the storms which were to succeed him.[1]*

[1] Lam. v. 345, 347; Cap. iii. 137.

* "J'ai signé l'ordinance de la Proscription de Proscription; elle était, et elle fut considérée alors comme le seul moyen de sauver le parti, qui m'en

41. Fall of Talleyrand and his ministry.

Talleyrand and his ministry did not long survive the disgrace of the regicide Minister of Police whom they had introduced into power. Many causes contributed to their downfall; and they were so powerful that, sooner or later, they must have led to that result. The demands of the allied powers in the negotiations for a general peace—of which an account will immediately be given—had become so exorbitant, that they recoiled from the thought of subscribing them, or even making them known to the public. The Emperor Alexander, who had so powerfully supported Talleyrand on occasion of the first restoration in 1814, was now cold and reserved towards him; he had not forgotten his opposition to the demands of Russia at the Congress of Vienna. The King of France, although fully sensible of the great ability and consummate address of the minister who had contrived to keep afloat through all the storms of the Revolution, was in secret jealous of his ascendancy; he felt the repugnance of high birth at the guardianship of intellect and experience. Though so experienced a courtier, M. de Talleyrand could not avoid, on some occasions, letting fall expressions indicating his sense of his own influence with foreign powers, and services under the Empire. But most of all, the elections had now been decided in favour of the extreme Royalists, by a majority which it was hopeless to withstand. By the 20th September they were all concluded; and the result was such a preponderance on that side as left no doubt that the ministry could not maintain their ground. Unable

accuse aujourd'hui. Elle l'enlevait à la fureur des Royalistes, et le mettait à l'abri dans l'exil. Je ne désire pas que les partis soient écrasés en France; mais je forme des vœux ardents pour qu'ils soient contenus. Qu'on réduise les révolutionnaires à un rôle d'opposition raisonnable; qu'on ne sépare pas le Roi de la Nation, en le considérant comme son adversaire. On est trop en garde contre les Royalistes exagérés: on ne l'est pas contre l'autre parti. Relisez l'histoire de la Pologne; vous êtes menacés du même sort, si vous ne vous rendez pas maîtres des passions. Je lis une histoire de la campagne de 1815, par le Général Gourgaud. Je ne suis pas étonné du langage de son maître à mon égard: il est commode à Napoléon d'excuser toutes ses sottises en soutenant qu'il a été trahi. Non, il n'y a eu de traitres que ses flatteurs."—LAMARTINE, v. 346, 347.

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to contend with a hostile majority in the Chambers, M. Talleyrand did not yet despair. He desired to engage the King in a contest with the legislature, and thought he had influence sufficient to effect that object. But he was much mistaken. When Talleyrand, at the conclusion of his speech in the cabinet council, tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues, if the proposed measures were not adopted, the King calmly replied—"You resign, then: very well; I will appoint another ministry," and bowed them out of the apartment.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 351, 354; Cap. iii. 128, 131; Lac. i. 356, 357.

42. Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu.

Along with M. Talleyrand there retired from the ministry MM. Louis, Pasquier, Jaucourt, and Gouvion St Cyr. The ministry required to be entirely new modelled; and the King, who had long foreseen the necessity of this step, and was not sorry of an opportunity of breaking with his revolutionary mentors, immediately authorised M. Decazes, who had insinuated himself into his entire confidence, to offer the place of President of the Council, corresponding to our Premier, to the DUKE DE RICHELIEU. Independent of the high descent and personal merits of that very estimable man, there were peculiar reasons of the most pressing nature which pointed him out as the proper minister of France at that period. An intimate personal friend of the Emperor Alexander, and having acquired his entire confidence in the course of the important government with which he had been intrusted at Odessa, there was every reason to hope that his influence with the Czar would in some degree tend to moderate the severity of the terms which, as the conditions of peace, the allied powers were now insisting for. M. de Richelieu felt the painful position in which he would be placed by accepting office, the first step in which would be the signature of a treaty in the highest degree humiliating to France; but he was clear-sighted enough to perceive the necessity of the case, and too patriotic to refuse

to serve his country even in the worst crisis of its fate. He accepted office accordingly, and with him the ministry underwent an entire change. M. Decazes was appointed Minister of Police, an office which, in those critical times, was of the very highest importance; the seals were intrusted to M. Barbé-Marbois; the Duke de Feltre (Clark) was appointed Minister at War; M. Vaublanc, Minister of the Interior; while the Duke de Richelieu discharged the duties at once of President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 134, 136; Lac. i. 358; Moniteur, Sept. 3, 1815.

43. Life of the Duke de Richelieu.

ARMAND, DUKE DE RICHELIEU, grand-nephew by his sister of the cardinal of the same name, was grandson of the Marshal de Richelieu, so celebrated in the reign of Louis XV. as the Alcibiades of France. When called to the ministry in 1815, he was forty-nine years of age. Consumed from his earliest years, like so many other great men, by an ardent thirst for glory, he had joined the Russian army in 1785, and shared in the dangers of the assault of Ismael under Suwarroff. When the French Revolution rent the nobles and the people of France asunder, he hastened from the Crimea to join the army of the emigrant noblesse under the Prince of Condé, and remained with it till the corps was finally dissolved in 1794. He then returned to Russia, where he was at first kindly received by, but soon after shared in the caprices of, the Emperor Paul. On the accession of Alexander, the conformity of their dispositions, with the known abilities and illustrious descent of Richelieu, endeared him to that benevolent monarch, and he selected him to carry into execution the philanthropic views which he had formed for the improvement of the southern provinces of his vast dominions. During ten years of a wise and active administration, he more than realised the hope of his illustrious master. The progress of the province intrusted to his care was unparalleled, its prosperity unbroken, during his admi-

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nistration. To his sagacious foresight and prophetic wisdom Russia owes the seaport of ODESSA, the great export town of its southern provinces, and which opened to their boundless agricultural plains the commerce of the world. The French invasion of 1812 recalled him from his pacific labours to the defence of the country, and he shared the intimacy and councils of Alexander during the eventful years which succeeded, till the taking of Paris in 1814. Alternately at Paris, at Vienna, or at Ghent, he represented his sovereign, and served as a link between the court of Russia and the newly established throne of Louis XVIII.[1]

[1]Biog. Univ. art. Richelieu—Sup.; Lam. v. 359, 360; Cap. iii. 137, 138.

44. His character.

His character qualified him in a peculiar manner for this delicate task, and now for the still more perilous duty to which he was called—that of standing, like the Jewish lawgiver, between the people and the plague. He was the model of the ancient French nobility, for he united in his person all their virtues, and he was free from their weaknesses. He was considered, alike in the army and the diplomatic circles at home and abroad, as the most pure and estimable character which had arisen during the storms of the Revolution. His fortunate distance from France during so long a period at once preserved him from its dangers, and caused him to be exempt from its delusions; he had studied mankind in the best of all schools, that of real practical improvement, and neither in that of theoretical speculations nor of military ambition. His physiognomy bespoke his character. His talents were not of the first order, but his moral qualities were of the purest kind. A lofty forehead bespoke the ascendant of intellect; an aquiline nose and high features, the distinctive mark of family; but the limpid eye and mild expression revealed the still more valuable qualities of the heart. It would seem as if a sad and serious revolution had passed over the hereditary lustre of his race, and impressed upon it the thoughtful and melancholy character of later

times. He was adored by his sisters, the Countess of Jumilhac, and the Marquise de Montcalm, the latter of whom was one of the most charming women in France; but it required all their influence, joined to the entreaties of the King and the representations of the Emperor Alexander, to overcome his natural modesty, or induce him to take the helm in this crisis of the fortunes of his country.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 359, 362; Cap. iii. 138.

45. Biography of M. Decazes.

M. DECAZES, who at the same period commenced his brilliant career under the Restoration, had not the same advantage of family as the Duke de Richelieu; but this deficiency was compensated by his natural abilities, and still more by the address and tact which in so peculiar a manner fitted him to be the minister of a pacific sovereign. He rose to greatness neither in the cabinet nor the field; the bureau of the minister of police was the theatre of his first distinction.* He had already become remarkable for the zeal and activity with which he had discharged the duties of prefect of police at Paris, when the skill with which he withdrew its funds from the rapacious hands of the Prussians had excited general attention. But what chiefly attracted the confidence of Louis was his natural repugnance to and distrust of Fouché, and yet the experienced necessity of having some one in the police on whom he could rely,

* "He was the son of a magistrate of Libourne, in the department of the Gironde, the district of all others in France which has given birth to the greatest number of eminent political men, and made the greatest figure since the Revolution in the civil government of the country. He was at this time in his thirty-fifth year. He had come to Paris in the last days of the Empire, to prosecute his legal studies, when his elegant manners and talent in conversation attracted the regard of the daughter of M. Muraire, the President of the Court of Cassation, who bestowed upon him her hand. This led to his obtaining employment under the Imperial Government—but he did not share in its fall—and, both during the first Restoration and Hundred Days, made himself conspicuous by his steady adherence to Royalist principles, insomuch that he was banished to a distance of forty leagues from Paris by Napoleon. This was the making of his fortune: upon the return of Louis he was immediately selected by Fouché and Talleyrand to fill the situation of Prefect of the Police, in which capacity his zeal, activity, and devotion soon attracted the regard of Louis XVIII."—LAMARTINE, v. 214, 216; and *Biographie Universelle*—Suppl. (Decazes.)

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and who might supply information directly on the state of public opinion; and any designs which might be in agitation. In short, he desired a spy on Fouché, who had spies on every one else; and the address and intelligence of M. Decazes answered this object so completely, that he had already come to be in intimate daily communication with the sovereign, before the change of ministry opened to him the situation of minister of police. His great talent consisted in his knowledge of mankind, and his ready insight into the prevailing dispositions or weaknesses of the principal personages with whom he was brought in contact. Thus he early divined that the ruling passion of Louis was a love of popularity, his prevailing inclination a love of ease, and his favourite amusement hearing and retailing little anecdotes and scandalous reports, which the agents of police could of course furnish to him in sufficient abundance. By these means, joined to his fidelity to the interests of his sovereign, as well as the indefatigable zeal with which he attended to the duties of his station, he not merely won the confidence of his sovereign, but the esteem of the nation, and the support of a steady majority in the Chambers, which enabled him to conduct the administration during several years, amidst very great difficulties, with surprising success.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 140, 143; Biog. Univ. Suppl. (Decazes.)

46. Difficulties of the negotiations with the allied powers.

The new ministry had need of all their skill and influence with foreign powers to weather the difficulties with which they were surrounded, for never did embarrassments to appearance more insurmountable overwhelm any government. But here the benevolent views of the Emperor Alexander, and the personal influence of the Duke de Richelieu with that monarch, aided by the moderation of England and the justice and firmness of the Duke of Wellington, came to the timely aid of the French administration. The principal difficulty was with the lesser powers: the great states, farther removed from the scene of danger, and having more extensive

resources to rely on, were more easily dealt with. But in appearance, at least, the Allies were entirely united; all their deliberations were taken and answers given in common; and the last answer of M. de Talleyrand, before he went out of office, had only called forth an *ultimatum* of the most desperate severity. Not only were enormous pecuniary sacrifices required of France, but large portions of its territory on the frontier were reclaimed for Flanders, Prussia, and the lesser German states. The Duke de Richelieu, in accepting the head of the administration, had not disguised from the Emperor Alexander that he did so in reliance on his moderation and friendship; and, in a secret interview, the Czar had assured him that he should not do so in vain. "I have no other interest," said the monarch, "in this negotiation, but to secure the repose of the world, and the stability of the system which we are establishing in France." With that very view, however, he was easily brought to see the necessity of moderating the demands of the allied powers, and not exacting conditions which would prove an *arrêt de mort* to the dynasty, the stability of which appeared the only guarantee for the peace of Europe. But so keen were the feelings of the allied sovereigns, that it required all his influence, joined to the energetic co-operation of the Duke of Wellington, to obtain any considerable modification of the demands; and as it was, the Duke de Richelieu said at the time he signed the treaty, and only on the earnest entreaties with tears of the king, that he did so "more dead than alive."* The Emperor Alexander gave him at the time a map containing the provinces marked which had been reclaimed

* "Tout est consommé! J'ai apposé plus mort que vif mon nom à ce fatal traité. J'avais juré de ne pas le faire, et je l'avais dit au Roi. Ce malheureux Prince m'a conjuré, en fondant en larmes, de ne pas l'abandonner. Je n'ai plus hésité! J'ai la confiance de croire que personne n'aurait obtenu autant! La France, expirant sous le poids de calamités qui l'accable, réclamait impérieusement une prompte délivrance."—*M. le Duc de* RICHELIEU *à Madame la Marquise de* MONTCALM, *sans date*—LAMARTINE, v. 365.

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by the allied powers, and which he had prevailed on them to waive their claims to. "Keep it," said the Czar; "I have preserved that one copy for you alone. It will bear testimony in future times to your services and my friendship for France, and it will be the noblest title of nobility in your family." It is still in possession of his successors.[1]

Cap. iii. 219, 223; Lam. v. 364, 366.

47. Exorbitant demands of Austria and the lesser powers.

It is remarkable that Austria was the great power with which there was most difficulty in coming to an accommodation. She openly demanded the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, the first inheritance of her family; and in order to induce Prussia to concur in the spoliation, she offered to support the demand for that power of any fortresses on the frontier from Condé and Philipville, in the Low Countries, to Joux and Fort Ecluse on the borders of Switzerland. Finding Prussia too much under the influence of Russia and England to acquiesce in these demands, the cabinet of Vienna addressed itself to the lesser German powers, and conjointly with them prepared a plan by which France was to be shorn of great part of its frontier provinces, and nearly all its strong places on the Rhine. They even went so far as to demand the demolition of the fortifications of Huningen and Strasbourg. When this project was submitted to the Emperor Alexander, he communicated it to the Duke de Richelieu, who exclaimed, "They are determined on another war of twenty-five years' duration: well, they shall have it! In a few days the army of the Loire could be recalled to its standards and doubled; la Vendée will join its ranks, and monarchical France will show itself not less formidable than Republican." Louis XVIII. declared that there was no chance of war so terrible or disastrous, which he would not prefer to a treaty so ignominious. But these were vain menaces; eight hundred thousand armed men were in possession of the French capital, fortresses, and territory; its army was

disbanded, and it had no resource but in the moderation or policy of the conquerors. At length, by the united efforts of the Emperor Alexander, Lord Castlereagh, and the Duke of Wellington, the demands of Austria and the lesser German powers were abated, and a treaty was concluded, which, although much less disastrous than might in the circumstances have been expected, was the most humiliating which had been imposed on France since the treaty of Bretigny closed the long catalogue of disasters consequent on the battle of Agincourt.[1]

[1] Lac. i. 360, 361; Lam. v. 366, 367; Cap. iii. 220, 223.

48. Treaty of Paris. Nov. 20, 1815.

By this treaty the limits of France were fixed as they had been in 1790, with the following exceptions: the fortresses of Landau, Sarre-Louis, Philipville, and Marienbourg, with the territory annexed to each, were ceded to the Allies; Versoix, with a small district around it, was ceded to the canton of Geneva; the fortifications of Huningen were to be demolished; but the little territory of Venaisin, the first conquest of the Revolution, was preserved to France. Such was the moderation of the Allies, that after so entire an overthrow she lost only twenty square leagues of territory, while, by the retention of the Venaisin, she gained forty square leagues. But the payments in money exacted from her were enormous, and felt as the more galling because they were a badge of conquest. A contribution of 700,000,000 francs (£28,000,000) was provided to the allied powers, as an indemnity for the expense of their last armaments, to be paid regularly day by day. In addition to this, France agreed to pay 735,000,000 francs (£29,500,000) as an indemnity to the allied powers for the contributions which the French troops had, at different times during the war, exacted from them; besides 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) to the lesser powers who subsequently joined the Alliance—in all, 1,535,000,000 francs, or £61,500,000;—probably the greatest money payment

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ever exacted from any one nation since the beginning of the world.* In addition to this it was stipulated, as a measure alike of security to Europe and protection to the newly established dynasty in France, that an army of 150,000 men, belonging to the Allies, was to be put in possession of the principal frontier fortresses of France—viz., Cambray, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avennes, Rocroy, Givet, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitche, and Fort Louis—for not less than three, nor more than five years. This army was to be entirely maintained, paid, and clothed at the expense of the French nation. The contingent of Great Britain was 30,000 men; and the seal was put to its national glory, and the personal fame of its great General, by the allied sovereigns unanimously conferring the command of the whole upon the Duke of Wellington.[1]

[1] See the treaty in Martens, Recueil des Traités, ii. 682, Sup.; and Schoell, xi. 501, 518; Hard. xii. 540, 544; Cap. iii. 219, 229.

On the same day on which this treaty was signed,

* The proportions in which this sum was claimed by the Allies, and agreed to be paid by France, were as follows:—

	Francs.		£
Austria,	189,000,000	or	7,360,000
Prussia,	106,000,000	"	4,240,000
Netherlands,	88,000,000	"	3,520,000
Sardinia,	73,000,000	"	2,920,000
Hamburg,	71,000,000	"	2,840,000
Tuscany,	4,500,000	"	180,000
Parma,	2,000,000	"	80,000
Bremen,	3,000,000	"	120,000
Lubeck,	4,000,000	"	160,000
Baden,	1,500,000	"	60,000
Hanover,	25,000,000	"	1,000,000
Hesse Cassel,	1,500,000	"	60,000
Hesse Darmstadt, &c.,	20,000,000	"	800,000
Mecklenberg-Schwerin,	1,000,000	"	40,000
Denmark,	17,000,000	"	680,000
Rome,	29,000,000	"	1,160,000
Bavaria,	72,000,000	"	2,120,000
Frankfort,	3,000,000	"	120,000
Switzerland,	5,000,000	"	200,000
Saxony,	15,000,000	"	600,000
Prussian Saxony,	5,000,000	"	200,000
	735,500,000		£29,500,00

—Capefigue, i. 227.

another treaty was concluded between Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, which afterwards became of essential importance in the direction of European affairs. France was no party to this treaty; it was concluded, like that of Chaumont in 1813, as a measure of security for the allied powers among each other. By it the four allied powers renewed, in all its provisions, the treaties of Chaumont and Vienna, and in an especial manner those which "exclude for ever Napoleon Buonaparte *and his family* from the throne of France." * It was declared that the occupation, during a limited number of years, of the military positions in France, was intended to carry into effect these stipulations; and, in consequence, they mutually engaged, in case the army of occupation should be menaced by an attack on the part of France, or if a general war should arise, to furnish without delay, in addition to the forces left in France, each their full contingent of 60,000 men. Should these prove insufficient, they engaged to bring each their whole forces into action, so as to bring the contest to an immediate and favourable issue, and in that event to make such pacific arrangements as might effectually guarantee Europe from a return of similar calamities. This treaty was communicated to the Duke de Richelieu, with a letter from the four allied powers, in which they expressed their entire confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the king's government, and his determination, without distinction of party, or lending an ear to passionate councils, to maintain peace and the rule of justice in his dominions.[1] † Finally, it was determined to renew at

49. Convention of 20th November between the allied powers, for the exclusion of Napoleon and his family from the throne of France.

[1] Schoell, xi. 563, 565; Martens, Sup. ii.; Cap. i. 239, 240.

* "Les hautes puissances renouvellent et confirment particulièrement *l'exclusion à perpétuité* de Napoléon Buonaparte, *et de sa famille*, du pouvoir suprême en France, qu'elles s'engagent à maintenir en pleine vigueur, et, s'il était nécessaire, avec toutes leurs forces."—Act 2, Convention, 29th November 1815; Schoell, xi. 563, and Martens' Sup.

† "Les Cabinets Alliés trouvent la première garantie de cet espoir dans les principes éclairés, les sentimens magnanimes, et les vertus personnelles de sa Majesté très chrétienne. Sa Majesté a reconnu avec eux, que dans un état déchiré pendant un quart de siècle, par des convulsions révolutionnaires, ce

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stated periods these congresses of sovereigns, to arrange without bloodshed the affairs of Europe; and the first of these was fixed for the autumn of 1818.

50. The Holy Alliance, and causes which led to it. Nov. 20, 1815.

On the same day on which these important treaties were signed, another one, which acquired still greater celebrity at the time, but was not destined to produce such durable consequences in the end, was concluded. This was the celebrated treaty of "THE HOLY ALLIANCE." Its author was the Emperor Alexander. This sovereign, whose strength of mind and knowledge of mankind were not equal to the magnanimity of his disposition and the benevolence of his heart, had been in some degree carried away by the all-important part he had been called on to play at the first taking of Paris and the Congress of Vienna, and the unbounded admiration, alike among his friends and his enemies, with which his noble and generous conduct on these occasions had been received. He had come to conceive, in consequence, that the period had arrived when these principles might permanently regulate the affairs of the world—when the seeds of evil might be eradicated from the human heart;

n'est pas à la force seule à ramener le calme dans les esprits, la confiance dans les âmes, et l'équilibre dans les différentes parties du corps social; que la sagesse doit se joindre à la vigueur, la modération à la fermeté, pour opérer des changemens heureux. Loin de craindre que sa Majesté ne prêtât jamais l'oreille à des conseils imprudens ou passionnés, tendant à nourrir les mécontentemens, à renouveler les alarmes, à ramener les haines et les divisions, les Cabinets Alliés sont complètement rassurés, par les dispositions aussi sages que généreuses, que le Roi a annoncées dans toutes les époques de son règne, et notamment à celle de son retour après le dernier attentat criminel. Ils savent que sa Majesté opposera à tous les ennemis du bien public, et de la tranquillité de son royaume, sous quelque forme qu'ils puissent se présenter, *son attachement aux lois constitutionelles*, promulguées sous ses propres auspices, sa volonté bien prononcée d'être le père de tous ses sujets, sans distinction de classe ni de religion; d'effacer jusqu'au souvenir des maux qu'ils ont soufferts, et de ne conserver des temps passés que le bien que la Providence a fait sortir du sein même des calamités publiques. Ce n'est qu' ainsi que les vœux formés par les Cabinets Alliés, pour la conservation de l'autorité constitutionnelle de sa Majesté, pour le bonheur de son pays, et le maintien de la paix du monde, seront couronnés d'un succès complet, et que la France, *rétablie sur ses anciennes bases*, reprendra la place éminente à laquelle elle est appelée dans le système Européen."—*Lettres des Quatre Puissances à M. le Duc de Richelieu*, 20 Nov. 1815—SCHOELL, xi. 565, 566.

and when the peaceful reign of the Gospel, announced from the throne, might for ever supersede the rude empire of the sword. In the belief of the advent of this moral millennium, and of the lead which it was his mission to take in inducing it, he was strongly supported by the influence and counsels of Madame Krudener, a lady of great talents, eloquence, and an enthusiastic turn of mind, who had followed him from St Petersburg to Paris, and was equally persuaded with himself that the time was approaching when wars were to cease, and the reign of peace, virtue, and the Gospel, was to commence on the earth. Alexander, during September and October of this year, spent whole days at Paris in a mystical communication of sentiments with this remarkable lady. Their united idea was the establishment of a common international law, founded on Christianity, over all Europe, which was at once to extinguish the religious divisions which had so long distracted, and the warlike contests which had desolated it. Sovereigns were to be regulated by the principles of virtue and religion, the people to surrender themselves in peace and happiness to the universal regeneration of mankind. This treaty, from being concluded between the absolute monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was long the object of dread and jealousy to the Liberal and revolutionary party throughout Europe. But now that its provisions have become known, it is regarded in a very different light, and looked upon as one of the effusions of inexperienced enthusiasm and benevolence, to be classed with the dreams as to the indefinite prolongation of human life of Condorcet, or the visions of the Peace Congress which amused Europe amidst universal preparations for war in the middle of the nineteenth century.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 216, 217; Lam. v. 369, 370; Lac. i. 366, 367.

By this celebrated alliance, the three monarchs subscribing—viz., the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia—bound themselves, "in conformity with the principles of the Holy Scriptures, which order

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all men to regard each other as brothers, and, considering themselves as compatriots, to lend each other every aid, assistance, and succour, on every occasion; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers, to direct them on every occasion in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect religion, peace, and justice. In consequence, the sole principle in vigour, either between the said governments or among their subjects, shall be the determination to render each other reciprocal aid, and to testify, by continued good deeds, the unalterable mutual affection by which they are animated: to consider themselves only as members of a great Christian nation, and not regarding themselves but as delegates appointed by Providence to govern three branches of the same family—viz., Austria, Prussia, and Russia; confessing also that the Christian nation of which they and their people form a part has in reality no other sovereign to whom of right belongs all power, because He alone possesses all the treasures of love, knowledge, and infinite wisdom—that is to say, God Almighty, our Divine Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life—they recommend in the most earnest manner to their people, as the only way of securing that peace which flows from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to fortify themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to men. All the powers which may feel inclined to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present treaty, and who may perceive how important it is for the happiness of nations too long agitated that these truths should henceforth exercise on human destinies all the influence which should pertain to them, shall be received with as much eagerness as affection into the present alliance. (Signed) Francis, Frederick-William, Alexander." There is no good Christian, and even no good man with a good

heart, who must not feel that the principles recognised in this treaty are those which *should* actuate the conduct both of sovereigns and their subjects; and that the real millennium is to be looked for when they shall do so, and not till then. But the experienced observer of mankind in all ranks and ages will regret to think how little likely they are to be carried practically into effect, and class them with the philanthropic effusions of Free-mason meetings, or the generous transports of a crowded theatre, which melt away next morning before the interests, the selfishness, and the passions of the world.[1]

[1] See the treaty in Schoell, xi. 553, 554; Martens, xiii. 607.

52. Treaties regarding the Ionian Isles, a Russian subsidy, and Napoleon Buonaparte.

This treaty, out of compliment to its known author, the Emperor Alexander, was ere long acceded to by nearly all the Continental sovereigns. But as it was signed by the sovereigns alone, without the sanction or intervention of their ministers, the Prince-Regent, by the advice of Lord Castlereagh, judiciously declared, that while he adhered to the principles of that Alliance, the restraints imposed upon him as a constitutional monarch prevented him from becoming a party to any convention which was not countersigned by a responsible minister. Several minor treaties, but still of considerable importance in future times, were also concluded in the usual way between the allied powers in this great diplomatic year. 1. The first of these regarded the seven Ionian Islands, which had been taken possession of by Great Britain during the campaign of 1813, with the exception of Corfu, ceded to them by the treaty of 1814, but the destiny of which had not hitherto been made the subject of a formal treaty between the allied powers. It was now provided that the Islands should form a separate state, to be entitled the "United States of the Ionian Islands," to be placed under the immediate protection of Great Britain, by whom its fortresses were to be garrisoned and governors appointed—all the other powers renouncing any pretensions in that respect. 2. In consideration of the vast

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efforts made by Russia during the preceding campaign, which, it was declared, had moved 100,000 men into the interior of France beyond what she was bound to have done by the existing treaties, of whom 40,000 were placed under the immediate command of the Duke of Wellington, besides a reserve force of 150,000, which had passed her frontier, and advanced as far as Franconia, Great Britain agreed to pay to that power an additional subsidy of 10,400,000 francs, (£416,666.) 3. A convention was concluded between the four allied powers on the 2d August 1815, for the disposal of the person of Napoleon. By it he was declared a prisoner of the four allied powers which had signed the treaty of 25th March preceding, at Vienna. The custody of his person was in an especial manner intrusted to the British Government; but the three other powers were to name commissioners, who should reside at the place which the British Government should assign as his place of residence, without sharing the responsibility of his detention. The King of France was to be invited to send a commissioner, and the Prince-Regent of Great Britain pledged himself faithfully to perform the engagements undertaken by him in this treaty.[1]

Aug. 2.

[1] Schoell, xi. 550,552; Martens, xi. 627.

53. Reflections on these treaties.

Such were the treaties of 1815, for ever memorable as terminating, for a time at least, the revolutionary governments in the civilised world, and closing in a durable manner the ascendancy of Imperial France in Europe. It is hard to say whether the magnitude of the triumphs which had preceded it, or the moderation displayed by the victors in the moment of conquest, were the most admirable. France, indeed, was subjected to immense pecuniary payments, but that was only in requital of those which she had, in the hour of her triumph, imposed on others;—and they did not reach half their amount, for £61,000,000 sterling only was imposed on France, with its 30,000,000 of inhabitants; whereas Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, had imposed £24,000,000, in contributions and military exactions, on Prussia alone,

which had only 6,000,000 of souls in its dominions.[1] But as regards durable losses, she not only had no ground of complaint, but the highest reason to be satisfied and grateful. After the most entire conquest and subjugation recorded in history, when her Emperor was a prisoner, her capital taken, her army disbanded, and 1,100,000 men were in possession of her fortresses and territory, she lost *only twenty square leagues* of territory, just half the area of the Venaisin, the first conquest of the Revolution, which she was permitted to retain! What did Napoleon do to Prussia after the battle of Jena?—Deprived her of half of her dominions.[2] What to Austria, after the battle of Wagram?—Cut off a sixth of the whole Austrian States from the house of Hapsburg.[3] If the allied powers had acted to France as France did to them in the hour of her triumph, they would have reft from her Lorraine, Alsace, Picardy, Franche-Comté, French Flanders, and Roussillon, and reduced the monarchy to what it was in the days of Louis XI. And England, in an especial manner, displayed the magnanimity in prosperity which is the true test of greatness of soul. She made no attempt to retaliate upon France in the moment of its sorrow the successful partition of her dominions by the accession of Louis XVI. to the American War, but when her ancient rival was prostrate at her feet, threw the whole of her weight in diplomacy to moderate the demands of the victors; and, when the treaty was concluded, took neither one ship nor one village to herself, and bestowed the whole of the war indemnity which fell to her share upon the kingdom of the Netherlands, to reconstruct the barrier which had been cast down by the philanthropic delusions of Joseph II. before the Revolution.[4]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xlvi. § 77.

[2] Hist. of Europe, c. 46, § 77.

[3] Hist. of Europe, c. lx. § 40.

[4] Hist. of Europe, c. ix. § 52.

It was in the midst of the negotiations which were to lead to these results that the Chambers met in France, and the strong feelings of the nation found a vent in the resolutions and measures of its representatives. It might have been anticipated, what experience soon

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54. Violent temper and disposition of the Chamber of Deputies.

proved to be the case, that the greatest difficulties of the Government in this crisis would be, not with the strangers, but with its own subjects, and that the violence of the legislature would call for measures which the wisdom and foresight of the executive would be fain to moderate. This is invariably the case. Great reactions in public opinion never take place from the force of argument, howsoever convincing, or the evidence of facts affecting *others*, how conclusive soever. Against all such the great majority of men are always sufficiently fortified, if their passions are inflamed, or their interests, or supposed interests, are at stake. But this very circumstance renders the reaction the more violent, and the more to be dreaded, when these passions or interests are turned the other way, and men are taught by suffering, and, above all, by pecuniary losses to themselves, the consequences of the course which they have so long pursued, and to the dangers of which they remained obstinately blind till those consequences were fully developed. That effect had now taken place in France; events had succeeded each other with more than railway speed; the last three years had done the work of three centuries. The forces which poured into France had gone on increasing till they had now reached the stupendous amount of *eleven hundred and forty thousand men.* The armed multitude was all fed and maintained by the French people; and exactions of an enormous and unheard-of amount were made upon the government, for the expenses which the putting such a crusade in motion had occasioned to the foreign governments. The truths which reason and justice would have striven in vain to impress upon the majority in France, were now brought home to every breast by the irresistible force of mortification and suffering; and, in despair of effecting anything against the Allies, who were the immediate cause of their disasters, the only vent which the public indignation could find was against the party in France which had induced them.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 187, 189; Lam. v. 373, 374; Lac. i. 409, 410.

Great as the dangers were which, under any circumstances, must have beset a legislature elected amidst the fervour of such feelings, they were much aggravated in France by the peculiar situation of the provinces, from which a majority of the representatives had been drawn. The great addition of 133 members made to the Chamber of Representatives by the royal ordinance of July, which raised their number to 389, and the admission by the same ordinance of all the members of the Legion of Honour to the right of voting, joined to the general excitement and vehemently roused passions of the moment, had immensely increased the Royalist majority in the Chamber. So entire had been the defeat of the Imperial and Republican parties in the elections, that the regular opposition—that is, the persons attached to the Republican or Imperial Government—could never muster above forty or fifty votes. The majority was composed of persons about the court—emigrants, journalists, or pamphleteers on the side of the *ancien régime*, nobles from the provinces, or red-hot Royalists from the departments—men wholly unacquainted with business, in great part imperfectly educated, but all smarting under the intolerable sense of present wrongs, and conceiving themselves intrusted with one only duty—that of avenging on their authors the sins and sufferings of France. One universal feeling of indignation pervaded this body, and in the vehement passions with which it was animated the women of the highest rank connected with the members stood pre-eminent, and strongly excited all the men with whom they were connected, or whom they could influence. The human heart is the same at all times, and in all grades of society; and the same principle which causes two-thirds of the crowd at every public execution to be composed of the humbler part of the softer sex, now rendered many of the highest foremost in the demand for scaffolds which were to cover France with mourning.[1]

Composition and parties in the Chambers.

[1] Cap. iii. 187, 189; Lam. v. 373, 375; Lac. i. 409, 410.

Several men of unquestioned talent were to be found in

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56. The extreme Royalists and their leaders.

the ranks of this formidable majority, and some acquired the lead of the several sections of which it was composed. The section of extreme Royalists, of whom the Count d'Artois, the heir-apparent to the throne, was the acknowledged head, and which was known in France by the name of the "Pavillon Marsan," from the quarter in the Tuileries where the apartments of that prince were situated, was mainly under the direction of M. de Vitrolles, a man of talent, activity, and the most agreeable manners, who had acquired an unlimited command over his royal master, and was looked forward to as his future prime-minister. Chateaubriand also, in the Chamber of Peers, at that period belonged to the same party, and lent it the influence of his great talents and literary fame; while M. de Bourrienne, with less genius, but superior talents for business, and all the zeal of a new convert from the Imperial *régime*, was a valuable ally especially in matters of detail, and those connected with the public administration. Several of the old noblesse also, particularly M. Armand de Polignac, destined to a fatal celebrity in future times, M. le Vicomte Bruges, and Alexander de Boisgelin, were also numbered among their most warm adherents, and, without the aid of great talents, possessed considerable influence in the Chamber, from their high rank, and their known connection with the heir-apparent to the throne.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 189, 191; Lam. v. 207, 211.

57. The provincial deputies.

Above half of the Chamber of Deputies was composed of persons who might be considered as representing with fidelity the provinces, the inhabitants of which formed a large majority of the people of France. It was to this class that the 133 new deputies, admitted by the royal ordinance of 24th July 1815, chiefly belonged; and it was that ordinance which gave them a majority in the Chamber, and rendered it so difficult of management by the court. Their ideas were peculiar, antiquated, and for the most part at variance with the settled ideas which the Revolution had impressed on

the metropolis and great towns. Common hatred of the Napoleonists, and suffering under the exactions and humiliations of the Allies, had for a time united them in common measures; but it was easy to foresee that this alliance could not long survive the catastrophe which had given it birth. They were at once impregnated with Royalist and Republican ideas—with the former, in so far as any measures for the support of the monarchy or the Church were concerned; with the latter, in so far as a career might be opened for the intelligence and ambition of the provinces, in the offices at the disposal of the central government. Jealousy of Paris and provincial ambition were the leading principles by which they were actuated; they hoped out of the departments to raise up a counterpoise to the long-established reign of the metropolis. The chiefs of this party were men of remarkable abilities, far superior to those of the Pavillon Marsan for the conduct of affairs, and accordingly ere long they acquired the direction of the country. MM. de Bonald, de Villèle, de Corbière, and Grosbois, were the most remarkable of them, and soon acquired the lead in a large section of the Assemby. The first was a man of decided talent, inflexible integrity, and ready conversation, with the mildest manners, but the sternest and most uncompromising Royalist principles. M. de Villèle, as yet unknown, and a deputy from the south of France, soon gave proof in the committees of the Chamber of those great business talents, and prodigious command of details, which, like similar powers in Sir R. Peel, ultimately gave him the lead in the Assembly, and made him head of the Administration. M. de Corbière, formerly remarkable by the indolence of his disposition, was roused by ambition to different habits, and by his talent in drawing reports and capacity in business, soon became distinguished; while M. de Grosbois was universally respected from his energy, his eloquence, and the power which he evinced not less in business than debate.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 191, 192; Lam. v. 212, 214.

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58. The Opposition, and its leaders.

As is invariably the case after the decisive triumph of one party in a great political crisis, the minority, to all practical purposes, was entirely unrepresented. The Liberal opposition in the Chamber could not at the utmost number above sixty persons in its ranks—not a sixth of the whole, which comprised 395 members; and it was rare on a division involving any vital question that they mustered more than forty-five. But the influence of a minority, and its chances of *ultimate* success, are not always to be measured by its numbers at the outset of a parliamentary contest; the history of England, especially in later times, affords numerous instances of courageous and united minorities, first commanding respect by their talents and consistency, and ere long acquiring power by the disunion of their opponents, or the general admiration which their qualities have awakened. The reason is that the minority are forced to evince courage and appeal to principle; and it is by these qualities that, in the long run, when the passions are excited, mankind are governed. The chiefs of this small party were MM. Royer Collard, de Serres, Pasquier, and Braquey—men of lofty feelings, ardent minds, and persuasive eloquence, who never ascended the tribune without commanding attention, and seldom left it without having in some generous breast awakened sympathy, in some powerful intellect produced conviction. MM. Royer Collard and de Serres, in particular, were gifted with such great powers of oratory, that though they could never win over anything like a majority to their side, they seldom failed to awaken the unanimous admiration of the Chamber; and from admiration it is but a step to influence, not less in public assemblies than in affairs of the heart. Such was the power in debate of these very eminent men, that they insensibly won over several of the chief members on the other side to their opinions on many points;[1] among whom may be named M. Hyde de Neuville, one of the ablest and noblest of the Royalists, whose subsequent career has sufficiently proved

[1] Cap. iii. 193, 196; Lac. i. 411, 412.

the elevation of his mind and purity of his principles, and who has demonstrated, like Chateaubriand, that the warmest devotion to the throne, in generous breasts, is consistent with, and in truth proceeds from, the same principles as the most sincere attachment to public liberty.

59. Composition of the Chamber of Peers.

The Chamber of Peers deserves much less consideration, for unhappily the general want of great and independent proprietors in its ranks, the servility and frequent tergiversations by which it had invariably been distinguished in later times, and the recent creation of ninety-two new peers by the king, had nearly deprived it of all consideration in the country. The majority was decided on the Royalist side; indeed, the recent numerous creations were made with no other view but to effect that object. But it was less compact and decided than the majority in the Chamber of Deputies; for, being composed for the most part of men experienced in public life, it was more inclined to moderation—of those inured to revolutions, disposed to temporise. The leaders of the Royalist majority were the Count Jules de Polignac, the Dukes de Fitzjames, de Serent, d'Uzes, and de Grammont, and the Viscount de Chateaubriand. The great literary fame and splendid eloquence of the last would have rendered him beyond all question the most powerful man in the Assembly, had his reason been as powerful as his imagination, his consistency as his oratory. But unfortunately these qualities were by no means equally strong in his ardent mind; and he adds another to the numerous examples which go to prove that in public life the judgment is a more important faculty than even genius, and that it is not so much the pre-eminence of any one mental quality, as their happy combination, which is the secret of success. Ever energetic and eloquent, he was not always consistent: on reviewing his political life, it is hard to say what his opinions really were; and no better refutation can sometimes be sought for his arguments at one period than his speeches at another.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 198, 199; Lac. i. 408, 411.

The session was opened by the king in person, with

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60. Opening of the Chamber, and speech of the king. Oct. 7.

great pomp, on the 7th October. The restoration of the Bourbons, the unparalleled misfortunes which had befallen the country, the still greater evils which it was feared were impending over it, all tended to invest the ceremony with a melancholy and absorbing interest. The sovereign appeared, surrounded by his brothers, his nobles, the marshals of the Empire, and all the pomp of the monarchy; and the speech which he delivered is memorable, not only as an important state paper in an unparalleled crisis, but as known to have been his unaided composition.* He spoke as follows: "When, last year, I for the first time convoked the Chambers, I congratulated myself upon having, by an honourable treaty, restored peace to France. It was beginning to taste the fruits of it; all the sources of public prosperity were reopening, when a criminal enterprise, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, arrested their course. The evils which that ephemeral usurpation have caused to my country afflict me profoundly; but I must declare, that if it had been possible they could have reached me alone, I should have returned thanks to Providence. The marks of attachment which my people have given me, in the most critical moments, have been a solace to my personal distresses; but those of my subjects, of my children, press upon my heart. It is in order to put a period to that state of suspense, more trying than war itself, that I have felt it my duty to conclude with the powers who, after having overturned the usurper, occupy at present a great part of our territory, a convention which will regulate our present and future relations with them. It will be communicated to you, without any reservation, when it has received the last formalities. You will feel, the whole of France will feel, the profound grief which I

* "J'ai eu ce discours tout entier écrit de la main du Roi, sur une petite feuille de papier à lettre, avec cette écriture si nette, qu'il employait à la correspondance. Il se réservait la rédaction claire et élégante de ses discours; il y mettait un soin infini; c'était pour lui une affaire littéraire à laquelle il attachait de l'importance, même sous le rapport du style."—CAPEFIGUE, iii. 203.

must have felt on the occasion; but the salvation of my kingdom rendered that great determination necessary; and when I took it, I felt the whole duties which it imposed upon me. I have directed that this year there should be transferred from my privy purse to the general exchequer a considerable part of my revenue; my family, the moment they heard of my resolution, have done the same. I have ordered similar reductions on the salaries of all my servants, without exception; I shall ever be ready to share in the sacrifices which mournful circumstances have imposed upon my people. The public accounts will be laid before you; you will at once see the necessity of the economy which I have prescribed to my ministers in all branches of the administration. Happy if these measures shall meet the exigencies of the state; but, in any event, I reckon on the devotion of the nation, and the zeal of the Chambers. But other sweeter and not less important cares await your attention. It is to give weight to your deliberations, and to obtain myself the advantage of greater light, that I have created new peers and augmented the number of the deputies. I hope I have succeeded in my choice; and the zeal of the deputies, in such a difficult conjuncture, is a proof alike that they are animated by a sincere affection for my person and an ardent love for our country. It is therefore with a heartfelt joy and entire confidence that I behold you assembled around me, certain that you will never lose sight of the fundamental basis of the felicity of the state, a cordial and loyal union of the Chambers with the King, and respect for the constitutional charter. That charter—on which I have meditated with care before giving it—to which reflection every day attaches me more—which I have sworn to maintain, and to which you all, beginning with my family, are about to swear obedience—is, without doubt, like all human institutions, susceptible of improvement; but I am sure none of you will ever forget that side by side with the advantage of

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amelioration is the danger of innovation. To cause religion to flourish, to purify the public morals, to found liberty on a respect for the laws, to give stability to credit, reorganise the army, heal the wounds which have too much wounded our country, to secure internal tranquillity, and cause France to be respected without: these are the ends to which all our efforts should tend."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 15; 1815; Lam. v. 376, 378; Cap. iii. 201, 203.

61. Manner in which the speech was received by the Chamber.

These were noble and dignified expressions, worthy of a king of France meeting the representatives of his people in a period of unequalled gloom and difficulty. Inexpressibly striking was the scene which the Chamber presented during their delivery. There was none of the enthusiasm usually exhibited on these occasions; none of the transports which in general attend the restoration of a monarch of an ancient race to the throne of his fathers. The Chamber was profoundly loyal, but the public misfortunes crushed every heart. It was known that a treaty of peace was in progress, that grievous exactions would be made by the Allies, and that probably a considerable portion of the territory on the frontier would require to be abandoned. Sadness, consternation, despair, were on every countenance as the words so prophetic of evil were pronounced by the king. The obscurity of the expressions rendered them more terrible: no one knew what the impending calamity would be, or on whom it would fall. The deputies of the departments which it was feared would be ceded, on the frontier, shed tears at the thoughts of their approaching severance from their country. It was felt by all that a family long united was about to be broken up; the well-known halls would be deserted—the gladsome hearth become desolate.[2]

[2] Lam. v. 379, 380; Cap. iii. 203, 204.

62. Difficulties at taking the Oath of Fidelity.

The king, before even the session began, had a convincing proof of the thorns with which his path was to be beset. The oath of fidelity to the King and the Constitution required to be taken by the whole of the legislature, beginning with the peers of the blood-royal. But here a difficulty at once arose. The Count d'Artois at

first refused to take the oath, and it was only after a long and difficult negotiation that his scruples were overcome. The Prince of Condé made similar difficulties, and feigned sickness to avoid taking it. M. Jules de Polignac and M. de la Bourdonnaye refused to take it altogether, though they were among the newly-created peers. The deputy of Montauban, when called on, insisted on making some reservations. These incidents were not material, but they indicated the strength of the prevailing feeling, and in what quarter it was that the principal difficulties of the session would arise. When the vote came to be taken for the president of the Chamber, the strength of the several parties was at once demonstrated. M. Lainé, the president during the former year, and whose intrepid conduct on more than one eventful crisis had won for him the esteem of all parties, was indeed called to the chair by a large majority; he had 328 votes out of 346. But the strength of the opposition was tried and appeared on the vote for the second candidates, or *suppléans*. The Prince de la Tremouille, who represented the opinions, and was supported by the whole strength of the Count d'Artois' party, had 229 votes; while M. de la Rigaudie, who united the suffrages of the united Liberals and moderate Royalists, had only 169 votes.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 15 and 17, 1815; Cap. iii. 206, 207 Lam. v. 384.

63. Answer of the Chamber of Deputies.

The answer of the Chambers, though upon the whole, as the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address are in England, an echo of the speech from the Throne, yet gave proof of the profound feelings of indignation with which the representatives were animated. "The evils of the country," said M. de Lainé, "are great, but they are not irreparable. If the nation, albeit inaccessible to the seduction of the usurper, must nevertheless bear the burden of a defection in which it has taken no share, it will submit. But in the midst of our wishes for universal concord, and even to cement it, it is our duty *to solicit your justice* against those who have imperilled alike the throne and the nation. Your clemency, Sire, has been

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without bounds; we do not come to ask you to retract it; the promises of kings, we know well, should be held sacred. But we do supplicate you, in the name of the people, who have been overwhelmed by the weight of their misfortunes, to cause justice to march when clemency is arrested; and let those who, now encouraged by the impunity they have enjoyed, are not afraid to make a parade of their rebellion, *be delivered over to the just severity of the tribunals.* The Chamber will zealously concur in the passing of such laws as may be necessary to effect that object. We will not speak of the necessity of intrusting to none but pure hands the different branches of your authority. The ministers who surround you present sufficient guarantees in that respect. Their vigilance in its prosecution will be the more easily exercised that the events which have occurred have sufficiently revealed every sentiment, and laid bare every thought."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 17, 1815; Cap. iii, 207, 208.

64. Law against seditious cries. Oct. 16.

The first measures proposed in the Chamber were nothing but an attempt to carry into execution these ulcerated feelings. They were chiefly three: a law against seditious cries; one suspending individual liberty, and investing Government with extraordinary power of arrest; and one establishing Prévôtal Courts, or courts without juries, for the summary trial of political offenders. The first was introduced by M. Barbé-Marbois, the Keeper of the Seals, who thus expressed the grounds on which Government proceeded in bringing forward the measure: "If great atrocities have been committed; if, to avoid his own destruction, the loyal citizen has been compelled to remain a passive spectator of the deeds of seditious mobs; if crime has enjoyed for some time fatal triumphs, these calamities are prolonged even when their success has been interrupted. Then it is that the insurgents endeavour, by the force of audacity, to recover their lost ground; the seditious mutually encourage each other, and exert themselves to be seen in every place, and at every hour, as if advancing to an assured victory. If

they succeed in inspiring fear, they associate in their ranks all whom the army has expelled with indignation, and all the criminals whom their obscurity has screened from the vengeance of the laws. Should the force of the Government arrest their designs, they never think of renouncing them, but take refuge in libellous discourses, calumnious publications. Impunity encourages them. Many of them show themselves without disguise; and although their indiscretion reveals their weakness, it is not the less certain that their proceedings disturb the social order, and the public interest requires that their turbulent designs and detestable enterprises should be effectually repressed. There are some men whose sole morality is the fear of punishment. It is against culprits of that stamp that our laws are in many respects powerless. To the necessity of a positive law for such cases is joined that of a rapid procedure, and of a punishment inflicted immediately after the offence." In pursuance of these reasons, the proposed law, after defining what should be deemed seditious cries, punished them with imprisonment not below three months, nor exceeding five years. Severe as these penalties may appear for mere seditious *words*, irrespective of overt *acts* of treason, they fell so far short of the vindictive feelings of the Assembly that the proposal was very coldly received; and though it passed into a law, it by no means gave vent to the public indignation.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 17, 1815; Cap. iii. 278; Lam. v. 389, 390.

65. Law suspending individual liberty. Oct. 18.

The next law proposed (that on individual liberty) was much more favourably received, and may be considered as faithfully expressing the opinions and feelings of the majority of the Assembly. M. Decazes brought forward the proposition; and it was loudly applauded as "full of hatred at the Revolution." "The law proposed," said he, "has no other object but to reach the *great criminals*—to prevent the attempts of those men who are strangers to remorse, whom pardon cannot conciliate, whom clemency offends, whom nothing can reassure, because their

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consciences will never permit it. These are men whom justice cannot overtake, because its forms, salutary but slow, render it impotent to prevent, often even to repress; and because that species of delinquencies are executed by unseen springs, hidden even from their author. By the law now proposed, the weak will be reassured. They will range themselves with confidence under the shield of a strong Government, which has given proof of its resolution to defend others and itself. The people wish, above all things, to be saved. The impotence to which the factions have been reduced since the fall of the usurper, so far from moderating, has only increased their audacity. Like the evil spirit which inspires them, they ruminate on crime to shun oblivion." On this preamble the law proposed enacted that every individual, without exception, who had been arrested on any charge of being concerned in attempts against "the authority of the king, the persons of the royal family, or the safety of the state, might be detained in custody until the expiry of the law, the termination of which was to be the end of the next session of parliament, if not then renewed." The execution of this law was committed to all the public functionaries to whom the constitution intrusted the cognisance of the crimes to which it refers.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 19, 1815; Cap. iii. 279, 280; Lam. v. 389, 390.

66. Discussion on it in the Chambers. Oct. 17.

Disguised under an appearance of severity which might render it acceptable to the feelings of the majority of the Chambers, a humane feeling had really dictated the proposal of the law to the Government. It was brought forward at the time when popular murders had stained all the south of France with blood, and when there seemed no way of saving the victims but by subjecting them to a temporary confinement. It was desired, too, to legalise, in some degree, the numerous arrests which had taken place over the country during the last few months, and to secure the detention of a number of persons during a critical period, whose seditious intentions were beyond a doubt, but against whom it might be difficult to adduce com-

plete legal proof. It met, however, with a much greater resistance than the law against seditious cries, because it threatened to affect a much superior class of persons. But if the resistance was determined, the support was still more impassioned, and at length it was carried by a majority of 294 to 56, amidst cries and shouts resembling rather the enthusiasm of the theatre than the sober deliberations of a legislative assembly.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 283, 284; Moniteur, Oct. 23, 1815.

67. Vehement discussion on the law against seditious cries.

The discussion of the law on seditious cries revealed in a still more painful manner the impassioned feelings of the Assembly. It was moved as an amendment in committee, that the penalty of raising seditious cries, or hoisting any other flag but the white one, should be not imprisonment, but transportation, accompanied by confiscation of any public pension. Even this addition to the punishment did not seem to the majority to be adequate to the offence. M. Jossé de Beauvois exclaimed—"After what we have seen, is this the time for vain indulgences? Since the return of the king, we have been caressing crime rather than punishing it: I propose forced labour for life, in addition to transportation." "Death! death!" exclaimed M. Humbert de Lesmaiscons: "we must strike at the great culprits. The punishment of death seems to me the only penalty for those who hoist any other flag but the white one; and it should extend not only to the actors, but the instigators of that offence." "The pains of parricide," added M. Boin, "if the act has been begun to be carried into execution!" These vehement apostrophes in a manner secured the adoption of the amendments in the committee: the Government were too happy to avoid the extreme penalty by adopting the milder punishment of transportation, which was accordingly agreed to.[2]

[2] Moniteur, Oct. 25, 1815; Lam. v. 394, 395; Cap. iii. 284, 286.

The law for the establishment of Prévôtal Courts for the punishment of political offences, which might dispose of cases summarily, without the intervention of a jury, came on on the 17th November. It was deemed essen-

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68. Law establishing courts-martial for political offences. Nov. 17.

tial by the Government, as it ever will be by right-thinking ministers in similar circumstances, to take the cognisance of political offences entirely out of the hands of juries; for so completely was the country divided, and so vehement were the passions excited on both sides, that in some departments the guilty were certain to escape, in others the innocent ran the greatest risk of being convicted. The Duke de Feltre brought forward the proposed measure, and the motives prompting to it were thus stated by him: "Those are unhappy epochs when society, assailed with violence, is obliged to treat as enemies those who, placed in its own bosom, have declared against a sort of open law. It is to that imperious law of necessity that we owe the introduction of Prévôtal Courts, created by the genius of the greatest magistrates. Its subject is to restore in the kingdom that tranquillity which similar establishments have produced in former times; to intimidate the wicked, and isolate them, in a manner, from the weak crowd whom they make their instruments." The law proposed, which was supported in the Chamber of Deputies by the eloquence of M. Royer Collard and the scientific fame of M. Cuvier, enacted that "every department was to have a provost-marshal and Prévôtal Court, composed of the provost and four assessors, chosen among the members of the Tribunals of the First Instance. It was to be competent to try all political crimes, seditious assemblages, cries, or attempts against the king or the royal family. It was empowered to apply all the criminal and correctional pains. The provost was the public prosecutor. The procedure was to be as brief as possible; the accused, in twenty-four hours after apprehension, was to be brought before the Prévôtal Court, which was to determine on the case, and pronounce sentence without separating. The sentence was to be instantly carried into execution, and not to be subject to the review of the Court of Cassation, or any superior court.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 18, 1815; Cap. iii. 286, 288; Lam. v. 391, 393.

Broad as were the powers conferred by these acts on

the magistracy and the Government, they fell short of what the majority deemed indispensable for the necessities of the case. They feared that the judges in the inferior tribunals, holding their situations for life, should not be sufficiently pliant to the wishes of the Government, or of the majority in the Chambers. M. Hyde de Neuville, accordingly, proposed that a considerable part of the inferior tribunals should be suppressed, and that the whole judges in those which were retained should hold their situations during pleasure, only for the period of a year. Thus the reaction had become so violent that the Royalist Chamber was adopting the measures of the regicide Convention, and evincing that predilection for appointments *during pleasure*, which in every age and country has been the characteristic of tyranny, whether civil or ecclesiastical, alike in monarchs, aristocracies, democracies, or congregations. It was with considerable difficulty that Government succeeded in throwing out these extreme propositions, which went to destroy the very foundations of freedom in the land;—and it is a striking proof of the danger of intrusting power during periods of excitement to popular assemblies, that such a man as M. Hyde de Neuville could be led to bring forward such a measure; and the Assembly of representatives of the people, but for the interposition of the crown, would have adopted it.[1]

69. Proposal for rendering the inferior judges removable during a year.

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 13, 1815; Cap. iii. 288, 290; Lam. v. 393.

Thus these bills, as we should call them in England, having all passed the Lower House, the discussion of them began in the Chamber of Peers. That conferring the power of unlimited arrest was the first which came on. Then M. Lanjuinais, who had been created a peer by the king, evinced the same intrepidity in combating the encroachments on public freedom by the Royalists, which he had formerly done in resisting the savage measures of the majority in the Convention. "The law proposed," said he, "is unjust, because it goes to elevate suspicion into proof, and render it a sufficient ground

70. Discussion on the acts in the Peers.

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for arrest and detention; because it takes away from the accused the most important and sacred of all rights, that of being tried by the constitutional and immovable judges! What must be the effects of such a law? What but the law against 'suspected persons,' with all its terrors, and better combined even than that tyrannical enactment to enslave the imagination, extirpate the conscience? You have spoken of Rome and England; but what have they in common with this proposal?—the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the *Caveant Consules*, with such a law as the present? I demand, at least, that it should be referred to a committee, to soften its more objectionable clauses. Doubtless the circumstances are imperious; perhaps some such law may be indispensable; but a thousand circumstances of detail, which require to be limited and defined, are unexplained by it. It is even uncertain by what functionaries it is to be executed; and what a host of doubts and difficulties will that single circumstance create! Every locality, every department, will execute it in a different manner; and possibly its execution may be mildest in the very places where rigour is most called for."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 12, 1815; Cap. iii. 290, 292; Lam. v. 393.

71. Answer of M. de Fontanes and M. de Brissac.

"The proposed law," answered M. de Fontanes, "can alone give effect to the feeling of the Chamber, as expressed in the address to the Sovereign. That address recommended to the King to exercise his justice; it seemed to dread the excess of his clemency. Some say they will vote against it from feelings of humanity: I will vote for it from the same sentiment. We must inspire terror, if we would avoid doing evil. Factions agitate and declaim against oppression only under a weak government; if it is strong, they are peaceable and silent. You can, I know well, in the name of liberty, move everything that is most profound in the human heart—its finest feelings, its noblest sentiments; but whatever may be said, it is not liberty, but order, which is the first necessity of society—the first end of its establishment. It is in the name of order that I vote for the simple and unmodified

adoption of the law. The law proposed is a measure of indulgence. All that Government required to do was to take from a certain number of individuals the power of injuring themselves or others, without giving them the liberty which could lead only to their being seated on the accused bench, to enable all the rest to enjoy their freedom in peace and tranquillity." The law was passed by a majority of 55, the numbers being 167 to 112.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 12, 1815; Cap. iii. 293, 295; Lam. v. 393, 395.

72. Argument against the law on seditious cries.

The discussion of the law on the raising of seditious cries excited a warm discussion in the Assembly, remarkable chiefly for the violence of the sentiments which it elicited. "What," said the Marquis de Frondeville, "are the offences against which the law is directed? Are they not the most serious which can threaten society? They comprehend menaces against the life or person of the king and royal family, provocations against the Government, incitement to take up arms to resist the Royal authority. Is the punishment of transportation an adequate mode of repressing such offences? For what crimes is the punishment of death to be reserved, if Government fears to strike the miserable wretches who are trying to overturn the throne, the government, society itself? If transported, where are they to be taken to? Have we islands in distant seas, like the English, whither to send such monsters to league with their kind? They may, says the law, be banished from the European continent—that is to say, they may settle themselves within a few leagues of its shores, and there enjoy the tranquillity which they have wrested from us. Do you really suppose that by such means you can repress the conspiracies, of the existence of which we have received such frightful proof? It is in vain to say you must apply a different measure of punishment to provocations to crime and their actual commission. True; but the penal code has itself shown how this is to be done, by denouncing the simple penalty against an expression of intention, and the penalty aggravated by the pains of parricide against the completed act."[2]

[2] Moniteur, Nov. 9, 1815; Cap. iii. 297, 298.

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73. Speech of Chateaubriand on the subject.

"The proposed law," said Chateaubriand, "in the 5th article, denounces a penalty against any one who utters an expression which might excite alarm in the holders of national domains. That enactment is barbarous, for it menaces with the same penalty an excusable regret and a sacrilegious machination. It will reach the poor emigrant despoiled of his inheritance, whom a jealous acquirer of his property may surprise exhaling some regrets, shedding some tears over the tomb of his fathers. Dragged before the tribunal by calumny, he will be judged by passion; he will there lose his honour, the only possession which the Revolution has left him; and all that to calm apprehensions which should have been for ever set at rest, if anything could do so, by the solemn promises in the charter. Wherefore is all this done?—to stifle those murmurs, the inevitable consequence of a great injustice—to impose a silence which, to be effectual, should ordain at the same time the demolition of the stones which mark the boundaries of the heritages of which you are so anxious to reassure the possessors." These extreme opinions did not influence the majority; and the law, as it was sent up from the Chamber of Deputies, as well as that establishing the Prévôtal Courts, was adopted in the Peers without alteration, by large majorities—the latter with scarce any discussion.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 9 and 10, 1815; Cap. iii. 301, 302; Lam. v. 394, 395.

74. Reflections on the deaths of Ney and Labedoyère.

It is necessary to consider and reflect on these debates, if we would judge with impartiality the conduct of the French Government in the great tragedy in which the Hundred Days terminated—the deaths of Marshal Ney and Colonel Labedoyère. It is impossible to approach this subject without painful emotions: to an Englishman, especially, who recollects that the former was a great and glorious enemy, and that his mournful fate is in some sort wound up with our triumphs, and could not have happened but for the conquest of Waterloo, it will always be the subject of the most poignant regret. How much more gladly would every generous heart in Britain have

joined in celebrating the heroism of the bravest of the brave, and doing honour to his grey hairs, than in weaving the chaplet which is to express regret upon his tomb! The very circumstance of his having been our enemy, of his having combated Wellington in Portugal, headed the charge of the Old Guard at Waterloo, only augments the sorrow with which his fate must ever be regarded. Those who are most attached to principles will ever be most indulgent to individuals; and it is the glory of modern civilisation to behold in an enemy only a friend, when he has ceased to combat in the hostile ranks. Yet this very feeling of equanimity should lead us to do justice to the Government upon whom those melancholy acts were imposed as a species of state necessity; we must consider its situation, measure the difficulties with which it was surrounded, and the weight of the influence, external and internal, which was brought to bear upon its deliberations. If any decided opinion results from these considerations, it will probably be against the system of public law under which those melancholy executions took place; and even the blood of Marshal Ney will not have been shed in vain if it leads, in all civilised nations, to the abolition of the punishment of death in all purely political offences.

75. External influences exerted against the Government.

External influences of no ordinary kind were exerted to impel the Government into measures of severity on this occasion. The opinion of the Allies and their sovereigns, not even excepting the mild and benevolent Alexander, was unanimous, that there could be no peace in Europe till the military spirit was checked in France; and that, in Wellington's words, "a great moral lesson" was more requisite for the French army than the French people. It was the insatiable ambition of the army which he commanded, more even than his own disposition, which had impelled Napoleon into the career of conquest; is was their rapacious and covetous desires which had rendered their ascendancy so insupportably odious to every people they had come among. The Hun-

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dred Days had sufficiently demonstrated that no reliance could be placed on the fidelity of their chiefs; that their submission was merely forced, their loyalty feigned; and that the leopard would change his spots, the Ethiopian his skin, before they would be influenced by any other passion but the lust of conquest. It was for that reason that it was deemed indispensable to insist on the dissolution of the army of the Loire, the exile of the principal military leaders, and the change of the national colours of France: steps, and not unimportant ones, in the formation of a new national spirit. But, in addition to this, it was necessary to affect the imagination by great examples; to strike, and to strike boldly, and prove by decisive acts that, if this had not hitherto been done, it was owing to humanity, not fear. "We must strike," said M. Gentz, "the chiefs of the conspiracy, or we have no security for the peace of Europe for a year." [1]

[1] Cap. iii. 315, 316.

'76. Considerations which weighed with the Court.

Still more exasperated was the Royalist party at the Court, and in the Chambers, which called out aloud for great examples. It was no wonder it was so, for they had humiliation to deplore, losses to revenge. If the feeling of the necessity of punishment was strong in the conquerors—in those to whom treachery had only opened the avenue to conquest,—what might it be expected to be in the conquered—in those to whom it had opened only the gates of perdition?—among whom it had brought the disgrace of defeat, the tarnishing of glory, the overthrow of a dynasty, the loss of frontier towns, the oppression of a million of armed men, the imposition of humiliating and insupportable exactions? Generosity had been tried, magnanimity had had its day, and what had been the result? Nothing but a repetition on a still greater scale of treachery and treason. Not a head had fallen, not an estate had been confiscated, not a human being banished on the first restoration, and the only consequence had been the formation of a vast conspiracy to overturn the Government and destroy their benefactors. Humanity

was, as usual in such cases, ascribed to fear; moderation considered as a proof of imbecility. The time had now come when it was necessary to undeceive the conspirators by great examples, and, after the manner of Napoleon, vindicate the authority of Government by the condign punishment of those who had alike insulted it, and all but ruined their country.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 306; Lam. v. 423, 424.

77. Measures of the Government to give the accused persons the means of escape.

Strong as these considerations in themselves were, and powerfully as they spoke to the feelings of a Government which had been overturned by a conspiracy, and only reinstated by conquest, they did not sway the humane breast of the king, or move the enlightened minds of his ministers. Louis XVIII., M. Talleyrand, M. Fouché, the Duke de Richelieu, and M. Decazes, were alike impressed with the necessity of a great act of amnesty, and of avoiding the most fatal of all inaugurations for the commencement of their government — the inauguration of blood. They did everything in their power to furnish the accused persons with the means of escape, designedly in order to avoid the embarrassment of their trial. When the lists prepared and signed by Fouché on the 24th July appeared, the execution of the warrants of arrest was delayed for several weeks, purposely to give the accused persons an opportunity of escape. Passports were furnished to all, or nearly all, the proscribed persons; and not only were they earnestly entreated to withdraw, but large sums of money were placed at the disposal of the minister of police to enable them to do so. No less than 459,000 francs (£18,360) were expended by the minister of police in this humane attempt. But the benevolent and wise intentions of the Government were in some instances frustrated by the zeal of the provincial authorities, who arrested the proscribed persons as they were making their escape—in others rendered nugatory by the devotion of the persons endangered themselves, who in a heroic spirit preferred remaining at home, and undergoing all the risks of trial,[2] to

[2] Lam. v. 423; Cap. iii. 316, 317; Lac. i. 422, 423.

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taking guilt to themselves by making use of the means of escape.

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78. Treachery of Col. Labedoyère.

The first of the persons who was arrested from the latter cause, and forced upon the Government for trial, was Colonel LABEDOYÈRE. This ardent and gallant young man, whose defection at Grenoble first opened to Napoleon the gates of France,[1] and whose subsequent fate has made his name imperishable in history, was connected with several of the first families of the Court, but had been involved in the meshes of the Napoleonist conspiracy by the influence of Queen Hortense, whose saloons in Paris, under the name of the Duchess de St Leu, were the chief rendezvous of the Imperial party. Even as early as 8th February 1815, he had assured M. Fleury de Chaboulon, then on his route to Elba, that the Emperor might reckon on him. Being in command of the 7th regiment at Grenoble, the first fortified town between Cannes and Paris, his defection was of the highest importance to Napoleon ; and it was mainly from knowing that he might be relied on, that the Emperor had chosen the mountain road which lay through that town.[2]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xii. § 80.

[2] Cap. iii. 318, 319; Lam. v. 425; Lac. ii. 4, 5.

79. His arrest.

After the capitulation of Paris, Fouché sent for Labedoyère, and said to him, "I advise you to leave France ; here are your passports : if you want money, here are 25,000 francs (£1000) in gold ; but set off." He left Paris in pursuance of this advice, but repented before he had passed Clermont, where he stopped. The Paris police were aware of his residence, and Fouché repeatedly warned him of the necessity of remaining concealed ; but, instead of doing that, he returned to Paris, resisting all the efforts of General Excelmans and Count Flahault, who did their utmost to prevent him, and repaired to the house of a lady to whom he was attached.[3] His fine and martial figure revealed him to an agent of the police who was in the carriage, who tracked him to the place where he had hoped

[3] Cap. iii. 318, 321; Lam. v. 430, 433; Lac. ii. 7, 8.

to remain concealed, screened by the vigilance and guarded by the fidelity of love. The agent communicated the circumstance to the prefect; and as the Government could not overlook the return of so great a criminal to Paris, after he had been furnished with the means of escape, he was arrested in the night and conveyed to prison.

80. His trial and condemnation.

He was brought to trial before a council of war on the 14th August. There could be no difficulty in proving his guilt; it was notorious to all the world, and admitted in the most express manner by himself, in his declaration when brought before the police magistrate. It was established in the clearest manner that he set out from Grenoble, at the head of the 7th regiment of infantry, to meet Napoleon, notwithstanding all the instances of his commander, General Devilliers, who endeavoured to dissuade him; that this was a premeditated act; that he had intimated his intention to his officers, harangued the soldiers, and prepared the tricolor cockades, which were concealed in a drum, and distributed when the period for action had arrived; that he had alike disobeyed the orders and resisted the supplications of his general, who remained faithful to his allegiance; and that when he met the Emperor, instead of attacking, he embraced him, and brought him back in triumph to the foot of the ramparts of Grenoble. The public prosecutor called on the judges, as these facts were clearly established, to pronounce the sentence of the law on so great a criminal, whose defection had drawn after it that of the whole army. Labedoyère did not controvert the facts proved; he only sought to vindicate his memory by explaining his motives. "If my life only was at stake, I would not detain you a moment: it is my profession to be ready to die. But a wife, the model of every virtue, a son as yet in the cradle, will one day demand of me an account of my actions. The name I leave them is their inheritance; I am bound to leave it to them, unfortunate but not disgraced. I may have deceived myself as to

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the real interests of France: misled by the recollections of camps, or the illusions of honour, I may have mistaken my own chimeras for the voice of my country. But the greatness of the sacrifices which I made, in breaking all the strongest bonds of rank and family, prove at least that no unworthy or personal motive has influenced my actions. I deny nothing; I plead only guiltless to having conspired. When I received the command of my regiment, I had not a thought that the Emperor could ever return to France. Sad presentiments, nevertheless, overtook me at the moment when I set out for Chambery; they arose from the weight of public opinion pressing on me. I confess with grief my error; I confess it with anguish, when I cast my eyes on my country. My fault consisted in having misunderstood the intentions of the King, and his return has opened my eyes. I shall not be permitted to enjoy the spectacle of the constitution completed, and France still a great nation united around its king. But I have shed my blood for my country; and I wish to persuade myself that my death, preceded by the abjuration of my errors, may be useful to France; that my memory will not be held in detestation, and that when my son may be of an age to serve his country, he will not be ashamed of his father's name."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Aug. 20, 1815; Lam. v. 435, 437; Cap. iii. 321, 323.

81. His death.

As a matter of necessity, he was condemned to death, though the judges themselves shed tears when sentence was pronounced. His relations offered 100,000 francs (£4000) to the keeper of the prison if he would favour his escape. As a last resource, his young wife threw herself at the feet of the King, whom she reached as he was descending the great stair of the Tuileries to enter his carriage. "Grace, grace!" exclaimed the unhappy woman, her voice broken by sobs. "Madam," replied the monarch with deep emotion, "I know your sentiments, and those of your family, for my house; I deeply regret being obliged to refuse such faithful servants. If

your husband had offended me alone, his pardon would have been already given; but I owe satisfaction to France, on which he has induced the scourge of rebellion and war. My duty as a king ties my hands. I can only pray for the soul of him whom justice has condemned, and assure you of my protection to yourself and your child." At these words the suppliant fell in a swoon at his feet. Labedoyère's mother, clad in the deepest mourning, awaited the monarch on his return, but the strictest orders had been given to prevent her reaching the royal presence, and her cries alone reached his ears. Meanwhile Labedoyère, recalled by solitude and misfortune from the illusions which had misled him, had regained the sentiments of his youth. He received with gratitude the consolations of religion, and prepared in a worthy spirit to undergo his fate. When brought out for execution, his eyes met those of M. César de Nervaux, a faithful friend and companion in arms, who had come to support him in his last moments. They pressed each other's hands in silence. When the soldiers who were to perform the painful duty took their stations opposite the wall before which he was placed, he advanced a few steps, and took his station in the middle of the intervening space; then suddenly turning round, as if he had forgot something, he whispered for a few seconds to the priest who accompanied him. Then calmly resuming his place, he refused to have his eyes bandaged, and looking straight at the levelled muskets, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Fire, my friends!" He fell pierced by nine balls; and when the smoke of the discharge had passed away, the priest approached and steeped his handkerchief in the blood which flowed from his breast, which he took with him as a relic to the wife of the fallen officer.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 442, 447; Cap. iii. 323, 324; Lac. ii. 3, 4.

The next person selected for trial was Marshal NEY, who had at the head of his corps betrayed the royal cause as effectually as Labedoyère had done at the head of his regiment. His flagrant defection, and the deci-

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82. Trial of Marshal Ney. His treacherous conduct.

sive consequences with which it was attended, were too deeply impressed on the mind of the Royalists to give the Government any option in dealing with so great a criminal. He had said in the Chamber of Peers, before the departure of Napoleon for Rochefort, that he had everything to fear from the resentment of the Royalists, and that he was about to set out for the United States. It was undoubtedly true that he had used the famous expression to the King, before he set out from Paris to take the command at Melun, "I will bring Buonaparte back in an iron cage." The remarkable expression had been overheard by the Prince de Poix and the Duke de Duras as well as his Majesty, who was surprised at it coming from a marshal who had risen so high in the Imperial service. He himself admitted in his judicial declaration that he had used the words "Cage de Fer." * He admitted that, in a transport of Royalist enthusiasm, he had said, "If I see the least hesitation in the troops, I will seize the first grenadier's musket, make use of it, and give an example to others." He admitted having signed the fatal proclamation of the 14th March, in which the cause of Napoleon was openly espoused, and which was immediately followed by the defection of the whole army. He said in his declaration that it was written by Napoleon, and sent to him by means of his brother Joseph, who was at Prague. Yet so strong had been his protestations of fidelity, that down to the very last moment the royal family had more confidence in him than in any man in France.[1] †

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 11, 1815, Sup.; Cap. iii. 339, 340; Lac. ii. 5, 6; Procès de Ney, 30.

* "Je dis au Roi que la démarche de Buonaparte était si insensée qu'il méritait, s'il était pris, d'être conduit à Paris dans une cage de fer. On a prétendu que j'avais dit que je le conduirais moi-même, si je le prenais, dans une cage de fer. Je ne me rappelle pas bien ce que j'ai dit. Je sais que j'ai prononcé ces mots, 'Cage de fer.' Je dis aussi que Buonaparte me paraissait bien coupable d'avoir rompu son ban. J'ai écrie, 'Si je vois de l'hésitation dans la troupe, je prendrai moi-même le fusil du premier grenadier, pour m'en servir, et donner l'exemple aux autres.' J'ai entraîné; j'ai eu tort, il n'y a pas le moindre doute."—*Procès du Maréchal Ney*—*Moniteur*, No. 515, 11th Nov. 1815.

† "Tout dépend des premiers coups de fusil, car enfin il n'y en a pas encore de tirés. *J'attends tout de Ney*, puisque c'est le seul qui combattra cet homme.

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Ney was in Paris, though not employed with the army, when the capitulation with the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher was signed,—a circumstance which led to a painful difficulty, so far as this country was concerned, in the trial which ensued. He received passports under a feigned name from Fouché, which were endorsed by the Austrian and Swiss embassies at Paris, and by Count Bubna, the Austrian commander at Lyons. He was just leaving France in pursuance of Talleyrand's advice, and had reached Nantua, within a few leagues of the Swiss frontier, when he was seized, like Labedoyère, with a fatal desire to return to his own country. He was haunted by the idea of a sentence of death *par contumace*, which would weigh upon his memory and the interests of his relations. He returned accordingly, and took up his residence at the chateau of Bossonis, which belonged to his family. There he made no attempt at concealment, and was discovered by a magnificent sabre, with his name engraven on the hilt, which had been given him by the Emperor in the days of his glory. He was in consequence seized, without any instructions from headquarters, by M. Locard, the prefect of the department, a zealous Royalist, and sent to Paris, where his arrival occasioned no small regret and consternation among the members of the Government.[1]

83. His departure from Paris, and arrest at Bossonis.

[1] Cap. iii. 340, 342; Lac. ii. 4, 5.

But, once taken, it was out of the power of Government not to bring him to trial; for, if so great a traitor escaped, how could any inferior criminal be brought to justice? Great difficulty, however, was experienced in finding a court to undertake the responsibility of his trial. He was, in the first instance, sent to be tried by a military commission, presided over by Marshal Moncey; but that veteran recoiled from the idea of trying an old companion in arms, and declined the trial on the plea of

84. His trial before the Chamber of Peers.

Ne perdez pas de temps à ce vilain Paris; mon beau frère est assez pour le contenir; mais vous, pourquoi *n'êtes vous pas avec Oudinot ou Ney?*"—*Madame la Duchesse* D'ANGOULEME *à M. le Comte* D'ARTOIS, Bordeaux, 29 Mars 1815.—CAPEFIGUE, iv. 424—Appendix.

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having no jurisdiction over a peer of the realm. This refusal, which was considered by the Royalists a decisive proof of a general conspiracy in the army, gave profound mortification to the court, and was punished by three months imprisonment, inflicted on the recusant marshal. Ney was next sent to the Chamber of Peers, which, how unwilling soever to undertake the painful duty, could find no pretext to evade it. The Duke de Richelieu, in introducing the accusation on behalf of the Government, observed: "It is not only in the name of the king that we discharge this duty—it is in the name of France, long indignant, and now stupified: it is even in the name of Europe that we at once conjure and require you to undertake the trial of Marshal Ney. We accuse him before you of high treason and crimes against the state. The Chamber of Peers owes to the world a conspicuous reparation; and it should be prompt, if it is to be effectual. The king's ministers are obliged to say that the decision of the council of war has become a triumph to the factions. We conjure you, then, and in the name of the king require you, in terms of the ordinance of his majesty, to proceed to the trial of Marshal Ney." The trial proceeded accordingly, the defence of the marshal being intrusted to the experienced hands of MM. Berryer and Dupin.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 11, 1815, Sup., and Nov. 22, 1815; Cap. iii. 360, 361; Lac. ii. 5.

85. His defence and condemnation.

These able counsellors could not deny the facts proved against him, the most important of which were admitted by himself in his judicial declaration. They confined themselves, therefore, to the plea that he was no longer a free agent when he signed the proclamation of the 14th March, sent to him by Napoleon;* that he was carried

* "Officiers, sous-officiers, et soldats—La cause des Bourbons est à jamais perdue! Le dynastie légitime que la nation Française a adoptée va remonter sur le Trône; c'est à l'Empereur Napoléon notre Souverain qu'il appartient seul de régner sur ce beau pays! Que la Noblesse des Bourbons prenne le parti de l'expatrier encore, ou qu'elle consente à vivre au milieu de nous, qu'importe? La cause sacrée de la liberté et de notre indépendance ne souffrira plus de leur funeste influence. Ils ont voulu avilir notre gloire militaire, mais ils se sont trompés; cette gloire est le fruit de trop nobles travaux pour que nous puis

away by the torrent, and that the cause of Napoleon had been by the soldiers so warmly embraced before it was issued, that to have taken any other course had become impracticable. But to this it was justly replied, that difficulty will never justify crime; that if he could not control his troops, he might at least have withdrawn from the command, and not employed the power confided to him by the king for the destruction of his authority. And the defence of being carried away, such as it was, was entirely overturned by the evidence of Generals Lecourbe and Bourmont, who were with him at the time of his defection—who concurred in stating, the one in oral testimony, the other in a deposition emitted before death, that Ney had himself said, in their presence, that it was all over; that *everything had been agreed upon for three months*, and they would have known it, if they had been at Paris; that no violence was to be done to the king, but that he was to be dethroned, put on board a vessel, and conducted into England.[1]* It appeared, from

[1] Déposition de Bourmont; Procès de Ney, 87; and Moniteur, Dec. 6, 1815.

sions en perdre la mémoire. Soldats, les temps ne sont plus ou on gouvernait les peuples en étouffant tous leurs droits: la liberté triomphe enfin et Napoléon notre auguste Empereur, va l'affermir à jamais! Que désormais cette cause si belle soit la notre et celle de tous les Français! Que tous les braves que j'ai l'honneur de commander se pénètrent de cette grande vérité. Soldats, je vous ai si souvent menés à la victoire, maintenant je veux vous conduire à cette phalange immortelle que l'Empereur Napoléon conduit à Paris, et qui y sera sous peu de jours, et là, notre esperance et notre bonheur seront à jamais égalisés. Vive l'Empereur!—*Lons-le-Saulnier, le* 13 *Mars* 1815.—LE MARECHAL DE L'EMPIRE, PRINCE DE LA MOSKOUA."—*Moniteur* 22d Nov. 1815.

* "'C'est une chose absolument finie,' dit le Maréchal. Je ne l'avais pas compris. Le Général Lecourbe entra; 'je lui disais que tout est fini,' dit-il au Général Lecourbe; celui-ci parut étonné. 'Oui,' ajouta le Maréchal, 'c'est une affaire arrangée, *il y a trois mois que nous sommes tous d'accord;* si vous aviez été à Paris, vous l'auriez su comme moi. Les troupes sont divisées par deux bataillons et trois escadrons, les troupes d'Alsace de même, les troupes de la Lorraine de même; le Roi doit avoir quitté Paris, ou il sera enlevé, mais on ne lui fera pas de mal; malheur à qui ferait du mal au Roi; on n'avait l'intention que de le détrôner, de l'embarquer sur un vaisseau et de le faire conduire en Angleterre. Nous n'avons plus maintenant qu' à rejoindre l'Empereur.' Je dis au Maréchal qu'il était très extraordinaire qu'il proposât d'aller rejoindre celui contre lequel il devoit combattre. Il me répondit qu'il m'engageait à le faire, 'mais vous êtes libre.' Le Général Lecourbe lui répondit—'Je suis ici pour servir le Roi, et non pour servir Buonaparte. Jamais il ne m'a fait que du mal, et le Roi ne m'a fait que du bien. Je veux servir le Roi,

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what fell from General Bourmont, that Ney's words led to the belief that, like many other of the most terrible catastrophes recorded in history, from the siege of Troy downwards, his conduct on this occasion had been mainly instigated by female jealousy and mortifications.

86. Appeal to the capitulation of Paris.

It now remained only to the counsel for the accused to appeal to the capitulation of Paris; and here, it must be admitted, they had a much stronger case to rest upon. By the twelfth article of the capitulation of that city, concluded at St Cloud, it had been stipulated that no person then in Paris should be disquieted in his person or estate on account of his conduct during the Hundred Days; and by another article, that if any doubt arose concerning the interpretation to be put on any part of the convention, it should be construed in favour of the party capitulating.* Three witnesses of the highest respectability, who took part in the capitulation, Marshal Davoust, General Guillimont, and M. Bignon, concurred in deponing that this article was intended to cover the military as well as the ordinary inhabitants of Paris; and that had this not been agreed to, they would have broken off the negotiation. "I had," said Marshal Davoust, "25,000 cavalry, 400 or 500 guns; and if the French are ready

j'ai de l'honneur.' 'Et moi aussi,' répondit le Maréchal, 'parceque je ne veux pas être humilié. Je ne veux pas que ma femme retourne chez moi les larmes aux yeux des humiliations qu'elle a reçues dans la journée. Le Roi ne veut pas de nous, c'est évident; ce n'est qu' avec Buonaparte que nous pouvons avoir de la consideration; ce n'est qu' avec un homme de l'armée que pourra en obtenir l'armée.' Une demi-heure après, il prit un papier sur la table—'Voilà ce que je veux lire aux troupes.' Et il lut la Proclamation. . . . Le Maréchal était si bien déterminé d'avance à prendre son parti qu'une demi-heure après il portait la décoration de la Légion d'Honneur avec l'Aigle, et à son grand cordon la décoration à l'Effigie de Buonaparte."—*Déposition du Général Bourmont—Moniteur*, 6 Dec. 1815.

* "Seront respectées les personnes et les propriétés particulières; les habitans, et, en général, tous les individus qui se trouvent dans la capitale, continueront à jouir de leurs droits et libertés, sans pouvoir être ni enquiétés ni récherchés, même relativement aux fonctions qu'ils occupent ou auraient occupées, à leur conduite et à leur opinion politique. S'il survient quelques difficultés sur l'exécution de quelques-uns des articles de la convention, l'interprétation en sera faite en faveur de l'armée Française, et de la ville de Paris."—Arts. 12 et 15, Capitulation de Paris—*Moniteur*, July 9, 1815; CAP. iii. 306, 307.

to fly, they are not less ready to rally under the walls of Paris." Marshal Ney exclaimed upon this—"The article was so entirely protective, that I relied on it: but for it, can it be believed I would not have died sword in hand? It was in defiance of that capitulation that I was arrested, and on its faith that I re-entered France." The Peers, by a majority, held that they could listen to no defence founded on the military convention of July 3, concluded between foreign generals and a provisional government not emanating from the king, and to which he was so entire a stranger that two-and-twenty days after he signed an ordinance, directing a certain number of individuals to be brought to trial, which was signed by the very minister who had been president of the provisional government. As a last resource, M. Berryer objected that Ney was no longer a Frenchman, or subject to the laws of that country; for, by the treaty of 20th November last, the place of his birth had been detached from France. But the marshal stopped that defence in a noble manner—"I am a Frenchman," exclaimed he, "and will die as such. Hitherto my defence has appeared free; it is no longer so. I thank my generous defenders, but I would rather not be defended than have the shadow only of a defence. I am accused in opposition to the faith of treaties, and I am precluded from appealing to them. I imitate Moreau—I appeal from Europe to posterity."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 7, 1815; Cap. iii. 384, 386.

87. He is found guilty, and sentenced to death.

When the appeal to the capitulations was refused, the counsel for Ney had no longer any defence. He was accordingly found guilty—1st, By a majority of 107 to 47, of having, in the night of the 13th and 14th March, received the emissaries of the usurper; 2d, Unanimously, of having, on the 14th March, read a proclamation in the chief square of Lons-le-Saulnier, tending to excite his troops to rebellion, and immediately given orders to them to unite their forces with those of the usurper, and of having himself effected that junction; 3d, By a majority

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of 157 to 1, of having committed high treason. It remained to determine on the punishment to be inflicted, the determination of which the French law, in the case of that high tribunal, gives to the judges—viz., whether it would be that prescribed by the penal code or the military law: 142 voted for death, according to the martial law, 13 for transportation, 5 declined voting. The sentence was pronounced in absence of the accused, the privilege of doing so having been given to the Peers by the royal ordinance directing the trial. In the majority who voted for death were found the names of Marmont, Serrurier, the Duke of Valmy, Latour-Maubourg, and many others of Ney's old companions in arms.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 7, 1815; Cap. iii. 389, 401; Lac. ii. 11, 12.

88. His death determined on by the king.

The marshal himself supped calmly that night, and, after smoking a cigar, slept for some hours. He was wakened by M. Cauchy, who came to announce to him the decision of the House of Peers. "Marshal," said he, "I have a melancholy duty to perform." "Do your duty, M. Cauchy; we all have ours in this world." Then, as the preamble began, he said—"To the point, to the point." When the numerous titles of the accused—Prince of the Moskwa, Duke of Elchingen—began, he interrupted him again: "Say simply Michel Ney, soon a little dust; that is all." Never did execution succeed a sentence more rapidly. The king's ministers were in a state of extreme anxiety; the state of the metropolis was reported to them every quarter of an hour. In the evening a conference of the royal family was held, at which it was resolved by all that a great example was necessary: the Duchess d'Angoulême was particularly vehement in inculcating this opinion. At midnight the ministers had a meeting, at which it was determined, after anxious deliberation, to petition the king in favour of a commutation of the sentence to one of banishment to America. The Duke de Richelieu was, with some difficulty, brought to acquiesce in this resolution; but, having done so, he exerted himself to the utmost to

carry it into effect, and besought the king to exercise his clemency by acceding to the wishes of the cabinet. But he found the monarch immovable. He had not courage enough to be magnanimous; the heroic only have such. It is those who could themselves confront death that can forgive it to others. It was doubtless a matter of extreme difficulty for the king to resist the unanimous voice of the European powers, who concurred in demanding the punishment of a great delinquent, and the impassioned feelings of the great majority of both the Chambers, who concurred in that requisition. But there is a voice in the human heart superior to that of public opinion, and that voice is the voice of God. Condemned by the great majority of men at the moment, the forgiveness of Ney, by one whom he had so deeply injured, would have been the noblest inauguration of the monarchy for all future times.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 401, 403.

89. His execution. Dec. 8.

At three in the morning of the 8th, the palace of the Luxembourg, where Ney was confined, was taken possession of by M. de la Rochechouart with two hundred soldiers, chiefly gendarmes and veterans. At nine in the morning, the marshal, having drunk a little claret, entered a carriage, accompanied by the Curé of St Sulpice: two gendarmes occupied the front seat of the carriage. The vehicle drew up in the gardens to the left of the entrance, about fifty yards from the gate. Ney got out with a rapid step, and placing himself eight paces from the wall, said, addressing the officer in command, "Is it here, sir?" "Yes, M. le Maréchal," was the reply. He refused to have his eyes bandaged. "For five-and-twenty years," said he, "I have been accustomed to face the balls of the enemy." Then taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right upon his heart, he said in a loud voice, fronting the soldiers, "My comrades, fire on me."[2] The officer in command gave the signal, and he fell without any struggle: death was instantaneous; three balls had penetrated the head, and four the breast. The place of

[2] Moniteur, Dec. 9, 1815; Cap. iii. 403, 405; Lac. ii. 13, 14.

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execution may still be seen in the gardens of the Luxembourg; and no spot in Europe will ever excite more melancholy feelings in the breast of the spectator.

90. Reflections on this event.

The death of Ney was one of the greatest faults that the Bourbons ever committed. His guilt was self-evident; never did criminal more richly deserve the penalties of treason. Like Marlborough, he had not only betrayed his sovereign, but he had done so when in high command, and when, like him, he had recently before been prodigal of protestations of fidelity to the cause he undertook. His treachery had brought on his country unheard-of calamities—defeat in battle, conquest by Europe, the dethronement and captivity of its sovereign, occupation of its capital and provinces by 1,100,000 armed men, contributions to an unparalleled amount from its suffering people. Double treachery had marked his career: he had first abandoned in adversity his fellow-soldier, benefactor, and emperor, to take service with his enemy, and, having done so, he next betrayed the trust reposed in him, and converted the power given him into the means of destroying his sovereign. If ever a man deserved death, according to the laws of all civilised countries—if ever there was one to whom continued life would have been an opprobrium—it was Ney. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation. He was in Paris at the time it was concluded—he remained in it on its faith—he fell directly under its word as well as its spirit. To say that it was a military convention, which could not tie up the hands of the King of France, who was no party to it, is a sophism alike contrary to the principles of law and the feelings of honour. If Louis XVIII. was not a party to it, he became such by entering Paris, and resuming his throne, the very day after it was concluded, without firing a shot. True, the magnitude of the treachery called for a great example; true, Europe in arms demanded his head as an expiation;—but what then? The very time when justice is shown in harmony with present magnanimity

and ultimate expedience, is when a great crime has been committed, a great criminal is at stake, and a great sacrifice must be made to secure that harmony. Banished from France, with his double treason affixed to his name, Ney would for ever have been an object of scorn and detestation to every honourable mind. Slain in defiance of the capitulation, in the gardens of the Luxembourg, and meeting death in a heroic spirit, he became an object of eternal pathetic interest; and the decoration of the Legion of Honour, which his sentence directed to be torn from his neck, was for ever replaced around it by the volley of the platoon which consigned him to the grave.

91. And on the Duke of Wellington's share in the transaction.

During the trial, and when his counsel had appealed to the capitulation of Paris as protecting him, great efforts were made with foreign powers to save his life. Notes were addressed to all their ambassadors then at Paris, and the intervention of the military chiefs who concluded that convention was in an especial manner invoked. Madame Ney applied for and obtained an interview with the Duke of Wellington on the subject, and in the most passionate manner invoked the protection of the 12th article. "Madam," answered the Duke, "that capitulation was only intended to protect the inhabitants of Paris against the vengeance of the allied armies; and it is not obligatory except on the powers which have ratified it, which Louis XVIII. has not done." "My Lord," replied Madame Ney, "was not the taking possession of Paris, in virtue of the capitulation, equivalent to a ratification?" "That," rejoined the Duke, "regards the king of France; apply to him." Wellington expressed himself in the same terms to Marshal Ney, in answer to a letter addressed to him by the marshal on the subject.* The whole case rests on both sides on this

* "I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th November, relating to the operation of the capitulation of Paris on your case. The capitulation of Paris, on the 3d July, was made between the commander-in-chief of the allied British and Prussian armies, on the one part, and the Prince of Echmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French armies, on

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brief dialogue: all the wit of man to the end of time can add nothing to their force. Strictly speaking, the Duke of Wellington was undoubtedly right: the capitulation bound him, and had been observed by him; if the king of France violated it, that was the affair of that monarch and his ministers; and there was a peculiar delicacy in a victorious foreign general, in military possession of the capital, interfering with the administration of justice by the French government. In private, it is said, Wellington exerted himself much, though unhappily without effect, to save the life of his old antagonist in arms; but, in the face of the united opinion of the whole powers of Europe, he did not conceive himself at liberty to make any public demonstration in his favour. His situation was doubtless a delicate one, surrounded with difficulties on every side; but there is an instinct in the human heart paramount to reason, there is a wisdom in generosity which is often superior to that of expedience. Time will show whether it would not have been wiser to have listened to its voice than to that of unrelenting justice on this occasion; and whether the throne of the Bourbons would not have been better inaugurated by a deed of generosity which would have spoken to the heart of man through every succeeding age, than by the sacrifice of the greatest, though also the most guilty, hero of the Empire.

92. Trial of Lavalette.

Another trial took place at the same period before the ordinary courts of justice in Paris, which, although not terminating in the same mournful catastrophe, was attended with circumstances of perhaps greater romantic

the other, and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris. The object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions. But it never was intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French Government, or any French Government which might succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit."—WELLINGTON to Marshal NEY, 19th Nov. 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 694.

interest. M. LAVALETTE was in civil administration what Marshal Ney had been in military—the great criminal of the Hundred Days. Accompanied by General Sebastiani, he had taken forcible possession, in the name of the Emperor, of the important situation of Director-General of the Post-office, which he had formerly held under the Emperor, and had used the power thus acquired to the worst purposes. On the 20th March, before the entry of the Emperor into Paris, he had addressed a treasonable circular to the inferior postmasters, which had a powerful effect in tranquillising the provinces, and facilitating Napoleon's peaceable resumption of the throne.* In addition to this, he had written to Napoleon at Fontainebleau, urging his immediate advance to Paris, and refused post-horses to several of the persons in the suite of Louis XVIII., in particular Count Ferrand, the former postmaster, on the departure of that monarch for Lille. His guilt, therefore, was self-evident; indeed, it has been confessed by himself;† but, like so many others of the persons implicated in the treason of the Hundred Days,

* "L'Empereur sera à Paris dans deux heures et peut-être avant. La capitale est dans le plus grand enthousiasme; et quoi qu'on puisse faire, la guerre civile n'aura lieu nulle part. Vive l'Empereur!—*Le Conseiller d'Etat, Directeur-General des Postes*, Comte LAVALETTE."—*Moniteur*, 21st Nov. 1815.

† "En sortant de la Rue d'Artois pour entrer sur le boulevard, je rencontrai le Général Sebastiani en cabriolet. Il me donna la nouvelle du départ du Roi, mais il n'en avait aucune sur l'Empereur. 'J'ai bien d'envie,' lui dis-je, 'd'en aller chercher à la poste;' et je me plaçai à coté de lui. En entrant dans la salle d'audience qui précède le Cabinet du Directeur-Général, je trouvai un jeune homme établi devant un bureau, à qui je demandai si le Comte Ferrand était encore à l'hôtel. Sur la réponse affirmative je lui donnai mon nom, en le priant de demander pour moi quelques instans d'entretien à M. le Comte Ferrand. M. Ferrand se présenta, mais sans s'arrêter et sans m'écouter il ouvrit son cabinet. Je ne l'y suivis pas; et j'allai dans *une autre piece où je trouvai tous les chefs de division réunis de me revoir*, et disposés à tout faire pour m'obliger. M. Ferrand, après avoir pris ses papiers, se retira, et laissa son cabinet à ma disposition. J'avais un vif désir de courir à Fontainebleau, pour embrasser l'Empereur; mais je voulais voir ma femme avant de partir, et pour concilier ces deux mouvements de cœur, je pris la résolution d'ecrire à Fontainebleau. On me donna un courrier, qui partit à l'instant. J'annonçai à l'Empereur la nouvelle du départ du Roi, et je lui demandai *des ordres pour la Poste*, puisque M. Ferrand avait abandonné l'administration."—*Mémoire de Lavalette*, ii. 152, 153.

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he made no attempt at escape. He remained, on the contrary, at his own hotel, or the country house of his mother-in-law, near Paris, after the return of the king, and even after the fate of Labedoyère might have taught him the expedience of consulting his safety by flight, the more especially as he was not in Paris at the time of the capitulation, and could not appeal to its protection. He had even the extreme imprudence to disregard a significant hint sent him by Fouché, and remained at his mother-in-law's without concealment. The consequence was, he was arrested and brought to trial; and, as his treason was clearly proved, he was found guilty and sentenced to death.[1]

[1] Cap. iii. 321, 325; Moniteur, Nov. 21, 1815; Lavalette's Mém. ii. 150, 156.

93. The king's pardon is applied for in vain.

The counsel of Lavalette, to gain time, advised him to apply to have the sentence reviewed by the Court of Cassation, and meanwhile applied, through the Duke de Richelieu, to the king for mercy. Louis answered: "M. de Lavalette appears to me to be guilty; the Chamber of Deputies demands examples, and I believe them to be necessary. I have every wish to extend mercy to M. de Lavalette; but recollect that, the day following, you will be assailed by the Chamber of Deputies, and we shall be in a fresh embarrassment." By the advice of the king, the intervention of the Duchess d'Angoulême was applied for, as it might support him in the course which his inclination prompted. The princess shed tears at the recital, and recommended that Madame Lavalette should throw herself at the king's feet. She did so, having with great difficulty obtained entrance to the chateau by the assistance of Marshal Marmont; but though the monarch addressed her with kindness he promised nothing, and it was understood the law would be allowed to take its course. It was fortunate he adhered to that resolution, for it gave occasion to one of the most touching instances of female heroism and devotion that the history of the world has exhibited.[2]

[2] Laval. Mém. 272, 275; Cap. iii. 331, 332.

The day of his death was fixed, and the unhappy

prisoner, despairing of life, had already begun to familiarise his mind with the frightful circumstances of a public execution. In this extremity everything depended on the courage and energy of Madame Lavalette; and to her he owed his salvation. The evening before, being the 21st December, she came to have a last interview with him, accompanied by her daughter, a child of fourteen years; and, as soon as they were alone, proposed that he should escape in her dress. With much difficulty she persuaded him to accede to the proposal, and after their last repast the change of apparel was effected with surprising celerity and address. The hope of success, the consciousness of heroism, had restored all her presence of mind to Madame Lavalette, and she was not only cheerful but animated on the occasion. "Do not forget," said she, "to stoop at passing through the doors, and walk slowly in the passage, like a person exhausted by suffering." He did so: the jailors did not, through the veil which he wore, perceive the change; the porters of the sedan chair in which Madame Lavalette arrived had been gained by twenty-five louis; and after passing four gates, and about twelve turnkeys in different places, he got clear off. When the jailor some time after entered the apartment, he found Lavalette escaped, and the heroine of conjugal duty seated in his place.[1]

94. He escapes by the aid of his wife, and in her dress.

[1] Laval. Mém. ii. 288, 291; Lac. ii. 22, 24.

But though the prison gates had been passed, much remained to be done, for the escape was soon discovered: the police were on the alert; the most active search was made in every direction; and the Government, held to rigorous measures by the clamour raised in the Chamber of Deputies, where they were openly accused of having favoured the escape, were compelled to direct every effort to be made to apprehend the fugitive. But fortune seemed never weary of accumulating romantic incidents around this memorable trial; and the escape of Lavalette from Paris, and into Germany, was effected by an intervention of all others the most unlooked for in such a case.

95. Sir Robert Wilson, Mr Hutchinson, and Mr Bruce, enable him to escape.

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Sir Robert Wilson, the determined antagonist of Napoleon, who had so vehemently denounced the massacre of the prisoners and the poisoning of the sick at Jaffa, who had commanded with distinction a guerilla party on the frontiers of Portugal, and who was the first man who entered the great redoubt in the assault of Dresden, was then in Paris, and to him, with the aid of two courageous friends, Mr Hutchinson and Mr Bruce, Lavalette owed his escape. Endowed by nature with a heroic spirit and an ardent temperament, Sir Robert Wilson had, at the same time, the generosity of disposition which is so often the accompaniment of that character, and should make every equitable mind overlook many of the frailties to which it is in a peculiar manner subject. Allied to the Opposition in the English Parliament, with whom the French emperor had always been an object of interest, his enmity to Napoleon was turned, since his fall, into ardent admiration; and his chivalrous disposition led him to lend himself to every project formed for the escape of the persons implicated in his restoration. He was privy to a design for the escape of his old antagonist Ney, which had been only prevented from taking effect by the tripling of the guards of his prison the evening before his execution; and having failed in that, his next object was to aid in the escape of Lavalette.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 26, 28; Laval. Mém. ii. 293, 296.

96. Mode in which they effect his escape, and their trial.

Lavalette, on escaping from the prison, took refuge, by the guidance of a friend, M. Baudin, who met him by appointment, in the apartments of M. Bressore, part of the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, then occupied by the Duke de Richelieu—a circumstance which warrants a suspicion that that generous nobleman was no stranger in secret to his escape. Meanwhile the court were in consternation, deeming the event the result of a deep-laid conspiracy which was on the point of breaking out; and, to their disgrace be it said, Madame Lavalette, who remained in prison in her husband's room, was in consequence subjected for six-and-twenty days to solitary

confinement, so rigorous that, with the entire ignorance of her husband's fate in which she was kept, her mind became affected, and she did not entirely recover her sanity for twelve years. Lavalette remained three weeks in his place of concealment in the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, and at the close of that period, finding the search for him by the police every day becoming more rigorous, he succeeded in making his escape from Paris, and reaching Germany in safety, by the aid of Sir Robert Wilson, Mr Hutchinson, and Mr Bruce, who, from motives of humanity, generously aided him in the attempt, and accompanied him beyond the reach of danger. They were discovered, however, and brought to trial for abetting his escape, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, the lightest punishment prescribed by the French law for offences of that description: a lenient sentence, if their undoubted infraction of the laws of that country is considered; but a severe one, if the motives of men, whose conduct had excited the admiration and interest of all Europe, is alone regarded.[1]*

[1] Mém. de Lavalette, ii. 291, 327; Lac. ii. 26, 28; Ann. Reg. 1816, 335; Moniteur, April 20, 1816.

* The indictment against Sir Robert Wilson, Mr Hutchinson, and Mr Bruce, charged them with having been accessory to a general conspiracy for overturning all established governments in Europe; but nothing was brought home to them, except some democratic papers found in Sir R. Wilson's repositories, and the actual aiding in Lavalette's escape, which they all admitted, and which was clearly proved. Sir R. Wilson said in his defence, and the words, coming from such a man, drew tears from the audience—"The appeal made to our humanity, to our personal character, and to our national generosity—the responsibility thrown upon us of instantly deciding on the life or death of an unfortunate man, and of an unfortunate stranger—this appeal was imperative, and did not permit us to calculate his other claims to our good-will. At its voice we should have done as much for an obscure unknown individual, or even for an enemy who had fallen into misfortune. Perhaps we were imprudent, but we would rather incur that reproach than the one we should have merited, by basely abandoning him, who, full of confidence, threw himself into our arms. Those very men who have calumniated us, not knowing our motives, would have been the first to reproach us as heartless cowards, if, by our refusal to save M. Lavalette, we had abandoned him to certain death. We resign ourselves with confidence to the decision of the jury; and if you should condemn us for having contravened your positive laws, we shall not have at least to reproach ourselves for having violated the eternal laws of morality and humanity." Mr Bruce said in a firm and manly tone—"Political

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97. Adventures of Murat after the battle of Waterloo.

The fate of another paladin of the French Empire belongs to this period of history, though his fate was determined on the Italian shores. After the calamitous result of his rash attempt to raise Italy against the Austrians, recounted in a former work,* this illustrious chief had sought refuge in France, where he remained obscure and unemployed during the Hundred Days. Napoleon's confidence in his judgment was irrevocably shaken; his white plume was not seen surmounting the armour of the cuirassiers on the field of Waterloo. When that decisive battle had overturned the Imperial dynasty in France, he remained in Provence in concealment, and repeatedly escaped, almost miraculously, from the pursuit of the police. At length, after undergoing three months of anxiety and suffering, worn out with suspense, and determined to brave all hazards in preference to continuing it, he issued from his place of concealment, and with great difficulty succeeded in making his way down to the sea-coast, accompanied by the Duke of Rocca Romana and a few other faithful adherents; but there he was accidentally separated from his attendants,

considerations had no influence with me in the affair of M. Lavalette: I am moved solely by feelings of humanity; and you will see from my declaration that I scarcely knew him. I never was in his house, nor he in mine. I have never had the honour of seeing his wife, nor had I any previous communication with him, direct or indirect, since his arrest. It has been proved, that in no respect was either I or either of my friends implicated in his designs. I respected the fetters and gates of a court of justice. I have not, like Don Quixote, gone in quest of adventures. An unhappy man, condemned by the laws, solicited my protection; he proved that he had confidence in my character—he put his life in my hands—he appealed to my humanity—what would have been said of me if I had gone to denounce him to the police? Should I not have deserved the death with which I have since been threatened? Nay, what would have been thought of me, if I had refused to protect him? Would I not have been regarded as a coward, without principles, without honour, without courage, without generosity, and deserved the contempt of every honourable mind?" These were noble words, which make us proud of our country; and they came with peculiar grace from Sir R. Wilson, the determined antagonist in so many bloody fields of Napoleon, and his enthusiastic young friend, Mr Bruce—of Scotch extraction, but not Mr Bruce of Kennet, as erroneously stated in the first edition.—See *Ann. Reg.* 1816, 385—*App. to Chron.*; LAVALETTE, ii. 29; and *Moniteur*, April 16, 1816.

* *History of Europe*, chap. xciii. §§ 23, 24.

and wandered about for four days and nights on the sea-coast alone, anxiously looking for a bark, and supported solely by the ears of maize which he rubbed in his hands. At length, driven by hunger, he knocked at the door of a humble cottage, and was admitted and offered refreshment by an aged domestic. Soon after the master of the house came in, and, seeing a stranger of a noble air seated at table, he saluted him courteously, and took a place opposite to him at the repast. A sudden ray of the sun having illuminated the countenance of the king, who sat before in shade, the peasant knew him. He had the generosity, however, not only to conceal his surprise, lest he should betray his illustrious guest, but to offer to put his life and property at his disposal. In spite of all the precautions that could be taken, the rumour spread abroad that the King of Naples was concealed on the coast, and, on the night of the 13th August, the cottage in which he slept was surrounded by sixty armed volunteers from Toulon. The old servant, however, detained them so long in opening the door, that Murat, who always was dressed, and with his arms beside him, had time to escape by a back window, and conceal himself under a pile of vine faggots in the vineyard behind the house. As he lay there hidden, several of the party, with lanterns in their hands, passed within a few feet, and almost trode upon the concealed monarch.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 240, 259; Lac. ii. 32, 33; Biog. Univ. xxx. 430.

98. He embarks, and lands in Corsica.

Though this danger was escaped, yet as it was known he was somewhere concealed in the vicinity, and a reward of 1000 louis was offered for his apprehension, it was justly deemed too great a hazard for him to remain longer in his present state of concealment. He embarked accordingly in an open boat attended by four persons; but was overtaken by a violent tempest, which carried away the sail and rudder, and caused a leak to be sprung in the frail bark. They were on the point of sinking, when the packet-boat from Toulon to Corsica came past, by which they were taken up, and where he found by

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accident a number of the partisans of Napoleon, who like him were flying from the dangers of the violent reaction in the south. On arriving in Corsica, he repaired to the house of Colonna Cecaldo, in the Place Vescovato, the most considerable personage in that district, and, announcing his name, solicited hospitality. He was kindly received, and soon after was joined by a few of his partisans from Naples. The governor of Bastia, the chief place of the island, hearing of his descent at Vescovato, issued a proclamation declaring him a public enemy, and sent a detachment of four hundred men to arrest him; but Murat, having got intelligence of their approach, fled to the mountains, where the fame of his name speedily drew a thousand armed peasants to his standard, who presented amidst their defiles and precipices so formidable a front to the soldiers, that they did not venture to hazard an attack, and returned without having effected anything. After this success, the enthusiasm in his favour in Corsica was such that the people solicited him to accept the crown of the island; and he was offered an asylum in Austria, with the title of count, though on condition that he renounced his claims to the throne of the two Sicilies. He was assured also by Lord Exmouth, to whom he despatched a messenger, of a secure passage to England on board his ship; but the admiral was not empowered to pledge himself for anything in regard to his ulterior destination. Fearing, however, that he would incur the fate of Napoleon, and still dreaming of his beloved Naples, he resolved to hazard all by attempting to regain its throne. In vain his most trusty followers represented to him the dangers of such an enterprise when Europe was in arms, and the Austrian troops in great strength occupied the Italian peninsula.[1] He was deaf to everything that could be alleged, and so set upon carrying it into execution, that when his aide-de-camp, Colonel Macerone, arrived from Paris with a safe-conduct from the allied powers, and offer of an asylum in Austria, he

[1] Colletta, Six Dernier Mois de Murat, 89, 92; Lam. v. 267, 272; Biog. Univ. xxx. 431, 432.

declined the offers, and resolved in preference to brave all the hazard of the attempt.

He set out from Vescovato on the 17th September with 250 men, and entered Ajaccio, the chief town of the island, in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. It was a moment of illusion between the throne and the tomb, which recalled for a brief period the remembrance of his happier days. The conversation at dinner turned on the battle of Waterloo. "Ah!" exclaimed Murat, "if I had been there, I am convinced the destinies of the world would have been changed. The French cavalry was madly engaged; it was sacrificed to no purpose in detail, when its charge *en masse* at the close of the day would have carried everything before it." His conversation was easy and varied, as if his mind was relieved from all anxiety. In the evening he wrote a letter to Colonel Macerone, intended for the allied sovereigns, in which he declared his resolution to decline their offers, and hazard all on the expedition he had undertaken.* Having delivered this letter to Macerone and retired to rest, a cannon discharged at one in the morning roused the party from their slumbers, and they embarked on board six small feluccas before sunrise on the 28th September, and after a tedious voyage arrived in sight of the mountains of Calabria near Paolo, on the evening of the 6th October.[1] The flotilla cast anchor, and Murat despatched Colonel Ottaviani

99. His arrival at Ajaccio, and descent on Naples.

[1] Lam. v. 274, 283; Colletta, 92, 96; Biog. Univ. xxx. 431.

* "I cannot accept the conditions which Colonel Macerone has offered to me. They imply an abdication on my part; I am only permitted to live. Is this the respect due to a sovereign in misfortune known to all Europe, and who in a critical moment decided the campaign of 1815 in favour of the very powers which now pursue him with their hatred and their ingratitude? I have never abdicated; I am entitled to recover my throne, if God gives the power and the means of doing so. My presence on the soil of Naples can disturb no one; I cannot correspond with Napoleon, a captive at St. Helena. When you receive this letter, I shall be already at sea, advancing to my destiny. Either I shall succeed, or I shall terminate my life with my enterprise. I have faced death a thousand times combating for my country; may I not be permitted to face it once for myself? I have but one anxiety; it is on the fate of my family."—MURAT to Colonel MACERONE, 27th September 1815; LAMARTINE, v. 281, 282.

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ashore to sound the inhabitants, and bring intelligence whether anything had been prepared to oppose his debarkation.

100. The king lands.

Ottaviani and the sailor who accompanied him were arrested the moment they landed, and did not return. This was considered as a bad omen, and discouragement was already visible in the expedition. During the night the other vessels disappeared; and even Captain Courand, who had been seven years a captain in his guard, slipped his cable during the night and made sail for Corsica. Disconcerted with these defections, Murat proposed to his captain, a man of the name of Barbara, to make sail for Trieste, for which place he had passports and the Austrian safe-conduct; but he declined, alleging he had no flour or provisions for so long a voyage—offering at the same time to go ashore and procure a larger vessel, provided he got the passports. The king, fearing treachery, refused to part with them, upon which an angry altercation got up between them, which ended in his exclaiming to his officers—"You see he refuses to obey me; well, I will land myself! My memory is fresh in the hearts of the Neapolitans; they will join me." He then ordered his officers to put on their uniforms; and as the wind was fair, and the day fine, he steered into the bay of Pizzo, and cast anchor on a desert strand at a little distance from that town. His generals and officers, five-and-twenty in number, wished to precede him in going ashore; but the king would not permit it. "It is for me," he exclaimed, "to descend first on this field of glory or death; the precedence belongs to me, as the responsibility;"—and with these words he leapt boldly ashore.[1]

[1] Colletta, 117, 120; Lam. v. 286, 289; Biog. Univ. xxx. 430, 431.

101. Where he fails.

Already the shore was covered with groups of peasants, whom the unwonted sight of the barks in the bay, and the uniforms of the officers landing, had attracted to the spot. Among them was a detachment of fifteen gunners, who came from a solitary guardhouse on the shore.

They still bore Murat's uniform. "My children," said he, advancing towards them, "do you know your king?" And with these words he took off his hat; his auburn locks fell on his shoulders, and the noble martial figure which was engraven on their hearts appeared before them. "Yes, it is I," he continued; "I am your King Joachim: say if you will follow and serve the friend of the soldiers, the friend of the Neapolitans." At these words the officers in Murat's suite raised their hats, and shouted "Vive le Roi Joachim!" and the soldiers mechanically grounded their arms; but a few only exclaimed "Vive Joachim!" Meanwhile the inhabitants of Pizzo, under the direction of the agent of the Duke del Infantado, who had great estates in the neighbourhood, and who was ardently attached to the Bourbon family, assembled, and, while Murat was vainly awaiting a movement in his favour, declared against him. While still uncertain what to do, two peasants arrived, and, informing Murat of what was going on in the town, offered to guide him to Montcleone, where the garrison might be expected to be more favourable, and the possession of a fortified place would open to him the gates of his kingdom. This offer the king accepted, and the party, consisting in all of forty persons, were soon seen in their brilliant uniforms wending their way over the olive-clad summits by which the road passed. They were soon met by a colonel of the royal gendarmerie, named Trenta Capelli, a noted chief of the Calabrian insurrection, and the fate of whose three brothers, slain on the scaffold by the French, had inspired him with inextinguishable hatred towards them. Murat knew him, and called him by name to join his cause. "My king," said he, pointing to the flag which waved on the towers of Pizzo, "is he whose colours wave over the kingdom."[1]

[1] Lam. v. 295, 298; Colletta, 146, 151; Biog. Univ. xxx. 431.

Murat was deceived, or pretended to be so, in regard to Trenta Capelli's intentions, and, advancing towards him, they entered into conversation. But as soon as the

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102. And is arrested.

crowd of armed men which advanced from Pizzo with the cannoneers arrived, Capelli joined them, and summoned the king to surrender. Seeing the intentions of the crowd to be evidently adverse, Murat addressed them in a few words, alleging that he had no hostile designs, and was only endeavouring to seek an asylum in the Austrian states, for which he had passports which their King Ferdinand himself was bound to respect. The Neapolitans answered only by confused cries and violent gesticulations, followed by a discharge of firearms, by which one captain in his suite was killed and several wounded. A second volley decimated his ranks; and Murat, seeing his party dispersed, endeavoured to make his escape across the fields to the sea-coast. He there called aloud to his captain, Barbara, to steer in and come to his relief; but the perfidious wretch, instead of doing so, stood out to sea, carrying with him the arms, gold, ammunition, and all the effects of the unhappy monarch. At the same time the soldiers in Trenta Capelli's band were seen rapidly approaching from the land side. In this extremity, the king threw himself into a fishing-boat, moored at a little distance from the coast; but the bark, stranded on the sand, resisted all his efforts to set it afloat. He was soon surrounded by a furious crowd, which broke into the vessel, and dragged him, disarmed and bleeding, ashore, where the soldiers had the barbarity to strike the wounded hero on the face with the but-ends of their carbines, and tore from his breast the ensigns of his glory, which he wore in that hour of his fate. Such was the fury of the multitude, that twice, in going from the coast to the prison of Pizzo, the hatchet was suspended over his head; and it was only by the efforts of Trenta Capelli, and the agent of the Duke del Infantado, that he was saved from instant death.[1]

[1] Colletta, 64, 71; Lam. v. 301, 303; Biog. Univ. xxx. 431.

The moment intelligence was received by the Neapolitan general, Nunziante, who commanded in Calabria, of

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103.

He is condemned by a court-martial.

the descent and capture of an armed party on the coast, he sent Captain Stratts with a party of soldiers to secure and protect the prisoners, yet ignorant of the name and quality of their august captive. "Who are you?" said Stratts to the third who was brought forward for examination. "Joachim Murat, King of Naples," replied the monarch with an intrepid air. Stratts bowed to heroism in misfortune, and courteously ordered him to be conducted to an apartment furnished with every comfort, and apart from the other prisoners, where his wounds were tended; and he had leisure to reflect on his approaching fate. On the following day, Nunziante arrived, and dined with the king in an apartment of the chateau to which he had been removed. The captive was more cheerful than the general, for the latter was already seized with disquietude as to the orders which he might receive from Naples regarding the disposal of the prisoner. So little was Murat aware of his approaching fate, that he conversed at table about an arrangement by which he might cede Sicily to the King of Naples, and be himself recognised as king in the continental dominions of the house of Bourbon. He was not long of being undeceived. After much perplexity, the court of Naples adopted the resolution of sending the prisoner to a military commission, to try him under a law which he himself had introduced against the Bourbon aspirants to his throne. So determined were the government on destroying him, that the same orders which directed him to be brought before a military commission, enjoined that he should only be allowed half an hour to receive the consolations of religion.* He was brought to trial accordingly, and, when the room was preparing for the court-martial, wrote a letter to his queen, Caroline, which

1 Lam. v. 318, 321; Colletta, 151, 157; Biog. Univ. xxx. 432.

* "Le Général Murat sera traduit devant une Commission Militaire dont les membres seront nommés par notre Ministre de la Guerre.

"Il ne sera accordé au condamné qu'une demi-heure pour recevoir les secours de la religion. FERDINAND."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, v. 313.

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is one of the most touching examples of the genuine pathetic of which history has preserved a record.* When brought before the tribunal, he refused to recognise its authority, or even to allow his counsel to plead for him, and, as a matter of course, was condemned to be shot within half an hour.

104. His death. Oct. 13.

The priest who was sent for to administer the last consolations of religion happened to be one to whom, in the days of his greatness, he had made a considerable gift when in the course of a tour through his provinces: he said to him that that was a good omen for the intercession of his prayers in his behalf. He declared that he died a good Christian. He then heard without emotion the sentence of the court-martial which condemned him to death, and thanked General Nunziante, the priest, and officers, for the kindness they had shown to him during his short captivity; and himself led the way into a sort of fosse, where the execution was to take place, exactly similar to the one in the castle of Vincennes in which the Duke d'Enghien, whose delivery to a military commission had been countersigned by Murat,[1] had suffered ten years before. Twelve soldiers, with loaded muskets, awaited his approach; the space in the bottom of the ditch was so confined that the muzzles almost touched his breast. Looking at them with a steady eye,

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xxxviii. § 15.

* "Ma chère Caroline! Ma dernière heure est arrivée. Dans quelques instants j'aurai cessé de vivre; dans quelques instants tu n'auras plus d'époux. Ne m'oublie jamais. Je meurs innocent. Ma vie ne fut tachée d'aucune injustice. Adieu, mon Achille! Adieu, ma Laetitia! Adieu, mon Lucien! Adieu, ma Louise! Montrez-vous au monde dignes de moi. Je vous laisse sans royaume et sans biens au milieu de mes nombreux ennemis. Soyez constamment unis! Montrez vous supericurs à l'infortune, pensez à ce que vous êtes et à ce que vous avez été, et Dieu vous bénira! Ne maudissez point ma mémoire! Sachez que ma plus grande peine, dans les derniers moments de ma vie, est de mourir loin de mes enfants! Recevez la bénédiction paternelle! Recevez mes embrassements et mes larmes. Ayez toujours présent à votre mémoire votre malheureux père." With truth does Lamartine observe, "L'adieu de Murat arrachera des larmes à la posterité la plus reculée. Si on n'y sent pas la victime et le martyr, on y sent l'amant, le père, et le heros. Il se rendait à lui-même un vrai témoignage."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, v. 317, 318.

and a smile on his lips, he said—"My friends, do not make me suffer by taking bad aim; the narrowness of the space obliges you almost to rest the muzzles of your pieces on my breast; do not tremble; spare the face; straight to the heart." With these words he put his right hand on his breast, to mark the position of his heart, and in his left held a little medallion, which contained portraits of his wife and his four children. He was still gazing on the loved images when the discharge took place, and he fell pierced by twelve balls, his left hand still holding the medallion till it was relaxed in death. His remains were respectfully interred in the cathedral of Pizzo, which his gifts had enriched while on the throne, and a general amnesty was humanely pronounced on his companions in misfortune.[1]

[1] Lam. v. 321, 325; Colletta, 167, 174; Biog. Univ. xxx. 431.

105. Reflections on this event.

Such was the end, at the premature age of forty-eight, of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, one of the most distinguished of the heroes of that age of glory. His life, his character, and his death, approach more nearly to the visions of the poet than the events of reality; he belonged to the days of romance rather than the Revolution. Born in a humble station on the mountains of the Pyrenees, he cut his way to a throne by his good sword; he won the sister of an emperor by his chivalry, and the admiration of the world by his renown. Amadis de Gaul or Palmerin of England could not have exceeded him in the vigour with which he led his cavalry into the midst of the enemy's squadrons; he rivalled Rinaldo in the heroism of single combat, Tancredi in the fervour of chivalrous attachment. Murat's abilities were those of a knight rather than a general: no one ever exceeded him in the gallantry with which he headed a charge of horse; but he had no capacity for general combination, and in separate command never achieved anything worthy of his reputation. As a king, he was mild and benevolent in his conduct, and affable and conciliating in his manners; but he was destitute of political firmness, and, like

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many other men individually brave, vacillating to a surprising degree when a decisive crisis arrived. His death affords a memorable instance of the moral retribution which, even in this world, often attends great deeds of iniquity, and by the instrumentality of the very acts which appeared to place them beyond its reach. He underwent, in 1815, the very fate to which he himself, seven years before, had consigned a hundred Spaniards at Madrid, who were guilty of no other crime but that of having bravely defended their country; and by the application of a law to his own case, which he himself had introduced to check the attempts of the Bourbons to regain a throne which he had usurped.[1]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lii. § 67.

106. Death of Mouton-Duvernet and General Chartrand.

Happily these examples sufficed to appease the wrath of the Royalists, and the reaction which invariably, in civilised society, succeeds to deeds of severity, enabled the Government to act upon their decided inclinations in favour of a return to humane measures. General Mouton-Duvernet was one of the last victims of the Royalist reaction. He was deeply implicated in the events of the Hundred Days, having commanded at Lyons during that period; and after the return of the Bourbons, he was for some months in the house of a Royalist, who generously sheltered him in his misfortune. At length, fearful of endangering his benefactor, or tormented by the torture of anxiety and suspense, he quitted his asylum and gave himself up. He was tried by a court-martial, condemned, and executed, evincing in his last moments the courage which in misfortune so often expiates error. The like fate attended General Chartrand, who had also held an important command in the south at the landing of Napoleon, and by his defection had much aided his cause. He was condemned by a council of war at Lille, and executed. But with these mournful examples, the blood shed by the reaction ceased to flow in France. Several persons—in particular General de Bello, General Gilly, General Clausel, and General Decaen—owed their salva-

tion to the intercession of the Duchess d'Angoulême, to whom they had shown respectful regards during the brief struggle with that heroic princess at Bordeaux.[1] Others were acquitted, among whom was Admiral Linois, who commanded Guadaloupe, and for whom the feeble defence was sustained that his defection to Napoleon was done to prevent that colony from falling into the hands of the English; General Drouet, whom Marshal Macdonald, not without difficulty, succeeded in saving, by recounting the energetic manner in which the accused had exerted himself to prevail on the army of the Loire to submit to the royal decree directing its dissolution; and General Cambronne, who commanded a division of the Imperial Guard at the battle of Waterloo. It was evident that the tide was turning, and that Government, even after so vast a treason, and in the excited state of the public mind, might safely return to a system of mercy—happy distinction of an age of real civilisation and under the influence of religion, which is soon satiated with blood, and, even under the greatest provocations, gladly returns to the sentiments of humanity.[2]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xciii. § 6.

[2] Lac. ii. 16, 22; Lam. v. 342, 352; Cap. iii. 431, 438.

107. A general amnesty.

Encouraged by these symptoms, the French Government resolved to venture on the great act of a general amnesty; and the time selected for bringing it forward was the day after the execution of Marshal Ney, when all hearts in Paris yet thrilled with that mournful event. Accompanied by all his colleagues, the Duke de Richelieu entered the Chamber, and said, with a faltering voice: "A great example of just severity has just been given; but the tribunals are still charged with those who belong to the first class designated in the ordinance of 24th July; and if some have escaped, sentence of death pronounced against them as contumacious will serve as an example in the mean time. His Majesty, by the proclamation of Cambray, has already published an amnesty which he is desirous of now extending; the right of forgiveness, after revolts and great political commotions, is

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the most precious right inherent in sovereignty. It is an additional satisfaction, on such a solemn occasion, to obtain the concurrence of the other branches of the legislature. The King is rejoiced that a considerable part of the power which the new laws have bestowed upon him is temporary only; he will make use of it with justice. He will pursue with severity those whom nothing can correct, nothing conciliate; but extend mercy to such as have been only misled. The army has been decimated at Waterloo; some of its chiefs have since met the death which they would rather have found on the field of battle. Obedient to the wishes of the King—to the wishes of France—the army has yielded to the force of misfortune: it has been disbanded. Evils enough oppress France, which cannot be avoided without aggravating them by our own divisions. The testament of Louis XVI. is constantly present to the mind of the King; and his sacred word in maintaining one of the most important articles of the charter will inspire confidence as to the remainder. He will give the first example of a mutual and reciprocal confidence, and has charged us to present the following law of a general amnesty." The amnesty was then read, which applied to all persons who had taken part in the insurrection of the Hundred Days, with the exception of those mentioned in the first article of the ordinance of 24th July; those in the second article were only required to leave France within two months, under pain of transportation if they returned without the leave of the king. The family or relations of Napoleon, and their descendants, to the degree of uncle and nephew, were for ever excluded from the kingdom, and could hold no office, right, or property in it; but they were permitted six months to sell their possessions. The Duke concluded with these words—"The amnesty proposed to you is not new in our annals: Henry IV., whose acts I am proud to retrace, gave a similar one in 1594, and France was saved."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 10, 1815; Cap. iv. 36, 43.

Which is coldly received by the Chamber.

The proposed act was listened to with profound attention by the Chamber; but it was soon evident that a much larger degree of severity was required to satisfy their highly excited passions, and that it would be no easy matter for the Government to carry through the amnesty which they were so anxious to introduce. On the contrary, the majority of the Chamber openly aimed at carrying a much more extensive proscription than the Government itself had at first thought necessary; and M. de Labourdonnaye, who was their mouthpiece, had prepared a list of *twelve hundred persons*, who were to be included in the first category, instead of the thirty-eight to which the ordinance of 24th July extended! It was particularly urged that to include the relapsed regicides, or regicides who were involved in the treason of 1815, in the amnesty, was insupportable—a wish which struck at once at Fouché, and many of the most obnoxious of the Revolutionists. "Attend not," said M. Labourdonnaye, "to the sophisms of a spurious philanthropy, so skilfully made use of by our enemies. When did they ever practise it when they had the power?" To hesitate to punish, is to betray weakness. Divine Providence has delivered into your hands the murderers of your king, the assassins of your families, as if the supreme justice had reserved them, in the midst of all our disasters, to prove the vanity of human prudence, and the perfidy of hearts without remorse. These men, now vanquished and disarmed, invoke a clemency which they never showed in the days of their power; as if crime was to be for ever assured of impunity. And you, pusillanimous magistrates, unforeseeing legislators, are you prepared to see proved plots and treasons, the disgrace of the nation and of humanity, and to hesitate at punishing their authors? What possible excuse can be alleged for those who, holding their offices or their commands from the sovereign, have turned against him, and used the power they had received to support to the destruction of the royal autho-

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rity?" These words, which were supported by the genius and eloquence of M. de Chateaubriand, were warmly applauded in the Chamber, and by the whole Royalist party, now in a majority among the electors. They expressed so entirely the sentiments of the great majority of the Chamber, that the committee to whom, according to the usual form, the proposed law was referred, reported in favour of a much more extensive proscription; and, in particular, inserted a clause for the perpetual banishment of the regicides.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 3, 1816; Cap. iv. 43, 45; Lam. vi. 83, 84.

109. Modifications with which it is passed into a law. Jan. 14, 1816.

Louis XVIII. and his ministers were seriously alarmed at this impassioned resistance of the great majority of the Assembly; and it was then that the idea appears to have first struck them, that it was impossible to carry on the Government on the principles they had adopted with such a Chamber, and that a *coup d'état*, altering the composition of the legislature, had become indispensable. They made accordingly the strongest resistance to the amendments threatened to be forced upon them by the Assembly. "From the days of Tiberius," said the Duke de Richelieu, "to those of Buonaparte, confiscations have been presented under the name of amnesties. Let us not deprive the august family of the Bourbons of the glory of having abolished them, and annihilated that inheritance of penalties. How can you still insist upon the last amendment relative to the regicides, to which it is known his Majesty is opposed? It is not on the earth, it is not among men, that we are to seek the causes of this resolution of a sovereign who would wish to forget everything but the first pardon. Is it inspired by the testament of the martyr king? Is it dictated by an inherited magnanimity, the noblest appanage of a sovereign? Be it as it may, such is the wish of the king; and who would gainsay it? Let me conjure you not to make of a law of mercy a subject of discord, but rather a great and touching image of the concord and reconciliation of all Frenchmen."[2] These words produced a great impression: all the

[2] Moniteur, Jan. 9, 1816; Cap. iv. 69, 72; Lam. vi. 82, 85.

Government could do, however, was to prevail on the Chamber to abandon the most severe of its other amendments; but that providing for the perpetual banishment of the regicides was forced upon them by the almost unanimous voice of the Chamber, and passed with the act of amnesty into a law.

110. Proposals for a new law of elections.

The formidable opposition experienced in the Chamber on this occasion, and which it required all the personal influence of the king and his ministers to overcome, convinced the Government that a new law for the elections had now become indispensable. All parties concurred in this opinion. The ordinance of 13th July 1815, under which the existing Chamber had been elected on a footing entirely different from that provided by the charter, had emanated only from the royal authority, and had never received the sanction of the legislature. A law sanctioned by the whole legislature was therefore imperatively called for; and the Government had become convinced that they could not go on with a legislature representing the furious animosities of the moment so faithfully as the present one did. So vehement had the passions of the Chamber become, that the president, M. Lainé, was publicly insulted in his chair by an outrageous Royalist—a circumstance which he felt so deeply that he resigned his situation, and was only prevailed on to resume it at the personal solicitation of the king, and from the prospect which he was encouraged to entertain of being admitted into the ministry at no distant period. Meanwhile the action of the Prévôtal Courts—especially in the southern provinces, where the Royalists had their entire direction — had become so violent, that serious apprehensions were entertained of an outbreak of civil war in that quarter; but how it was to be averted was not so apparent, when the Royalists had the majority in the Chamber, and had proved themselves disposed to support any measures, however stringent, against the party from which they had suffered so much. Both parties

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thus felt that a change was necessary; and both perceived, that whichever got the command of the elections would be in a situation to carry into execution their system of government. The preparation of a law on the elections, therefore, was eagerly undertaken by each. M. Vaublanc was intrusted with it on the part of the government, M. de Villèle undertook it on the part of the Royalist opposition. The subject gave rise to important debates in the Chamber, which throw much light both on the state and views of parties at the time, and the working of the new representative system in France.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 114, 117; Lam. vi. 91, 92.

111. M. Vaublanc's argument in favour of the ministerial project on the elections.

"The situation of elector," said M. de Vaublanc, "having become a species of fixed function, it has been found necessary in later times to balance, by an extraordinary measure, the influence of some men, of whose principles you were not secure. But that expedient, to which the King is entitled to have recourse, ceasing with the circumstances which produced it, it has become necessary to recur to a fixed and stable law. Experience has proved that the electoral power was subject to grave inconveniences when all its exercises were not regulated. Formerly there were three steps—the Primary Assemblies, the Colleges of Arrondissements, and the Electoral Colleges of Departments. We intend to abolish entirely the Primary Assemblies, which are liable to be troubled by tumult and discord. It has been proposed to establish a system which has only one step, which was quite simple—namely, that the Colleges of Arrondissements, composed of citizens who pay each 300 francs of direct taxes, shall name the deputies. That system is plausible, but, when examined in detail, it will be found to be liable to insuperable objections. In some arrondissements the number of citizens who pay 300 francs of direct taxes is not more than twenty or thirty. The department of the Mouths of the Rhone, of which Marseilles is the chief place, would have only three deputies; that of the Rhone,

of which Lyons is the head, only two; while those of the High and Low Alps would have six. For these reasons we have rejected the system of one degree, and are of opinion that two degrees, wisely combined, would suffice. We have selected sixty of the principal colleges of arrondissements, uniting with them the presidents of the colleges of the first instance, the procureurs-généraux, the presidents of the tribunals of commerce, the justices of peace, the vicars-general and their curates. We must all agree that it is desirable, when the primary assemblies meet, that their choice should fall on such men.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 115, 116.

112. Continued.

"The same principles are applicable to the formation of the electoral colleges of the departments. We think they should be formed of the first ministers of religion, with the addition of sixty of the principal proprietors, ten of the chief merchants, and also, provided they fulfil the conditions required by the charter, the presidents of councils of the departments. When you consider this law, let me conjure you to reflect on what the interest of the French monarchy demands. Never, perhaps, was Assembly called on to decide such great questions. You are placed between that ancient monarchy, which has shone so long and with so brilliant a lustre, and that new monarchy, which has been inaugurated amidst so many storms, under the auspices of virtue seated on the throne. Unite these, the past and the future ages. It is to you that I address myself—you who have only witnessed in your childhood the evils produced by the social overthrow. Prepare the happiness—prepare for yourselves the honour of being able to say to your descendants, We have arrested in its march the terrible chariot of the Revolution."[2]

[2] Cap. iv. 117, 118.

113. Project of the Royalists.

The object and evident tendency of this bill was to throw the whole electoral influence into the hands of the Government; and, composed as the ministry now was, the Royalists were not prepared to concede to them any such power. The fundamental principle of their policy was,

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"that it is not possible to arrive at a combination of popular and aristocratic liberty but in descending to the lowest step of a social hierarchy, and awakening its intimacy with the aristocracy." Proceeding on this basis, the Royalists had calculated, with great local knowledge and discrimination, the probable influence which might be supposed to become prevailing in each department. Above a month had been passed in these inquiries, and in preparing a measure based upon their results, the object of which was to secure the influence of the Royalists in the elections—to exclude equally the extreme democrats and the ministerial influence. By this project there was to be established an electoral assembly in each canton, composed of all domiciled citizens aged 25 years complete, and paying 50 *francs of direct taxes annually.* The electoral list, prepared by a commission, at the head of which was the under-prefect, was to be published ten days before the meeting of the communal assemblies. The presidents of colleges were to be nominated by the king. The electoral colleges in the departments were not to be under 150, nor above 300; and the lists of these electoral colleges were to be formed of all the citizens of 30 years of age, paying 300 francs of direct taxes; and if an adequate number could not be got, the deficiency was to be supplied by citizens paying 300 francs between 25 and 30, or by citizens of 30 years, but not paying 300 francs. The number of the deputies was to be 402, and the lists were to be prepared by a commission drawn from the general council of the department, of which the prefect was president, which fixed the number of electors in the department, the list of the persons eligible for the electoral colleges, and of those to compose the electors of the department. The prefect was to be ineligible in his department; the deputies were to be elected for five years, or until the king, before the expiry of that term, exercised his right of dissolution.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 27 to 30, 1816; Cap. iv. 120, 123.

These opposite projects were the subject of prolonged

discussions in the Chamber of Deputies during the whole of March. The parties chose as their battle-ground, as usual in such cases, the details and separate points of the two measures; but that was done chiefly to conceal the real motives which influenced each. These were, on the part of the ministerialists, the desire to augment as much as possible the influence of the Crown, by admitting in numbers the *employés* of administration to the right of voting; on the part of the Royalist opposition, to vest the influence in the small proprietors and nobles in the provinces, whose interests would lead them permanently to support the monarchical side, even when, as at present, necessity or delusion might cause the Government to incline to the Liberals. The ministry combated this project with all their power, but they were defeated by a majority of 48, the numbers being 180 to 132. The whole Liberal party voted with the Government against the project of the Royalist majority—so strangely were parties dislocated in less than a year after the Restoration. The Government, seeing their project defeated, and that of an inflamed majority substituted in its stead, had no alternative but to get it thrown out by the Peers, which was done accordingly, after keen debates, on April 3, by a majority of 32, the numbers being 89 to 57.[1]

114. The project of the Royalists is carried in the Deputies, and rejected in the Peers. April 3, 1816.

[1] Lac. ii. 54, 55; Cap. iv. 120, 146.

As the popular branch of the legislature was now committed to open war with the Crown, on so important a point as the representation of the people, ministers began to suspect that it was impossible for the government to go on; either they must resign, or a *coup d'état* to alter the composition of the Chamber of Deputies be attempted. The former would at once have been the course adopted in England, where the usages of a representative government have come, from long usage, to be thoroughly understood; but the latter was deemed the most advisable in France, where the nation had been so accustomed to acts of violence, since the commencement of the Revolution,

115. The Budget.

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that all parties had come to regard them as a natural and unavoidable step in the conduct of affairs. But several subjects for discussion remained, which it was absolutely necessary to bring to a close before the termination of the session. The most important of these was the BUDGET, and that was a subject beset with difficulties, because the enormous sums due under the treaty of 20th Nov. 1815 rendered heavy taxes or extensive loans indispensable; and the impoverished state of the nation appeared to render it equally hopeless to attempt to levy the first, or to have recourse to the last. After a long period, however, and great efforts, the difficulties were surmounted; and the fact of their being so is the strongest proof both of the almost inexhaustible resources of France when enjoying peace, and the improved credit which its government had obtained from the restoration of its legitimate line of monarchs.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 190, 192; Lac. ii. 59.

116. Ministerial plan on the subject.

The budget was based on the following propositions. The receipts of the nine last months of 1815 amounted to 533,715,940 francs, (£21,350,000;) and the expenditure to 637,432,662 francs, (£25,500,000;) and for the whole year the receipts were taken at 814,567,000 francs, (£32,600,000;) and the expenditure at 945,000,000 francs, (£37,800,000.) The extraordinary tax of 100,000,000 francs, (£4,000,000,) laid on to commute the contributions in kind to the allied troops, was an additional burden to be made good by certain additional per-centages, to be levied monthly during the first eight months of 1816. Woods to the extent of 400,000 hectares, or 600,000 acres, were permitted to be alienated to meet the exigencies of the state. The receipts of 1816 were taken at 800,000,000 francs, (£32,000,000,) and the expenditure at the same sum. The receipts, however, both years, fell short of what had been calculated, and the budget, which became the subject of vehement discussion and debate, both in the Chamber and in the public journals, was considerably modified before it was finally

passed, on April 24, 1816. The total receipts of 1815, as actually collected, were 798,590,000 francs, (£31,980,000,) and the expenditure the same; the income being swelled by a loan of 100,000,000 francs, (£4,000,000,) and 54,760,659 levied in anticipation on the taxes legally due in 1817. The receipts of 1816 *

* The receipts and expenditure of 1815 and 1816 stood thus:—

1815.

RECEIPTS.

	Francs.	Francs.
Direct taxes, viz.:—		
Land Tax,	172,132,000	
50 p. cent additional,	86,066,000	258,198,000
Personal Tax,	27,289,000	
50 p. cent additional,	13,644,000	40,933,500
Doors and Windows,	12,892,000	
Additional,	1,289,000	14,181,000
Patents,	15,415,000	
Additional,	771,000	16,187,000
		329,499,500
Deduct cost of collection, &c.,		9,499,500
		320,000,000
Registrations and domains and woods,		107,763,000
Customs and salt,		70,615,000
Tobacco and wines and spirits,		89,147,000
Lottery,		7,857,000
Posts,		8,830,000
Salt Mines,		2,400,000
Miscellaneous,		8,693,000
Loan,		92,662,000
In advances on 1817,		54,760,000
Total,		798,590,859

EXPENDITURE.

Civil List,	25,000,000
Royal Family,	8,000,000
Peers,	1,263,500
Deputies,	2,573,340
Justice,	18,991,312
Foreign Affairs,	9,654,112
Interior,	53,557,000
War,	328,293,134
Navy,	39,616,699
Police General,	1,027,516
Finance Minister,	16,334,246
Interest of National Debt,	98,640,000
Cautionary Interests,	8,000,000
Negotiations,	10,000,000
Contributions to the Allies,	180,000,000
Total,	798,590,859

—*Archives Diplomatiques*, v. 288, 300.

1816.

RECEIPTS.

	Francs.	Francs.
	172,132,000	
	75,779,980	223,174,420
	27,289,000	
	12,892,000	
	1,289,000	
	6,446,000	124,496,241
	15,416,000	
	17,805,000	
	771,000	
		346,618,000
Deducting cost of collection and insolvents,		
Registrations and domains and woods,		168,815,000
Customs and salt,		70,526,000
Additional,		35,000,000
Tobacco and wines and spirits,		95,291,000
Lottery,		9,171,000
Posts,		11,798,000
Salt Mines,		2,778,000
Miscellaneous,		3,371,000
Cautionary,		65,104,000
Tax on salaries,		12,054,000
Relinquished by King,		10,000,000
Do. by Royal Family		1,000,000
Loan,		69,763,000
Forestalled of 1817,		17,998,000
Total,		895,577,205

EXPENDITURE.

Civil List,	25,000,000
Royal Family	9,000,000
Peers,	2,000,080
Deputies,	700,000
Justice,	17,580,000
Foreign Affairs,	11,620,009
Interior,	51,400,000
Department Expenses,	23,923,769
War,	218,800,000
Navy,	48,000,000
Police General,	1,000,000
Finance Minister,	15,300,000
Negotiations,	16,442,780
Interest of National Debt,	119,420,000
Sinking Fund,	20,000,000
Cautionary Interests,	8,000,000
Treasury Bills,	1,122,000
First War-contribution to Allies,	140,000,000
Cost of 150,000 men,	138,000,000
Additional cost of Foreigners,	21,000,000
Interest on advances,	6,360,896
Total,	895,577,205

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were 895,577,205 francs, (£35,800,000,) and the expenditure the same; but in the former were included nearly 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000) of extra charges, which weighed with excessive severity on a country already wasted by enemies' contributions, and a harvest uncommonly scanty and deficient. It is greatly to the honour of the French government that, when weighed down by such an unparalleled load of difficulties, it honourably fulfilled its engagements both to foreign states and its own subjects; and not less so to the nation, that when oppressed by such burdens, and only beginning to breathe after a war of twenty years' duration, it not only furnished its rulers with the means of making them good, but established a sinking fund of 20,000,000 francs, or £800,000 a-year.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 24, 1815, and April 25, 1816; Archives Diplomatiques, v. 288, 300; Cap. iv. 199, 201.

117. Proposition of the Chamber regarding the clergy.

The government had the utmost difficulty in carrying through the budget, so strenuous was the Royalist opposition, and so numerous and harassing the amendments they proposed; and they were obliged to abandon the project of selling the woods of the state. But a variety of other subjects were at the same time broached in the Chamber, which convinced Louis XVIII. that the legislature had become unmanageable, and that another session could not be ventured upon without its dissolution. The ideas of the majority were firmly fixed on two objects, alike hostile to the spirit of the Revolution and the present frame of government, and these were—to augment the influence of the clergy, and to supplant the action of the central government by local influences in the provinces. There can be no doubt that these were the only means by which the course of events which the Revolution had prepared could have been arrested: whether it was possible to introduce them after the entire destruction of the landed proprietors, which the confiscations of the Convention and the new law of succession had effected, and the concentration of all power in the hands of the executive at Paris which had

thence necessarily resulted, was a different question, upon which the heated Royalists never bestowed a thought. Experience has shown that the object they followed was a vain illusion, impossible in the existing state of society; but it was not thought so at the time, and it is surprising with what perseverance it was pursued.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 257, 259; Lac. ii. 39, 40.

118. Argument in favour of an endowment of the Church.

The miserable condition in which the clergy had been left by the Revolution attracted, as well it might, the early attention of the Chamber. Bereft of all its possessions by the very first tyrannical act of the National Assembly, the once richly-endowed Church of France had ever since pined in indigence and obscurity, its clergy not elevated in circumstances or consideration above the parochial schoolmasters in this country. The Archbishop of Paris had only £600 a-year; the ordinary bishops, £200; the parish priests from £45 to £50 a-year. This state of things was strongly and pathetically insisted on in the Chamber. "Travel," said M. Castelbajac and M. St Gery, "where you will in France, and you will shudder at the state of humiliation to which religion has been reduced. In many of the provinces, the temples, living monuments of the faith of our fathers, are abandoned; the bird of prey has established its abode where was formerly the tabernacle; and where formerly the holy strains resounded, is to be heard only the mournful exclamation of the pious inhabitant of the fields, who gazes on the ruins, and asks where is now the abode of the God of his fathers. This has all arisen from the confiscation of the property of the Church, and reducing its ministers to the condition of salaried dependants on the state. There is great inconvenience in lowering the income of ministers of religion, if you desire the influence of morality and religion to be re-established. Not to mention the invidious distinction between their salaries and those of the civil servants of Government, it is evident that, in the present state of society, influence and importance depend on property, so that the clergy cannot resume the consi-

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deration which they ought to possess in society but by becoming proprietary. In principle, in a nation essentially proprietary, the clergy should be in the same situation.

119. Continued.

"In what respect has the spoliation of the clergy contributed to the wellbeing of the people? The wise administration of the ecclesiastics diffused ease and contentment in the lands which belonged to them; and never were they wanting to the state in its necessities. Let us restore to our descendants an institution which was the source of the happiness of their fathers. The Constituent Assembly, when it despoiled the clergy, came under an engagement to provide them with an income from the state of 82,000,000 francs, (£3,280,000.) What has been done as regards that engagement, and how has it been fulfilled? That income is the subject of a sacred promise; let us do what we can to redeem it. In many places, possessions, the rents of capitalists, have been withdrawn from the cupidity of the Revolutionists, and put into the hands of third parties as trustees. The successive governments down to the Restoration have employed fraud, or encouraged informations, to gain intelligence of these deposits, or get possession of them. Why not address yourselves to the consciences of the holders of these deposits, and encourage their application to the objects of the trusters, without requiring any accounting for the past? Without doubt, you must sustain the public credit, and meet all public engagements; but the evils described must cease if you would reconcile God with the earth, the Almighty with France. Already the judgment of Heaven appears upon us. What but the consequences of perjury have assembled us here in the midst of the mutilated remains of the monarchy? Is it not religion which restrains perjury? The army has wavered in its faith; can you therefore be surprised that the God of battles has deserted it? What has become of the glorious days when your standards left our

temples to be carried into our camps, and returned charged with victories to adorn our altars?" In pursuance of these principles, it was proposed as a law, "That the bishops and curates shall be authorised to receive all donations of movables, heritages, and rents, made to them by individuals for the support of the ministers of religion, its seminaries, or any other ecclesiastical establishment, and possess them, they and their successors, for ever, under the obligation only of applying them to the purposes intended by the donors." In addition to this, it was proposed by M. Piet to restore to the clergy all the possessions belonging to the Church which had not been alienated, and that the keeping of the parish registers should be vested in their hands. Finally, a commission, of which M. Laboire was the organ, reported that an annual increase of 20,000,000 francs (£800,000) should be made from the funds of Government to the support of the Church.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 260, 266, 269; Lac. ii. 40, 42; Moniteur, Dec. 22, 1815, Jan. 9, 1816, and Feb. 15, 1816.

120. Answer of the ministers, and their counter project.

Although these doctrines pointed not obscurely to an intention to resume at no distant period the possessions, and restore the influence and consideration of the clergy, yet they were so strongly rooted in the feelings and wishes of the majority that it was no easy matter to combat them. The partisans of Government, however, adopted the most effectual means of doing so, which was to appeal to the selfish passions and fears of human nature, by identifying such extreme proposals with a great increase of the public burdens and an eventual national bankruptcy. "Such a system of reparation," they exclaimed, "is at variance with the interests of the state, the public credit, the engagements of the King, and the liberties of the people. If we subject ourselves in this manner to the influence of Rome, we shall find ourselves constrained to submit to all the encroachments and demands of the Papal See. Why create a new injustice, when we are straining every nerve to wipe away the effects of an old one? If we consider the new charges which it is proposed to impose upon France in

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favour of the clergy, and the enormous burdens fixed upon it by the Treaty of Paris, the uncertainty of its revenues, the nullity of its credit, what can be expected as the consequence of such ill-timed largesses? — a second bankruptcy—a bankruptcy under the Bourbons; a bankruptcy which will swallow up the last and only remaining third of the property of which two-thirds had been destroyed by the Revolution, and which will require a loan of at least a thousand millions. Shall the work of religion and bankruptcy be brought for the first time into so strange and unholy an alliance?" These considerations startled the Assembly; and the Chamber, as a compromise, adopted the principle which passed into law, that the clergy might receive gifts to the Church, but only to the extent of 1000 francs (£40) yearly, without the sanction of the King, but above that sum only with the royal authority. This was but a feeble advantage to be gained; but it was a very important one, as demonstrating how the public opinion was going; and ministers showed their sense of it by adding 10,000,000 francs (£400,000) a-year to the funds of the clergy.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 264, 269; Lac. ii. 44, 46; Moniteur, March 16, March 28, April 19, 1816.

121. Argument of M. Bonald against the law of divorce.

The next and last important subject which occupied the attention of the Chamber, before the prorogation of the session, was that of DIVORCE. The deplorable state of general licence in which manners had been left by the Revolution, had long rendered it evident that some efficient remedy was required in this respect; but it was easier to see the evil than devise such a cure, so strongly did the feelings of the influential class in the metropolis and great towns run in favour of the unrestricted liberty which they had so long enjoyed. The ascendancy of the clergy in the present Assembly, however, encouraged M. de Bonald, who had struggled against this abuse ever since the days of the Consulate, to bring forward a law for its entire abolition. "You must all regret," said he, "that the strictness of our regulations prevents us from paying a striking homage to public morals, by voting by

acclamation the abolition of the power of divorce. You cannot but lament that you are not at liberty to break that disastrous law, as those notorious criminals whom public justice puts *hors la loi*, and whom it condemns to a capital punishment as soon as their identity is established. Let us hasten, at least, to abolish that part of our weak and feeble legislation which dishonours it; that firstborn of a philosophy which has overturned the world, and ruined France; and which its mother, ashamed of its excesses, does not venture any longer to defend. The ancients, in an imperfect state of society—more advanced in the cultivation of the arts than in the science of laws—may have said, 'Of what avail are laws without morals?' But when a state, arrived at the last stages of civilisation, has obtained so great an ascendancy over the family, we must reverse the maxim and say, 'What can morals do without laws which support them, or against laws which derange them?' Legislators, you have seen the facility of divorce introduce in its train all the excesses of democracy, and the dissolution of a family precede that of the state. Let that experience not be lost either for your happiness or your instruction. Our families demand morals, and the state demands laws. To reinforce domestic authority, the natural element of public power, and to consecrate by law the entire dependence of women and children, is the best security for the constant obedience of the people." So strongly were these ideas rooted in the minds of the majority of the Chamber, that no opposition was made, and the propositions to introduce the law passed unanimously. It was too late, however, for it to receive the sanction of all the branches of the legislature till the next session. Even then it failed to apply a remedy to the prevailing evils: so true is it that positive laws are nugatory, unless supported by general opinion.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 269, 278; Lac. ii. 42, 46.

The hostility, now open and avowed, between the majority of the Chamber and the ministry, and the determina-

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tion of the former to force measures on the Government which they felt they could not carry into execution, in the existing state of the country, without inducing civil warfare, confirmed the leading members of administration in the opinion which, as already mentioned, they had long entertained, that a legislature elected on a different basis was indispensable to the existence of the monarchy. This could only be done by a *coup d'état*, because it was evident that the existing Chamber would never consent to a change which might weaken the influence of the ultra-Royalists in future legislatures. But it was necessary to be very cautious in the preparation of such a *coup d'état*, because a considerable part of the ministry, it was known, would be hostile to its adoption, and their opinion was sure to be embraced by a great majority of the Chamber. A modification of the ministry was therefore resolved on, in order to bring it more into harmony with the secret designs of the *Camarilla*, which took the lead in the cabinet. To effect this, M. Lainé, who had supported the ministerialist project for the elections, and incurred, in consequence, the vehement hostility of the majority of the Chamber, was advanced to the important office of Minister of the Interior in room of M. Vaublanc, who was permitted to retire. The only condition which this able and intrepid man made on joining the government, which was at once agreed to, was, that the basis of the electoral suffrage was to be *uniform*, and that it was to be the payment of 300 francs yearly of direct taxes. At the same time, M. de Marbois was dismissed on the *pretext* of ill health, though, as he himself said, "The certificate of my physician attests that I am in a fair way of recovery; but the certificate of the king proves that I am daily getting worse." His office was not filled up, the seals being intrusted *ad interim* to the chancellor. The object was to leave a seat in the cabinet vacant for some influential member of the new Chamber which was in contemplation. M. Guizot, whom fate reserved for

higher destinies, went out of office with his chief, M. de Marbois, and did not re-enter it till an entire change ensued in administration. Posterity has no reason to regret his retirement from the labours and cares of office, for it led to his appointment as professor of history in the University of Paris, and the composition of his immortal historical works.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 290, 297; Lac. ii. 65, 66; Lam. vi. 95, 96.

123. Conspiracy of the Liberal party.

While these modifications were in progress in the administration, with a view to the establishment of a legislature and system of government more in harmony with the prevailing tone of feeling which the Revolution, for good or for evil, had impressed upon the country, the ardent democrats and Napoleonists, impatient of inaction, were preparing more immediate and decisive measures. They could not brook the delays of Parliament, or the slow progress of changes in general opinion; instant action, immediate overthrow of the government, could alone satisfy their ardent aspirations. In their view the government of the Bourbons had been violently forced upon the nations by foreign powers, and it was the duty of every friend to his country to concur without any delay in measures for throwing it off. In this they were all agreed; but very great disunion—the germ of future civil conflict—existed as to the government which was to succeed them. The disbanded officers of the army were for a restoration of Napoleon II., and of the military *régime;* but the great majority of the civilians engaged in the conspiracy had different views. A republic constructed on the broad basis of universal suffrage, like that of 1793, was the object of their ambition, because every one hoped to have a lucrative place under such a government; and they joined the Buonaparte faction, in the mean time, only in order to get quit of a dynasty which was equally an impediment to the ambition of them all.[2] The plan of the conspirators, who had their headquarters at Paris, but their branches over all France, was to envelop the capital—where the faubourgs were not yet disarmed

[2] Cap. iv. 291, 292; Lam. vi. 96, 97; Lac. ii. 62, 63.

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and great elements of revolution existed—in a vast net spread over all France, except the towns on the frontiers occupied by the allied troops, and, before the French army was reorganised, or any means of resistance existed, at once to overturn the monarchy.

124. Outbreak, headed by Didier at Grenoble. May 5, 1816.

M. de Lafayette, and the heads of this conspiracy at Paris, though in their saloons and drawing-rooms they scarcely attempted any concealment of their designs, were too prudent to engage in overt acts before their preparations were complete, and the period of action had arrived. But, as often happens in such cases, the impatience of the inferior agents outstripped the more prudent designs of the chiefs: liberalism had its *ultras*, as well as loyalty. M. Didier, a fanatic of extravagant character and opinions, whose thirst for conspiracies had been such that, under Napoleon, he had engaged in them for the restoration of the Bourbons, and had recently been a *habitué* of the antechambers of the Duke of Orleans, where all the discontented of all liberal parties assembled together to exhale their common animosity against the government, set out from Paris in the end of April, and set up the standard of revolt in the neighbourhood of Grenoble, where it was known Napoleon had many partisans, on the 14th May. Government had information of the design, and sent a legion that could be relied on to Grenoble, under the command of General Donnadieu, an able man and devoted Royalist, but, as the event proved, of an ambitious and exaggerating character. The revolt broke out on the night of the 14th May. The insurgents, to the number of two hundred, attended by another hundred of mere spectators whom curiosity brought together, marched on Grenoble, where they were promptly met by General Donnadieu, and totally defeated and dispersed, with the loss of eight killed on the spot, and sixty prisoners.[1]

[1] Lam. vi. 100, 109; Cap. iv. 293, 296; Lac. ii. 63, 64.

So far, General Donnadieu's conduct had been energetic and praiseworthy; and by the defeat of this, the

first conspiracy which had broken out since the second restoration of the Bourbons, he had rendered an important service to the monarchy. But, either from misinformation as to the real nature and extent of the conspiracy, or from a natural tendency to exaggeration, he transmitted to the Government such inflamed accounts of what had occurred, as not only diffused very general alarm, but led to measures of severity in the circumstances unnecessary, and which were deeply to be regretted. According to his second despatch, "the insurgents who attacked Grenoble were four thousand strong, and their dead bodies covered all the roads round the town;" whereas, in point of fact, they were only two hundred, and the slain eight in all. The result was, that a reward of 20,000 francs (£800) was offered by government for the apprehension of Didier, dead or alive; and three prisoners, who had been taken during the nocturnal combat with arms in their hands, were shot two days afterwards by the Prévôtal Court. Twenty-one were subsequently brought to trial, of whom fourteen were executed by the guillotine —a terrible example, and which the magnitude or formidable character of the insurrection by no means warranted. Didier himself, in the first instance, made his escape into the mountains on the confines of Savoy and Dauphiny; but the promised reward proved too strong for the virtue of the mountaineers. He was betrayed by the friends (two men and a women) with whom he had sought refuge, brought to trial, and condemned to be executed. He behaved with firmness in his last moments, and seemed in the supreme hour to regain the attachment which he had originally felt for the Bourbons. His last words, addressed to General Donnadieu, were,—"Tell the King that the only proof of gratitude which I can give him, for the kindnesses which I have received from him, is to advise him to remove from himself, from the throne, and from France, *the Duke of Orleans and M. Talleyrand*"[1]—

125. Exaggerations of General Donnadieu, and needless severities.

[1] Cap. iv. 296, 310; Lam. vi. 109, 125; Lac. ii. 63, 64.

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an advice which was of importance, as coming from one who had been intimate in the Orleans establishment, and which subsequent events rendered prophetic.

126. Conspiracy in Paris.

Paris is the centre of every movement in France; an explosion never takes place in the provinces of which the train has not been laid in the metropolis. It was well known to the police that the heads of the Liberal party in Paris were privy to the designs which were on foot, and that the saloons of M. de Lafayette, M. d'Argenson, and M. Manuel, were the rendezvous almost every evening of discontented persons, by whom the project of overturning the Government was discussed with scarcely any reserve. The police had full information of their designs, and strongly advised the arrest of M. Manuel; but the Government hesitated to take a step which would at once commit them into open hostility with the whole Liberal party in France, while the evidence might prove insufficient to secure the conviction of the accused. Proceedings were adopted, however, against the subordinate agents. Tolleron, an engraver, Pleignier, a bootmaker, and Carbonneau, a writing-master, were apprehended on the charge of having prepared and circulated a treasonable proclamation;* and it soon appeared that the designs of the conspirators were of a still more violent description. It was discovered that a small body of these desperadoes had formed a plan for surrounding and attacking the Tuileries during the night. To facilitate the operations, a mine was to be run under the palace, charged with twenty barrels of

* "Français! nous sommes arrivés au terme du malheur. Amis du peuple dont nous faisons partie, nous avons lu dans l'âme de nos frères. Nous nous sommes empressés de prendre les mesures les plus sages et les plus certaines pour la chûte entière des Bourbons. Notre succès est certain: nous sommes impénétrables; on ne nous trouvera nulle part et nous sommes partout: nous pourrions même défier les Satellites de la plus odieuse tyrannie: nous ne supposerons jamais de traitres parmi les compagnons de nos glorieux travaux: s'il s'en trouvait un, malheur à lui, son jugement est prononcé, tenez-vous prêts: dans peu vos bras seront nécessaires. Songez que rien ne doit nous manquer, armes, munitions."—CAPEFIGUE, iv. 318.

powder, lodged in an old sewer, which was to be exploded before the attack was made. The design of the conspirators was to destroy the royal family, establish a provisional government, and convoke a new Assembly. The treasonable proclamation was at once admitted by the accused, and they were all convicted by the jury, condemned, and executed—a deplorable result of civil dissensions, to cause the passions to descend to the lowest grades of society, where they tend to anarchy, conspiracy, and murder, and end in hideous judicial massacres.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 313, 327; Lam. vi. 137, 146.

127. Conspiracy at Lyons. June 8.

A conspiracy, which proved abortive, was also discovered at Lyons soon after, which, though not in itself formidable, acquired importance from the time at which it was discovered, and its obvious connection with the treasonable plots, all emanating from Paris, which were elsewhere in operation. The outbreak was fixed for the 8th June, on which day the tocsin sounded in several of the villages around Lyons, and a body of conspirators advanced towards that city in the evening, where they were instantly dispersed by a body of gendarmes. Eight or ten persons were seized with arms in their hands; and the Prévôtal Courts were soon in such activity, that above two hundred prisoners encumbered the prisons of the department. But the Government were satisfied with the advantage they had gained, and had come to regret the blood unnecessarily shed at Grenoble. Marshal Marmont and General Fabvier were sent to Lyons, by whose orders the prosecutions were suspended; and happily tranquillity was restored without any sacrifices on the scaffold.[2]

[2] Lam. vi. 146, 151; Moniteur, June 20, 1816.

128. Preparations of the Government for a change in the electoral law, and its difficulties.

These repeated alarms confirmed the Duke de Richelieu, M. Decazes, and Count Molé, in their opinion that a dissolution of the Chamber, and changes in the electoral law, had become indispensable to the public tranquillity, and that the longer continuance of the system of government pursued by the majority of the Chamber was impossible. But very serious difficulties occurred in

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carrying this intention into execution. Under what law, supposing the Chamber dissolved, were the elections to take place? The project proposed by M. Vaublanc, on the part of the Government, had been rejected by the Deputies; and that of M. Villèle, which they had passed by a large majority, had been combated by the whole influence of the ministry in the House of Peers, and thrown out. The ordinance of 21st July 1815, under which the existing Chamber had been elected, had been issued only by the royal authority, and was different in many important respects from that under which either the first Chamber or that of Napoleon, during the Hundred Days, had been elected. The first Chamber elected in 1814 had not been chosen under any legislative authority which the Bourbon government were bound to acknowledge. There was thus no legislative enactment in existence on the most important and vital point in a constitutional monarchy—the system under which the representatives of the people were to be elected. The entry of M. Lainé into the cabinet gave a majority to the party there which inclined to the opinion that, in a question surrounded with so many difficulties, the only safe course was to adhere to the charter granted by Louis XVIII. on his first restoration; and as there was no hope of getting the existing Chamber to alter the system under which itself had been elected, it was resolved to have recourse to a *coup d'état*, dissolve the Chamber, and regulate the election of a new one by the simple expedient of a royal ordinance.[1]

[1] Cap. iv. 328, 333; Lac. ii. 70, 76; Lam. vi. 144, 149.

129. Speech of M. Decazes in favour of a *coup d'état*.

"Sire!" said M. Decazes, in the cabinet, "it is necessary to dissolve the Chamber, for it thwarts the government of the King: it weakens his authority, usurps his power. At one time it endangers, at another openly attacks, the measures emanating from his profound wisdom; foments the angry passions which your Majesty would wish to calm; perpetuates, after the victory has

been gained, the crisis of the Hundred Days; retards indefinitely the period of the evacuation of our territory—that time which can alone permit your Majesty to breathe, or give rest to your patriotic heart. It is necessary to dissolve without delay: at this very moment, M. de Villèle, M. de Castelbajac, and Calviens, are felicitating themselves on the triumphant reception which Toulouse and Nîmes have awarded to them. In the next session they will be emboldened to attempt everything, from the interested eulogies passed on them by those who expect from them the restoration of their estates. By the effect of its turbulent combination, the present Chamber has caused the entire year to be lost, so far as regards the evacuation of our territory. By refusing to sanction the sale of part of the woods of the state, with the sole view of saving the wood of the clergy, they have deprived us of all means of borrowing, by withdrawing the security we might offer. They have, of their sole authority, broken an engagement undertaken towards the public creditors, and sanctioned by the law. The public debt is regarded by them in no other light but as a burden which they are at liberty to throw off at the expense of honour, morality, and religion. When we had no other resource left but credit, and no means of re-establishing it but a scrupulous good faith, they have let the infamous words of bankruptcy escape from their lips, or have supported propositions which were identical with it. Masters of the budget, with regard to which they have usurped the initiative, they have made it the vehicle of their prejudices and their passions. In presence of 150,000 men spread over our strong places, they have left us without an army, without national energy; while at the same time they give us every reason to apprehend a crisis, when that energy might revive from the effects of despair, and a return of the furious passions at which the universe has already shuddered.

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"If that moment has not arrived, sire! to what are we to ascribe it? Entirely to the system of moderation, firmness, and wisdom, which your Majesty has pursued in presence of a vindictive Assembly. In that honourable contest, the throne has for auxiliaries the entire nation, which has separated its cause from that of the proud and haughty privileged classes. That nation calls to you, sire! Maintain the charter—your work, your gift to the nation; we can only support by known facts alarms so general. Yes, contempt for the charter is everywhere professed by the envenomed majority; your Majesty is no stranger to the impassioned vehemence with which they declaim against the charter;—why give that majority an opportunity of giving a new proof of its dangerous disposition? It would be safer, it is sometimes said, to postpone a dissolution till the majority has given a yet more decisive proof of its mischievous tendency. Is it then certain that the nation will submit to fresh insults? Or shall we wait till they have inflicted some new wound on the finances of the state? Three months for our liberation lost; three months wasted in civil discord; three months during which your Majesty has been controlled in the acts of clemency so dear to your paternal heart; three months of irresolution, of anarchy—these are what your faithful servants can no longer contemplate without horror. Beyond the concessions which the safety of the state have suggested to us, we cannot make one. Your Majesty is aware with what patience we have borne repeated defeats, with an equanimity of which you alone know the secret motive; but to the public, by whom that motive is unknown, it can have no other aspect but that of weakness. We cannot longer continue to play a part which, if persevered in, would compromise the dignity of the crown. An immediate dissolution will re-establish that dignity, of which we are the jealous guardians, and will exhibit royalty in all its force. It will be in some

sort a second gift of the charter, a new contract of love and peace. It is necessary to give that charter a character of immutability, which the ordinances of 13th and 14th July 1815 have unhappily taken away, by declaring a revision of fourteen articles. It is desirable, therefore, that the ordinance of the dissolution should be preceded by a declaration that no article of the charter is to be altered. The Chamber should be reduced to 260, the number designed by the charter. Stability is the first wish of a people worn out by convulsions; it is the rein which is to restrain men consumed by the passion for retrograde changes; it is what Europe and its sovereigns demand. It is for us, or rather for the King, to set the first example of an immutable order, in a country which has undergone so many revolutions within, and launched so many abroad." [1]

[1] Lac. ii. 78, 80; Memorial of Decazes, cap. iv. 352, 356.

131. Adoption of these principles by the king, and preparations for carrying them into execution.

Whatever may be thought of this speech, which, amidst much exaggeration, contained some important truths, there can be but one opinion as to the skill with which it was prepared to work on the feelings and gratify the ruling disposition of the King. The leading principle of his mind at this period was an anxious desire to get quit of the allied troops, and deliver his country from the humiliating vassalage to which it had been subjected; his secret vanity a pride in the charter, and in his own ability to wield the power of a constitutional monarch. Louis XVIII., accordingly, was easily persuaded to give in to these views; and the Duke de Richelieu and Count Molé had already embraced them. The whole month of August was passed in preparations by this trio for the dissolution, and in measures for increasing the popularity of the court. The Legion of Honour was reconstituted, with precautions against the undue multiplication of its honours; the Ecole Polytechnique re-established; measures adopted for advancing primary education; prizes given to agriculture; and the payments from the Treasury made with such

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regularity as went far to re-establish public credit, which had been severely shaken by the language of the majority in the Chamber. Circular letters were addressed to the prefects and heads of the Prévôtal Courts, recommending the greatest moderation in prosecutions. At the same time, the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander were asked on the subject, through the medium of Count Pozzo di Borgo; and the King had the satisfaction of receiving an autograph letter from that monarch, in which he said, that, "in the interest of the Government of the King of France, it appeared to him that a dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies would be attended by beneficial results."[1]

[1] Emperor Alexander to Duke de Richelieu, Aug. 5, 1816; Cap. iv. 340, 357.

132. Ordinance of Sept. 5, 1816.

Fortified by such support, the famous ordinance of September 5 was prepared, and promulgated in the *Moniteur*, without any one but its immediate authors in the cabinet being aware of what was in contemplation. It was written out in the afternoon of the 4th, signed at eight in the evening, and immediately sent to the printing-office of the *Moniteur*, where it appeared to the astonished inhabitants of Paris the following morning. The Count d'Artois and the other members of the royal family were in entire ignorance of what was going forward. This important state paper, by the mere authority of the king reduced the number of deputies from 394, their existing number, to 260, the number specified in the charter, and raised the age required in deputies to forty years. New electoral colleges were constituted, in terms of the ordinance of 21st July 1815: those of arrondissements were directed to meet on the 25th September; those of departments on the 5th October. The presidents of colleges were named in the ordinance, and embraced Camille Jourdan, André de la Lozère, Royer Collard, and a number of others, all of the moderate or constitutional party, their appointment indicating, in the most unequivocal manner, the wish of the Government that the Cham-

bers should be elected of moderate men, equally removed from the extremes on either side. The Duke de Richelieu, though he acquiesced in the dissolution and ordinance, was yet not without his misgivings as to the influence of the new electoral system upon the future fate of France; and accordingly he said, in his circular to the prefects with the writ for the new election—"Do your utmost to prevent true Jacobins being returned in the new Chamber —that would altogether defeat our intentions. No party men—that ought to be our object; but, if they cannot be avoided, ultra-Royalists are better than Revolutionists."[1]*

[1] Moniteur, Sept. 5, 1816; Cap. iv. 358, 360; Lac. ii. 81, 82.

133. Consternation of the ultra-Royalists, and dismissal of Chateaubriand.

No words can describe the consternation of the royal family, the majority of the Chamber, and the extreme Royalists throughout France, when the sudden announcement of the dissolution of the legislative body, and the convocation of a new one, chosen under a different electoral system, fell upon them. The Duke de Richelieu undertook the difficult task of announcing it to the Count d'Artois; that prince was in despair at the intelligence, prophesied the fall of the monarchy, and openly accused M. Decazes of betraying the throne. The Duchess d'Angoulême positively refused to see any of the ministers on the subject; the Duke, her husband, was more

* "Depuis notre retour dans nos états, chaque jour nous a démontré cette vérité, proclamée par nous dans une occasion solennelle, qu'à côté de l'avantage d'améliorer, est le danger d'innover. Nous nous sommes convaincus, que les besoins et les cœurs de nos sujets se réunissaient pour conserver intacte cette charte constitutionnelle, base du droit public en France et garantie du repos général. Nous avons en conséquence jugé necessaire de réduire le nombre des députés au nombre déterminé par la charte, et de n'y appeler que des hommes de quarante ans. Mais pour opérer légalement cette réduction, il est devenu indispensable de convoquer de nouveau les colléges electoraux, afin de procéder à l'élection d'une nouvelle Chambre des Députés. A ces causes, nos ministres entendus, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons ce qui suit. I. Aucun des articles de la charte ne sera cassé. II. La Chambre des Députés est dissoute. III. Le nombre des députés des départements est fixé conformément à l'Art. 33 de la charte, suivant le tableau ci-joint. Les colléges électoraux d'arrondissement et de département étant composés tels qu'ils ont été reconnus et tels qu'ils ont été complétés par notre ordonnance du 21 Juillet 1815. Les colléges electoraux d'arrondissement se réuniront le 25 Septembre de cette année. Chacun d'eux élira un nombre de candidats égal au nombre

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moderate; and the Duke de Berri testified satisfaction on the occasion. The court was in the deepest affliction at the intelligence; they could not have been more so if the monarchy had been swept away—which, indeed, was generally prophesied as the inevitable result of the measure. The Royalist press throughout France broke forth into the most violent invectives against the ministry, whom they represented as having usurped the royal authority, coerced the king, and delivered over France, bound hand and foot, to the Revolutionists. Chateaubriand gave vent to the general feeling of the Royalists in an eloquent and impassioned postscript to his celebrated pamphlet published at that time, in which, not content with violently assailing the measure, he threw doubts on the unrestricted consent of the king to it. Louis was extremely indignant at this imputation, which, in addition to an attack on the ministry, amounted to a reflection on his personal firmness; and the consequence was that a decree appeared next day in the *Moniteur*, by which the name of Chateaubriand was erased from the list of privy councillors. But this measure of severity against so very eminent a man only augmented his influence, and that of his pamphlet, which was immense, and materially affected the return of members for the

de députés du département. Les colléges electoraux de département se réuniront le 4 Octobre. Chacun d'eux choisira au moins la moitiés députés parmi les candidats présents par les colléges d' arrondissement. Si le nombre des députés du département est impair, le partage se fera à l'avantage de la portion qui doit être choisie parmi les candidats. Toute élection où n'assistera pas la moitié au moins des membres des colléges sera nulle. La majorité évidente parmi les membres présens est nécessaire pour la validité des élections des députés. Si les colléges d'arrondissements n'avaient pas complété l'élection des candidats qu'ils peuvent choisir, le collége du département n'en procèderait pas moins à son opération; les procès verbaux des élections seront examinés à la Chambre des Députés, qui prononcera sur la régularité des élections. Les députés élus seront tenus de produire à la Chambre leur acte de naissance constatant qu'ils sont agés de 40 ans, et un extrait d'ordres dûment légalisé par le préfet constatant qu'ils payent au moins 1000 francs (£40) de contributions directes. La session de 1816 s'ouvrira le 4 Nov. de la présente année. Les dispositions de l'ordonnance du 13 Juillet 1815, contraires à la présente, sent révoquées."—*Moniteur*, 5th Sept. 1816; CAPEFIGUE, iv. 358, 361.

next Chamber.[1] * He lost not only his situation in the privy council, but the salary attached to it, which reduced him to such straits, in point of finance, that he was obliged to sell his country house and books, reserving only a little Homer in Greek, on the margin of which were some translations he had made of the lines of the immortal bard. But he lost neither his spirit nor his influence from becoming poor, though he now walked to the Chamber of Peers, or went in a hackney coach when it rained. "In my popular equipage," says he, "under the protection of the mob which surrounded the carriage, I regained for myself the rights of the working class, to which I now belonged; from the height of my chariot I ruled the train of kings."[2]

[1] Moniteur, Sept. 12, 1816; Cap. iv. 364, 365; Lac. ii. 83.

[2] Chateaub. Mémoires d'outre Tombe, vii. 227.

134. Great effects of this ordinance.

The royal ordinance of 5th September 1816 wrought so great a change in the electoral body and composition of the Chamber of Deputies in France, that it was equivalent in effect to a revolution, and is generally considered by the Royalist party as the main cause of the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. It will appear in the succeeding volumes of this work how this effect was worked out; but, in the mean time, there are

* Chateaubriand's postscript commenced with these words: "La Chambre de Députés est dissoute! Cela ne m'étonne pas. C'est le système des intérêts révolutionnaires qui marche. Je n'ai donné rien à changer à cet écrit. J'avais prévu le dénouement, et je l'ai plusieurs fois annoncé. Cette mesure ministérielle sauvera, dit on, la monarchie légitime. Dissoudre la seule Assemblée, qui depuis 1789 ait manifesté des sentimens purement Royalistes, c'est, à mon avis, une étrange manière de sauver la monarchie. . . . Et que veut d'ailleurs le Roi? S'il était permis de pénétrer dans les secrets de sa haute sagesse, ne pourroit-on pas présumer, qu'en laissant constitutionnellement toute liberté d'action et d'opinion à ses ministres *responsables*, il a porté ses regards plus loin qu'eux. Il a peut-être jugé que la France satisfaite lui renverrait les mêmes Députés dont il était satisfait; que l'on aurait une Chambre nouvelle aussi Royaliste que la dernière, bien que convoquée sur d'autres principes, et qu' alors il n'y aurait plus moyen de nier la véritable opinion de la France." The ordinance of the king was in these words: "Le Vicomte de Chateaubriand ayant, dans un écrit imprimé, élevé des doutes sur notre *volonté personnelle* manifestée par notre ordonnance du 5 du présent mois, nous ordonnons ce qui suit,—Le Vicomte de Chateaubriand cessera, dès ce jour, d'être compris au nombre de nos Ministres d'Etat.—LOUIS."—*Moniteur*, 12 Sept. 1816; *La Monarchie selon la Charte*, (Œuvres de Chateaubriand, xviii. 431, 440.)

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two observations which are suggested by the tenor of that decree itself. The first is, that the great reduction in the number of deputies—from 394 to 260—operated to the prejudice of the rural districts, and proportionally augmented the influence of the towns. Nearly the whole of the members struck off had been elected for departments, chiefly in the south of France, and they were selected for destruction, because they had proved the most unmanageable. The second, that, in the departments which still retained the privilege of sending members to Parliament, the right of voting was confined *to one class only*, and that a very limited one. By the ordinance of 13th July 1815, under which the dissolved Chamber had been elected, a variety of persons, as members of the Legion of Honour and official functionaries, were admitted to the franchise; but by the ordinance of 5th September 1816 these were all swept away; and the suffrage was confined to one single class, viz., persons paying 300 francs, or £12 of direct taxes. The direct taxes are so very heavy in France, that this payment implies a very different class from what it would in Great Britain; it denotes persons having from 2500 to 3500 francs (from £100 to £140) a-year. The total number of persons entitled to the suffrage in France on this payment was about 80,000, of whom 60,000 paid from 300 to 500 francs (£12 to £20) of yearly taxes. Thus the government of France, under this electoral system, was devolved upon 60,000 persons of one description only — that is, small shopkeepers in towns, and small proprietors in the country. They, too, were for the most part holders of the national domains—persons enriched by the Revolution, and resolute to support the gains it had brought them. The immense body of peasant proprietors, several millions in number, and the working classes in towns on the one hand, and the whole body of affluent or highly educated persons on the other, were, to all practical purposes, un-

represented. This is not the representative system; it is irresponsible class government of the worst kind. The representative system is founded on the entire representation, not of mere numbers, *but of classes of society:* mere numbers have no tendency to induce this, or rather they induce the very reverse, viz., class government of the lowest ranks of society. An unrestricted feudal aristocracy is a great evil; but an unrestricted burgher aristocracy is a still greater.

135. The whole Chambers were elected by royal ordinance.

Another circumstance worthy of note, and which appears not a little strange to one accustomed to English ideas, is, that in all the changes made on the electoral system in France, the *royal* authority alone was interposed. The Chamber which sat from July 1815 to September 1816 was elected under the royal ordinance of 13th July 1815, which added 134 members to it; that of 1816 and 1817, and all the subsequent ones, under the royal ordinance of 5th September 1816, which took them away. Supposing that a royal ordinance was a matter of necessity in the disastrous state of the country in 1815, when there was no legislature in existence, the same cannot be said of the royal ordinance of 5th September 1816, issued when a legislature was actually sitting, and the concurrence of the three branches of the legislature might have been obtained for any organic change which appeared necessary. It is remarkable, too, that all classes acquiesced without objection in this great stretch of the royal prerogative, so subversive of anything like real constitutional government; and, with the Liberal party, in particular, it was the subject of the highest possible exultation and eulogium—a striking contrast to their conduct in July 1830, when they made a similar exercise of the royal authority a pretext for overturning the throne.

The parliamentary and social history of France during 1815 and 1816 is worthy of particular attention from all who consider history, not merely as the amusement of a

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136. Reflections on the reaction of 1815.

passing hour, but as a source of political instruction, and the subject of serious thought. Long as this chapter has been, it could neither have been shortened nor divided, for it embraces one subject, and that one of the most fruitful in political lessons which history has preserved—THE REACTION OF 1815. The Revolution had worked out its inevitable and appropriate result; its sins had been visited by their natural consequences; and conquest, ignominy, and suffering, had closed a career commenced in selfishness, ambition, and crime. With the usual disposition of mankind to ascribe the punishment of their sins to anything but those sins themselves, they now rushed into the opposite extreme; and the last leaders of the Revolution were as much the object of unanimous horror and detestation as the first had been of triumph and enthusiasm. All persons with right feeling must regret the measures of severity adopted on the second restoration, and the heroic blood shed on the scaffold in consequence of the treason previously committed: but, in truth, it was unavoidable. The people, by an overwhelming majority, demanded victims, as so many scapegoats to bear the sins of the community; and the legislature, which compelled the government to select them, was but the mouthpiece of a nation which, in a voice of thunder, demanded their punishment.

137. Which was forced by the nation on the government.

In this terrible and tragic reaction, another circumstance is very remarkable,—it was *forced* by the nation upon the sovereign. Louis XVIII. was constitutionally humane, and he was too much versed in revolutions not to know what violent reactions noble blood shed on the scaffold scarce ever fails to produce. Every one of the victims of 1815 were forced from the humanity of the government by the violence of the people. This is a very remarkable circumstance, and well worthy of consideration, for it points to the principal danger to be apprehended under a popular form of government. Those

intrusted with power are invariably more inclined to moderation than those who only by their votes or their clamour seek to control their measures. The reason is, that the former feel its responsibilities, and are made acquainted with its difficulties; whereas the latter are actuated only by ambition or passion, unfettered by experience or a sense of duty. Paucity of number in the former case induces a sense of responsibility; in the latter it extinguishes it. Destructive measures—ruin to national security or freedom—are much more to be apprehended, in a popular government, from the legislature than from the executive—from the people than the sovereign. Responsibility checks the excesses of the last; the absence of it lets loose the passions of the first. It is a common saying that patriots generally become corrupted when they are taken into administration, and that there is nothing so like a Tory in power as a Whig in power; and the fact is certain, but the reason commonly assigned for it is not the true one. It is not so much that they are corrupted by the sweets of power, as that they are made aware of its duties and impressed with its responsibilities.

138. The greatest iniquities of the period were committed by juries.

"Where," says M. de Tocqueville, "shall a person persecuted by the majority in America fly for redress? To the legislature?—it is elected by the majority. To a jury?—it is the *judicial committee of the majority.*" Impartial justice must confess that the year 1815 in France was no exception to this rule; nay, that it furnishes the strongest confirmation of it. The worst judicial acts which stained the Royalist reaction in that country were perpetrated by the agency of juries. It was juries who, in 1815, screened from justice every one of the criminals, however clearly proved to be guilty, who were implicated in the frightful Royalist excesses in the south of France in that year; it was juries who, in the next, terminated contemptible con-

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spiracies with a long array of criminals executed on the scaffold. The truth is, juries are, and have been in every age, the judicial committee of the majority, and neither more nor less. As such they have frequently rescued persons, prosecuted for offences interesting to the majority, from the hands of oppression; but they have in many more, when the majority itself was in power, committed the most atrocious judicial iniquities. In one year, juries in England perpetrated the long catalogue of judicial murders consequent on the Popish Plot; in another, they were the instruments of the equally unjust and sanguinary vengeance of the Rye-House Plot. The whole state trials of England—the most appalling collection, as Hallam has observed, of judicial iniquities which the history of the world can exhibit—were conducted by means of juries. All the murders of the Convention were sanctioned by the verdicts of juries. No one in Great Britain need be told how little chance there is of justice being done in Ireland by a Catholic jury on a Catholic offender, or by an Orange jury on a Protestant. The reason in all these cases is one and the same, and it is this: Undivided responsibility is a check upon a single judge in a court composed of a *small* number of judges;—but there is no such a check upon juries, the names of whose members are scarcely ever known, or, if known, are speedily forgotten; and in whom, even at the moment of committing iniquity, numbers shelter the perpetrators. Jefferies himself would never have perpetrated the enormities which have for ever blasted his name, if he had not been sheltered in the verdict, at least by the concurring iniquity of his juries.

The treason for which Ney and Labedoyère suffered was clearly proved; it brought evils of an unexampled amount on France, and it was terminated by a list of capital convictions of unequalled paucity. Only *six* persons suffered on the scaffold over all France for a

rebellion which dethroned the king, caused the conquest of the country, and fixed a debt of £64,000,000 on its inhabitants. The English historians justly congratulate themselves on the increasing humanity of the age, when the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, which was confined to Scotland and the northern counties of England, and never for one moment endangered either the country or the throne, was only chastised by the execution of two-and-twenty. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the rebellion of 1815 was, according to all the settled maxims of European law, not only clearly proved against all the persons who suffered for their participation in it, but, on the whole, most leniently dealt with. Yet we cannot read the account of the execution of Ney and Labedoyère without deep regret; and that regret will be shared by the generous and the humane to the end of time. The reason is, that PURELY POLITICAL OFFENCES SHOULD NOT BE PUNISHED WITH DEATH; banishment or transportation are their appropriate penalties. Death should be reserved for great moral crimes, concerning which all mankind are agreed—as murder, fire-raising, or violent robbery—and not extended to acts such as those of treason, which originate, not in moral wrong, but in difference of political opinion, and are sometimes justified by necessity, or rewarded by the highest fortune or lasting admiration of mankind.

139. Expedience of abolishing entirely the punishment of death in purely political offences.

The feelings of mankind have never stigmatised mere treason as a moral crime, so often has it arisen from noble though mistaken motives. Many families are proud of an ancestor who lost his head on the scaffold for his accession to a revolt, but none ever pointed with exultation to one executed for murder or housebreaking. Transportation to a distant country, under certification of death in case of return, is the true mode of dealing with acts which, without the intermixture of baser crimes or motives, tend only to change the government. The

140. Banishment is its proper punishment.

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persons engaged in them should be considered as domestic enemies, to be made prisoners, and treated according to the laws of war, if in their insurrection they conform to its usages. If they do otherwise, and begin with pillage and conflagration, by all means treat them as pirates, enemies of the human race. To go farther, and shed their blood on the scaffold, though their conduct has not degenerated into such atrocities, but has been confined to the limits of legitimate warfare, is the same injustice and the same error as to burn for heresy. Opinion is not the proper object of punishment—it is acts only that are; and the appropriate punishment for acts tending to dispossess the government is to dispossess the person attempting it.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1817 TO THE REPEAL OF THE BANK RESTRICTION ACT IN 1819.

1. Vicissitudes and ceaseless chain of events in human affairs.

THE study, and still more the composition of the history of an important and animating era in human affairs, is apt to induce the belief that the tale is to close when the principal actors have disappeared from the stage, and the curtain has fallen on the great catastrophe in which the drama has terminated. We are interested in it as we are in a novel or romance, which has a beginning, a middle, and an end; forgetting that in real life events grow in a perpetual chain, and share in the undying succession of the human race. No sooner are the transactions of one period brought to a close, and an apparent lull has crept over the busy scene by the exhaustion of the energies by which it had been sustained, than another set of causes comes into operation, at first scarcely perceptible, and often for a time unobserved, but which in the end act with resistless force, and induce an entire change on the fortunes of the world. The same vicissitude is conspicuous there, as in the affairs of private life: nothing is permanent, nothing unchangeable; joy succeeds to sorrow, sorrow to joy; and what is most earnestly desired at one period, as the highest object of ambition, is discovered at another to have been the commencement of ruin. Seeds sown in one age spring up, in the next, with

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an entirely different crop from what was anticipated, and the calculations of human wisdom are confounded by results diametrically opposite to those which had been looked for. To the affairs of nations, not less than those of individuals, the words of the poet are applied :—

> "Still where rosy pleasure leads,
> See a kindred grief pursue;
> Behind the steps that misery treads
> Approaching comfort view.
> The hues of bliss more brightly glow,
> Chastised by sabler tints of woe,
> And, blended, form with artful strife
> The strength and harmony of life." *

Exemplifications of this vicissitude in the history of France and England after the Revolution.

Never was the truth of these beautiful words more clearly evinced than in the history both of France and England during and after the memorable contest of the Revolution. Both had gained what they contended for in the strife; both had been successful in the grand objects for which they had fought; and both have found in the attainment of these objects the termination of their greatness, the commencement of their ruin. The dreams of the Revolutionists were realised, the visions of the Girondists had come to pass; everything they desired was accomplished, and what was the result? A monarchy without power, a nation without consideration, liberty precarious, loyalty extinguished, morals destroyed, religion discredited, the bulwarks of freedom ruined, and nothing but the calculations of selfishness to supply their place. The history of France from 1815 to 1852 is nothing but the annals of the impotent efforts of a nation to recover what itself had destroyed; of wisdom to repair what madness had broken through; of selfishness to grasp what generosity had won or valour achieved. England had been as successful in the end in the national, as France had been in the social strife: the Continent was arrayed under her banner, the sceptre of the ocean had passed into her hands; her enemy was vanquished; glory transcending all former glory, riches exceeding all

* GRAY—"Ode to Vicissitude."

former riches had been won. What was the result? The commencement of a series of causes and effects, springing out of the very magnitude of these triumphs, which is destined to undo the fabric of British greatness, dissolve the magnificent British empire, and leave the fragments of its dominions scattered in separate independent states throughout the globe.

3. Consoling features even in the ruin of the Old World.

Yet even in this vast disruption there is much in which humanity must rejoice, in which patriotism must exult. The English empire may be rent asunder, but the enlightenment of English genius, the achievements of English thought, the bond of English associations, will never be lost. English will, beyond all question, be the language spoken by half the globe for interminable ages yet to come; and to English genius is opened a future of fame and usefulness exceeding anything yet conceded to mankind. In the noble words of a worthy scion of the British stem, albeit in Transatlantic realms, we may say,—"Go forth, thou language of Milton and Hampden —language of my country! Take possession of the North American continent! Gladden the waste places with every tone that has been rightly struck by the English lyre, with every English word that has been spoken for liberty and for man! Give an echo to the now silent and solitary mountains; gush out with the fountains that as yet sing their anthems all day long without response! Fill the valleys with the voices of love in its purity, the pledges of friendship in its fidelity; and as the morning sun drinks the dew-drops from the flowers all the way from the dreary Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, meet him with the joyful hum of the early industry of freemen. Utter boldly, and spread widely through the world, the thoughts of the coming epoch of the people's liberty, till the sound that cheers the desert shall thrill through the heart of humanity, and the lips of the messenger of the people's power, as he stands upon the mountain, shall proclaim the renovating tidings of equal freedom to the race."[1]

[1] Bancroft's American Revolution, i. 520.

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4. Fundamental cause which has led to disaster in France.

The cause of the sudden bursting forth of the principles of decay, which took place in both France and England after the termination of the contest, is to be found in a very simple source—the general, it might almost be said universal, selfishness of human nature. So prone are mankind, in every rank, station, and situation, to use power mainly for the advantage of themselves or their adherents, that it scarce ever happens that, when one obtains it without control, a government does not ensue so oppressive as speedily to dry up the sources of national prosperity, and lay the foundation of ultimate ruin. In France this effect took place by the complete triumph of the popular party in the outset of the Revolution, and the entire destruction of all the powers or influences in the state which might be able to coerce their ambition, or moderate their excesses. When the king was beheaded, the aristocracy ruined, the church destroyed, the corporations extinguished, no power remained in the state but the force of numbers; and the tyranny of the majority soon became such, that the people, from sheer necessity, were constrained to abandon all their former principles, and take refuge from their own madness under the empire of the sword. The whole subsequent history of France has been nothing but a series of fruitless attempts to avoid this fatal necessity, and reconstruct the fabric of freedom, without the essential elements of which it must be composed.

5. What has done so in England.

In Great Britain, as it was not the democratic but the aristocratic party which was victorious in the great contest, of the Revolution, the causes which have induced disaster have been different, but springing at bottom from the same inherent selfishness of human nature. The aristocracy which gained the victory, and in whose hands the war left the direction of the state, was one of a very peculiar kind, and more dangerous to social prosperity than a mere body of wealthy territorial magnates would have been. Such a body is certainly never deficient in

attention to its own interests; and if nations have often risen to greatness under the rule of such a body, it is not because its measures were more based on the general good than those of other men, but because its own interests, being based on production, were identical with those of the great body of producers throughout the state. But the aristocracy, which had gained the ascendancy in England at the fall of Napoleon, was not entirely, or even principally, a territorial aristocracy. It was a mixed body, composed of merchants, manufacturers, bankers, colonial proprietors, shipowners, and shopkeepers, even more than landholders, in both Great Britain and Ireland. The House of Commons was the representative, not of one species of property, but of every species of property; and, although numbers were by no means unrepresented, yet the members elected by the popular constituencies were few in number compared to those who rested on the mercantile, landed, or colonial interests. It was in the undue ascendancy of the mercantile interest in this mixed aristocracy—springing out of the vast riches they had amassed, and the influence they had acquired during the war—that the remote cause of the whole subsequent difficulties of the British empire is to be found.

6. The mercantile aristocracy pursue measures for their peculiar interests.

The reason of this is, that—unlike a territorial aristocracy, whose interests, being founded on production, must always be the same as those of the labouring classes who cultivate their land—the gain of a monied aristocracy is often found chiefly in the depression and penury of the great body of the people. Manufacturers for the home market, indeed, can never, in the end, thrive on the ruin of their customers; but those for the export sale, who are generally the most enterprising and influential, often do so; because the cost of production is lessened by a fall in the wages of domestic labour, and that fall does not lessen the amount of foreign consumption. Thus the profits of manufacturers for foreign markets are often

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materially augmented by domestic suffering; and they would be greatest, if, like the poor Hindoos, the persons they employ could be brought to subsist on threepence a-day. The monied classes, all possessed of fixed incomes, and all the holders of realised capital, gain immensely by the suffering of the producing classes, for that brings down the wages of labour, lowers the price of commodities of all sorts, and proportionally increases the value of money. Hence the efforts of those classes, when they have become so powerful as to have gained the command of the state, are always mainly directed to the introduction of measures which may augment their fortunes without any effort on their part, simply by enhancing the value of money by cheapening the cost of everything else. These measures, by striking at the remuneration of industry, are in the long-run of all others the most fatal to the working classes, and hence it was that Adam Smith said,—"High prices and plenty are prosperity; low prices and want are misery."

7. Which in ignorance are supported by the operative manufacturers.

But unfortunately this effect is remote and circuitous, and therefore altogether beyond the vision of the great majority of men; while the advantages of a fall of prices, especially in articles of daily consumption, are immediate and obvious to every capacity. In the interval, too, which may often extend over years, between the fall in the price of subsistence and the inevitable subsequent decline in the consumption of manufactures by its producers, the operative manufacturers, as well as their employers, may be considerable gainers by the fall; because the gain to them has already come, the consequent loss has not. The producing classes are encroaching on their capital, or borrowing money, or living on credit, in hope of better times coming, rather than face the immediate discomfort of abandoning the consumption of luxuries, which to them have become necessaries. It need not be said that this can go on only for a time; that the decline in the resources of their rural customers

must, in the end, tell with fearful effect on the welfare of the urban operatives. But in the interval, short as it may be, measures irreversible, when once introduced, though fraught with the most disastrous ultimate consequences, may be adopted—not only with the entire concurrence, but in consequence of the enthusiastic support, of the very classes who are in the end to suffer most from them. Hence it is that it has always been found that the measures of domestic legislation or social change which have produced the most widespread, lasting, and irremediable distress among the people, have been adopted at their suggestion, or carried out to gratify their wishes. If hell is paved with good intentions, this world is built up of delusive expectations.

8. Reason of this frequent disappointment of general wishes.

The reason of this frequent ultimate disappointment of the hopes most generally formed and ardently entertained by the people, is to be found in the moral law of Providence, which has for ever doomed to retribution and suffering, even in this world, those who engage in measures calculated to elevate or benefit their own class, at the expense of the other classes of the community. Such measures are often attended with great *immediate* benefit to the class which introduces them; and it is the prospect of this immediate benefit which constitutes their great attraction, and renders them so fearfully alluring. But if their ultimate consequences are traced, it will invariably be found that they bore with them the seeds of retribution; the curse they bestowed on others has recoiled on themselves. The mutual dependence of all the interests of society on each other, and the indissoluble connection between social or national crime and social or national punishment, is not merely a vision of the philosopher, or a dream of the poet, but a practical principle of ceaseless operation among men, to the agency of which many of the greatest changes in human affairs are to be ascribed. No class can ever derive lasting prosperity but from measures which benefit equally every other class: if the one

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is for a time enriched by the ruins of the other; it will, in the end, be proportionally punished. The tracing out the operation of this moral law, in the effects of the victory of the popular class in France, and of the monied class in England, upon their country and themselves, during the five-and-thirty years which succeeded the fall of Napoleon, will form not the least interesting or instructive part of this History.

9. Continued distress and discontent in the country.

The seeds of evil sown by the violent contraction of the currency, and sudden termination of the war expenditure in the preceding year, had been too widespread, and had taken too deep root, to be speedily eradicated. The distress, indeed, was much alleviated in the rural districts by the rise in the price of provisions of all sorts which took place in the end of 1816, and continued through the whole of the succeeding year, in consequence of the very bad harvest of the first. Wheat, on an average, in 1817, was 116s. a quarter, while in the spring of 1816 it had been down at 57s. The harvest of 1817, though not so bad as that of the year before, was still very deficient both in quantity and quality. But though this great rise of prices, almost to the highest level they had attained during the war, was attended with immediate relief to the agricultural class, it aggravated in a most serious degree the distress of the manufacturers, who were suffering at the same time under the effects of the shake given to credit and general diminution of employment, in consequence of the contraction of the currency in the preceding, and which continued through this year. The country bankers' notes in circulation in England this year were only £15,894,000, while in 1815 they had been £22,700,000; the commercial paper, on an average, under discount at the Bank of England, was £3,960,000, while in 1810 it had been £20,070,000, and in 1815, £14,970,000.[1] So prodigious and sudden a contraction in the currency of the nation, and the accommodation afforded to the trading classes, was, of

[1] Alison's Europe, c. xcvi., App.; and Ann. Reg. 1817, 2, 5.

course, attended by a still more ruinous diminution of confidence and credit; and this, combining with the high price of provisions, produced an amount of distress in the great towns and manufacturing districts, which, ere long, occasioned overt acts and secret machinations of the most alarming description.

10. Plan formed of a general insurrection.

The effect of the continued contraction of the currency appeared strongly in the great falling off of the imports during 1817, which only amounted to £29,910,000, while in 1810 they had been £37,613,000, in 1814 £32,622,000, and in 1815 £30,822,000. This indicated a very great diminution in the means of consumption which the people enjoyed, and gave too much ground for the disaffected to represent the general distress as entirely the result of extravagance and waste on the part of Government. The real cause of the suffering, which was to be found in the sudden contraction of the currency, from the prospect of resuming cash payments at no distant period, was never once thought of. Everything was set down to the oppression of Government and the unbearable load of taxation; and the remedies suggested were radical reform in Parliament, the disbanding of the army, and overthrow of the Government. A vast plan of insurrection was formed, having its centre in the metropolis, but extending widely also through the mining and manufacturing districts of the north of England and Scotland, the object of which was the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of a republic in its stead.* Mr Hunt, the leading demagogue of Spafields, commenced a tour through the western provinces,

* "The lower orders are everywhere meeting in large bodies, and are very clamorous. Delegates from all quarters are moving about amongst them, as they were before the late disturbance; and they talk of a general union of the lower orders throughout the kingdom."—Mr NADIN to Lord SIDMOUTH, Manchester, January 3, 1817. "A very wide and extensive plan of insurrection has been formed, and which might possibly have been acted upon before this time, but for the proper precautions used to prevent it."—Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND to Lord SIDMOUTH, March 21, 1817—*Life of Lord Sidmouth*, iii. 165, 177.

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addressing the people everywhere in the most seditious and inflammatory language; and in the densely-inhabited districts of the north appearances were still more alarming, for there the people were meeting in large bodies, evidently under the orders of secret leaders, and an outbreak was daily expected by the local magistrates.[1]

[1] Sidmouth's Life, iii. 165, 166.

11. Meeting of Parliament, and attack on the Prince-Regent. Jan. 29.

Parliament met on the 28th January, and the Prince-Regent, in the speech from the throne, lamented the distress which generally prevailed, and the consequent decline which had taken place in the revenue; but expressed a hope that these evils would be of temporary duration, and strongly condemned the factious efforts made to render them the foundation of attempts to overturn the Government. The Opposition, headed by Earl Grey in the Lords, and by Tierney and Brougham in the Commons, could find no other remedy for the existing evils but unflinching economy and a great reduction of expenditure,—measures calculated to meet the diminished state of the public revenue, but of no effect upon the deep-rooted seats of evil that occasioned the distress in the country. The disturbed state of the public mind, and the acts by which the general suffering had been rendered the means of exciting disaffection against the head of the Government, were evinced when the Prince-Regent left the House of Lords, after delivering the speech from the throne. The carriage was surrounded by an insulting mob, which, from contumelious words, soon proceeded to acts of violence; and one of its glasses was broken by stones or balls from an air-gun aimed at his Royal Highness.[2]

[2] Ann. Reg. 1817, 1, 3; Hughes, vi. 328.

12. Report of the secret committee in both Houses.

This open insult to the head of the Government, coupled with the alarming accounts of the progress of the disaffection which they received from all the manufacturing districts, determined ministers to apply to Parliament for extraordinary power. On the 3d February, a message from the Prince-Regent was communicated to both Houses of Parliament, stating the existence of a

secret and widespread conspiracy against the Government, and upon its receipt a secret committee was moved for and appointed in both Houses. They made their report on the 19th February, and both contained the same information, which was of a sufficiently alarming character. The reports declared that a "general conspiracy had been formed to overturn the Government, which had its centre in London, but its ramifications through all the great towns and manufacturing districts of the country. The designs of the conspirators were to be carried into execution by a general rising in the metropolis, and liberation of all prisoners, whether for debt or crimes, to whom an address was already prepared; by setting fire to the barracks of the military, and by an attack simultaneously on the Tower, Bank, and other points of importance in the metropolis. The tricolor flag was to be the banner under which they were to assemble; and particular pains were to be taken to conciliate the soldiers, who were the brothers of the people. This project was intended to have been carried into execution at the meeting in Spafields on December 2, and it was only then prevented from being successful by accidental circumstances; but the design was only adjourned till after the meeting of Parliament, when the insurrection was to take place. Similar designs had been formed and matured in Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other great towns, and not a doubt was entertained by the conspirators of entire success. The number of the disaffected who might be expected to rise was estimated at several hundred thousand, chiefly in the great towns and manufacturing districts; and societies were everywhere formed, which, under the name of "Spencean Philanthropists," "Hampden Clubs," and the like, really regulated and directed their movements, which were conducted with equal skill and secresy, and almost entirely by the aid of signs and ciphers, without other written correspondence.[1]

[1] Report of Lords and Commons; Ann. Reg. 1817, 7, 13; and Parl. Deb. xxxv. 411, 438.

Upon receiving these reports, which revealed the pre-

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13. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and passing of the Seditious Meetings Act.

cipice on the brink of which the nation stood, ministers brought forward a bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was introduced by Lord Sidmouth in the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, and met with the most violent and impassioned resistance in both Houses. The reports of the secret committees were ridiculed, and declared to be founded on falsehood, misapprehension, and terror; the measures proposed were pronounced tyrannical and oppressive. The public mind, however, was too strongly impressed with the reality of the danger, from the threatening demonstrations held in all the great towns, to render it a matter of difficulty for the Government to obtain the necessary powers. On the 24th February the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Sidmouth, and on the same night one for the prevention of seditious meetings. This bill embodied into one act the provisions of the 35 Geo. III., c. 127, relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies, and the 39 Geo. III., c. 37, regarding corresponding societies. The acts were to be only temporary, and have long since expired; but one clause in the latter act, which was strongly and justly objected to, declared it punishable with *death* if a meeting, being summoned by a magistrate to disperse, did not immediately do so. Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh strenuously endeavoured, but in vain, to get seven years' transportation substituted for that extreme penalty. After a violent opposition from the whole Whig and Radical party, the bills passed both houses by very large majorities, that in the Commons being 162—the numbers 265 to 103; and in the Lords by 113 to 30.[1]

Feb. 28. [1] Parl. Deb. xxxv. 708, 822, and 1202, 1302; Ann. Reg. 1817, 28, 34.

Armed with these extraordinary powers, Government were not slow in taking the necessary steps to put a stop to the insurrection, which was rapidly organising in every part of the country. The information was daily more alarming, and proved that the conspiracy was more wide-

14. Measures of Government to suppress the insurrection, which breaks out at Derby. June 9.

spread and formidable than had been at first imagined. Among the rest, the particulars of an oath administered in Glasgow to a secret society composed of great numbers of persons were obtained, which, after binding the person taking it to entire secresy, under the penalty of death, to be inflicted on him by any member of the society, bound him to do his utmost to obtain annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and to support the same "by moral or *physical* strength, as the case may require." A motion to omit the words "or physical," as leading to rebellion, was negatived by a large majority. Intelligence of an immediate rising being in contemplation was received at the same time from Manchester, Bolton, Birmingham, and all the principal manufacturing towns. On 27th March, Lord Sidmouth addressed a circular letter to the lord-lieutenants of counties, calling their attention to the numerous blasphemous and seditious publications which were circulating through the country, and stating that any justice might issue a warrant to apprehend a person circulating such publications, upon oath, and hold him to bail. The legality of the opinion thus expressed was strongly contested at the time in both Houses of Parliament, but amply confirmed by the first legal authorities. Eight persons were apprehended on a charge of high treason at Manchester, and eight at Leicester. The whole of the latter were convicted, of whom six suffered the last penalty of the law. Severe as this example was, it had not the effect of checking the spirit of disaffection in the manufacturing counties; and on the 9th June an insurrection broke out in Derbyshire, which bore marks of an extensive conspiracy. It was headed by a man of the name of John Brandreth, and ere long 500 men were assembled, who proceeded in military array to the Butterby iron-works, near Nottingham, from whence, being deterred by the preparations made for defence, they advanced towards that town. On their way thither, however, they were met by Mr Rolleston, an intrepid

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magistrate of the county, with eighteen of the 15th Hussars, under Captain Phillips, by whom they were stopped, pursued, and forty prisoners taken. The native cowardice of guilt, the power of the law, were never more clearly evinced. Brandreth escaped at the time, but was soon after taken, and a special commission having been sent down to Derby in autumn, he was capitally convicted, and suffered death with Turner and Ludlam, his two associates; while eleven others were transported for life, and eight imprisoned for various periods.[1]

Oct. 17. 1 State Trials, xxxii. 327; Sidmouth's Life, iii. 179, 182.

15. Extension of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

The menacing aspect of the manufacturing districts, and the intelligence which Government had now received of the designs and organisation of the conspirators, induced them to apply to Parliament for an extension of the period during which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which had been originally limited to the sitting of Parliament, should be continued. The evidence was laid before the same select committee which had previously reported, by whom a second report was prepared and laid before both Houses in June. Their report stated that a plan of a general insurrection had been organised, which was to break out, in the first instance, in Manchester, on Sunday 30th March, and to be immediately followed by risings in York, Lancaster, Leicester, Nottingham, Chester, Stafford, and Glasgow. It was calculated that 50,000 persons would be ready to join them in Manchester alone by break of day, and with this immense force they were to march to attack the barracks and jails, liberate the prisoners, plunder the houses of all the nobility and gentry, seize all the arms in the gunsmiths' shops, and issue proclamations absolving the people from their allegiance, and establishing a republic. The outbreak in Derbyshire was a part of this design, which was only frustrated there and elsewhere by the vigilance and courage of the magistrates, and prompt appearance and steady conduct of the military.[2] Upon this report, the truth of which was abundantly proved

June 3.

[2] Second Report, June 3, 1817; Ann. Reg. 1817, 74, 82; Parl. Deb. xxxvi. 1198, 1254.

by the worst acts committed at the time by the conspirators in various parts of the country, the House of Commons, by a majority of 190 to 50, continued the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act to the 1st March 1818, when they finally expired.

16. Restoration of confidence and improved prospects towards the close of the year.

The effect of these vigorous measures was great and decisive, and it was much aided by the favourable harvest, which, though not very abundant, was greatly more so than the one of the preceding year had been. Prices, in consequence, rapidly fell, and in autumn confidence began to be generally restored, and industry to resume its wonted labours.* As the distress of 1816, and of the first half of 1817, had been mainly owing to the rapid contraction of the currency, and consequent fall in the price of produce of every kind, agricultural and manufacturing, far below what the mere opening of the Continental harbours could have explained; so the first symptoms of amendment appeared in the enlarged advances of the country bankers, encouraged by the suppression of the efforts of the disaffected, and the great rise, compared with 1816, which had taken place in the price of rural produce. Prosperity—and it is a markworthy circumstance—began with a *rise of prices*, even though that rise was owing to a scarcity in the preceding year. The importation of wheat in this year was considerable, compared with what it had been in former years: it amounted to 1,020,000 quarters; whereas the

* "In Devonshire every article of life is falling, the panic among the farmers wearing away, and, above all, that hitherto marketable article, discontent, is everywhere disappearing. I have every reason to unite my voice with my neighbours to say we owe our present peaceful and happy prospects to your firmness and prompt exertions in keeping down the democrats."—Lord EXMOUTH to Lord SIDMOUTH, 10th Sept. 1817. "We cannot, indeed, be sufficiently thankful for an improvement in our situation and prospects, in every respect far exceeding our most sanguine, and even the most presumptuous hopes. A public and general expression of gratitude must be required in due season by an order in Council."—Lord SIDMOUTH to Lord KENYON, Sept. 30, 1817. *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 198, 199.

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average for six years before had little exceeded 300,000.* The exports were above an average; they amounted to £40,011,000—a clear proof that the distress among the manufacturing classes was owing to the failure of the home market, even then at least double all foreign markets put together, from the effects of a contracted currency and general suspension of credit and ruinous fall of prices. Government acted alike with wisdom and liberality, in proposing and carrying a proposal, on 28th April, to advance £500,000 in Great Britain, and £250,000 in Ireland, by the issue of Exchequer bills, on proper security, to relieve the general distress—a measure which passed without opposition, and had a surprising effect both in alleviating suffering by restoring confidence, and diminishing discontent by showing sympathy.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxvi. 27, 50; Ann. Reg. 1817, 45, 47; Sidmouth's Life, iii. 198, 199.

17. Finance accounts of 1817, compared with 1816.

This was a very trying year to the exchequer of the empire, for it had to contend at once with a diminution in the ordinary sources of revenue, in consequence of the general distress, and the huge gap in the public income, arising from the taking off of the income-tax and war malt-tax in the preceding year. The total revenue, which in 1816 had been £62,264,000, in 1817 fell to £52,195,000; the war taxes amounted only to £14,365,000, instead of £16,665,000 as in the preceding year. The total produce of the taxes, irrespective of loans, was in 1816 £57,360,000 for Great Britain alone; in 1817, £55,783,259 for Great Britain and Ireland together, even with the aid of arrears of war taxes. On the

* IMPORTATION OF WHEAT AND WHEAT-FLOUR, FROM 1811 TO 1818.

Years.	Qrs.	Years.	Qrs.
1811, ...	238,366	1817, ...	1,020,949
1812, ...	244,385	1818, ...	1,593,518
1813, ...	425,599		
1814, ...	681,333		
1815, ...	none.		
1816, ...	225,263		
	6)1,814,946		
Average of six years,	302,491		

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 139.—3d edition.

other hand, the public expenditure of 1817 amounted to £68,875,000, of which no less than £44,108,000 was for the interest of the public debt and the sinking fund, being for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.* In these circumstances, a very considerable loan in some form or another became indispensable; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer provided for the deficiency by issuing Exchequer bills to the extent of £9,000,000, trusting to a gradual improvement in the revenue to make up the remainder. The sum applied this year to the reduction of debt was £14,514,000—so powerful did the sinking fund still continue, notwithstanding all that had been done to cripple its operations; so that, after taking into view the sum borrowed, above £5,000,000 was really applied to the reduction of debt.[1]

[1] Finance Accounts, 1817; Parl. Deb. xxxvi. 2, App.; and xxxviii. 46, App.; Porter's Parl. Tables, i. 1.

Ireland, being wholly an agricultural country, suffered, as might well be imagined, beyond any other, from the disastrous fall of prices produced by an artificial scarcity of money, and the subsequent rise, owing to a real scarcity in the supply, which had taken place in the last two years. So serious did the agrarian disturbances in that country become that, on the 11th March, Government brought forward a measure intended for their permanent coercion, and which has been attended by the very best effects. It was introduced by Mr Peel, the Secretary for Ireland, afterwards SIR ROBERT PEEL, whose measures will occupy

18. Mr Peel's Irish Insurrection Act. March 11.

* The expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland for 1817 was as follows:—

Interest of debt and sinking fund,	£44,108,233
Do. on exchequer bills,	1,815,926
Other charges on consolidated fund,	2,303,602
Civil government of Scotland,	130,646
Lesser expenses,	451,403
Navy,	6,473,062
Ordnance,	1,435,401
Army, deducting troops in France,	9,614,864
Foreign loans,	33,272
Local issues,	42,585
Miscellaneous,	2,466,483
	£68,875,477

—*Parl. Deb.*, xxxviii. 26, *Parl. Rep.*

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so large and important a place in this History. His character, however, will come in more appropriately after the great changes which he introduced into our commercial policy, and their effects, are considered. The object of the bill was to establish a general police force capable of acting together in any county which the Lord-Lieutenant might direct, that officer having the power of determining what portion of the expense was to be laid on the inhabitants. The measure met with general approbation, and proved so efficacious that Government did not find it necessary to extend the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act to Ireland, and were able to reduce the military force in that country from 25,000 to 22,000 men, and the artillery from 400 to 200 guns.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxv. 982; Ann. Reg. 1817, 43.

19. Trial by jury in civil causes in Scotland.

English legislation, in this instance, undoubtedly conferred a very great boon upon Ireland; but the same cannot be said of a measure introduced by English influence into Scotland, and which came into operation in this year—viz., the extension of jury trial to civil causes. Scotland, from the remotest period, has had laws, institutions, and courts of its own. Its inhabitants may well be proud of them, for the greatest improvements which, during the last eighty years, have been introduced into the law of England, or which its wisest legislators are now anxiously labouring to effect, are nothing but transcripts of the statutes which, a hundred and fifty years before, had been inserted on the statute-book of its northern and comparatively barbarous neighbour.* In 1816, however, the Anglomania was very ardent; and, partly to aid the progress of Liberal ideas and the Liberal party in Scotland, partly to procure a dignified and easy retirement for a very amiable man and agreeable companion,† who had long been on intimate terms with the

* See Alison's Essays, vol. ii. 635, "The old Scottish Parliament," where this extraordinary fact is fully demonstrated.

† William Adam, Esq. of Blair-Adam, who was made the head of the new court.

Prince-Regent, a bill was passed, introducing jury trial, without limitation, in all cases where oral evidence was required or might be anticipated, in Scotland, and establishing a court, specially with an English lawyer at its head, for the disposal of such cases. Great was the joy of the popular leaders in the northern part of the island at this change, which was an entire innovation; for though Scotland, from the earliest ages, had been familiar with jury trial in criminal cases, it had never been known or attempted in civil causes. Unbounded were the anticipations of the blessings to the country, and the training of its inhabitants to their social duties, which would result from the change. It in every respect received fair play. The judges on the bench gave it every possible encouragement; the ablest counsel at the bar, and they were many and powerful at that time, supported it by their energy, and adorned it by their talents; and a clause was introduced into a subsequent act, passed a few years after, authorising the transference by simple motion of all actions involving parole proof from inferior courts, when the demand of the plaintiff was above £40 sterling. Under these enactments, if the mode of trial had been suited to the people, nearly the whole legal business of the country should have been carried into the jury court.[1]

[1] 46 Geo. III., c. 117; and Judicature Act for Scotland.

20. Its entire failure.

Nevertheless it turned out quite the reverse; and the attempt to introduce jury trial in civil cases into Scotland remains a lasting and instructive proof of the impossibility of transplanting institutions from one country to another, without the greatest risk of entire failure, or ruinous disasters to the state into which they are introduced. Jury trial has been, and still is, a total failure in Scotland; and the opinion has become general among its most experienced practitioners, that it is one of the greatest curses that ever has been inflicted upon the country. The reason is, that it is totally at variance with the habits, institutions, and wishes of the people. Jury trial succeeds in

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England, because it is not the trial of the jury, but the trial of the judge; it has failed in Scotland, because it is not the trial of the judge, but the trial of the jury. Long habit, centuries of practice, have accustomed the English juries to follow the suggestions of the bench; and, except in a few cases which violently excite the public mind, those suggestions are very seldom disregarded. In Scotland, where the native turn of the people is opinionative and pugnacious, and the great object of ambition with all is to get their own way, the first principle with juries has too often been to assert their independence by disregarding the bench, and show their superiority to others by throwing overboard the witnesses. Thus chance and prejudice have come so often to sway their verdicts, that it has passed into a common saying that the issue of a jury trial is as subject to hazard as the game of *rouge-et-noir*, and that nothing is certain in it but delay and expense. The popular leaders have not courage to admit in public the entire failure of their favourite system of training the national mind; but their sense of its unsuitableness to Scotland has already been evinced by an Act of Parliament, giving litigants the means of escaping the much-dreaded ordeal;* and so strongly has the national feeling on the subject been declared, that after six-and-thirty years of training and bolstering up, the cases tried by jury in all Scotland have dwindled away to twenty or thirty in a year; and instead of the Court of Session being overwhelmed, as was expected, with hundreds of cases brought from the sheriff courts to obtain the blessings of jury trial, the sheriff courts are overwhelmed with as many thousand cases, brought before them to escape the certain expense and uncertain issue of that species of decision.†

* The Act 10 and 11 Victoria, introduced by Lord-Advocate Rutherfurd, one of the ablest and most accomplished of the Scotch Bar, whom the author is proud to call his early and steady friend.

† The cases brought into the sheriff court of Lanarkshire alone, on written pleadings, are now about 7500 annually; in the small-debt court, in the same

The uncertainty of jury trial, in cases which strongly excited the public mind, was strikingly evinced in England itself during this very year. Watson, the father of the culprit who had shot the gunsmith who defended his shop in the Spafield riot on December 2d, was tried for high treason at Westminster Hall, and acquitted by the verdict of a London jury. This decision is perhaps not to be regretted, as the acts with which they were charged, though amounting to sedition and riot of the most aggravated kind, could scarcely be held, in reason at least, whatever it might be in law, to amount to high treason, or a design to overturn the Government; and the indictment was brought for the heavier offence, mainly in consequence of the English law recognising at that period no medium between riot or sedition, which were misdemeanours punishable only by fine and imprisonment, and high treason, which was chastised by death. The wiser and more humane Scotch law recognised transportation as the appropriate punishment for aggravated cases of riot, and sedition bordering on treason—a punishment which has since, by special statute, been introduced into England and Ireland for such offences. But the same cannot be said of another memorable trial, which took place in the same year in the Court of King's Bench—of Mr Hone, for blasphemous libel. He was tried three times—once before Mr Justice Abbott, and twice before Chief-Justice Ellenborough—and on all these occasions exhibited a union of self-possession, readiness, and talent worthy of a better cause.[1] He was on all the three acquitted; on the two last chiefly, in consequence of the overbearing manner of the presiding judge, who unfortunately was as

Acquittal of Watson and Hone.

[1] State Trials, xxxii. 471, 495; Hughes, vi. 339, 340.

county, which decides, on oral pleadings, cases under £8, 6s. 8d., above 15,000. The county courts of England, which have become so popular, and risen to such importance in so short a time, have mainly succeeded by the suitors avoiding jury trial; and if their jurisdiction is extended, like that of the sheriffs in Scotland, to cases of debt and contract of any amount, it is easy to see they will drain away nearly all the business from Westminster Hall and the circuit assizes.

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remarkable for the haste of his temper as for the power of his intellect.

22. Reflections on this subject. Error at that period in the English law.

The contradictory nature of the verdicts obtained in three state trials in the same year, and in regard to crimes of substantially the same description, suggests considerations of the highest importance for the right government of mankind. Brandreth and twenty-three of his associates were sentenced to death at Derby for exactly the same crime for which Watson and his accomplices were acquitted in London. There can be no doubt that there was a great defect both in the law and institutions of the country, when at the same time, and on so momentous a crisis, the same criminals shared so different a fate. Nor is it difficult to see what this defect is. So far as the law is concerned, it consisted chiefly in the absurdity of the English law, which admitted no medium between high treason, punishable with death and its terrible penalties, and sedition, which could be coerced only by fine or imprisonment. It was to evade this difficulty that the astuteness of the English lawyers invented the doctrine of *constructive treason*, or the inference as to an intent to depose, kill, or levy war against the sovereign, from acts of a seditious tendency. But although this doctrine is firmly established in the decisions and *dicta* of the English judges, it has often been resisted by the common sense and just feelings of the English juries, and always combated by all the eloquence and ability of the English bar. It is next to impossible to persuade a jury that the leaders of a mob, which engages in the most outrageous acts of pillage, violence, and depredation, have a design to dethrone or assassinate the sovereign. To get drunk or fill their pockets is probably their ultimatum. It was this which led to Watson's acquittal, as it had done to the escape of Hardy, Thelwall, Horne Tooke, and many of the most dangerous state criminals recorded in English history. Indicted for sedition and riot, they could not by possi-

bility have escaped; and if transported, they would have suffered a punishment suitable, and not excessive, for their crimes. In prosecution, the wisest course always is to select the minor offence, unless the major has, beyond all doubt, been incurred; in legislation, to affix no punishment to crimes but such as the general feelings of the country will permit to be carried rigorously into execution.

23. Good effects of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

The salutary effect of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in this year, and the deathblow which it gave, in a short time, to the machinations and efforts of the disaffected, suggests the defect in our institutions to which this distressing uncertainty in the conviction of state crimes is to be ascribed. This is in the idea, so plausible, and unhappily so prevalent, that their prosecution should be left to the unaided efforts of the common law. It no doubt sounds well to say that Government seeks for no extraordinary powers, and combats sedition and treason with no other weapons but those of the common and statute law; and loud cheers seldom fail to follow such an announcement in the House of Commons. Nevertheless, it is founded on an entire fallacy; and perhaps nothing has contributed so much to perpetuate disorder, distrust, and consequent misery, both in Great Britain and Ireland, as this miserable delusion. Extraordinary cases require extraordinary remedies; it is in vain to attempt to combat them with ordinary ones. Jury trial, and the trial by that means of subordinate criminals, does very well in common crimes, or passing local disorders; but it is wholly unsuitable to those more serious exigencies, when a large party in the state is banded for some common political purpose which is to be brought about by violence and intimidation. To leave everything to the ordinary remedies of the law, in such cases, is to leave it to be worked by men liable to be influenced by prejudice or intimidation. It is, in effect, little else but proclaiming impunity to crimes even of the deepest dye;

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or wreaking the vengeance of the law upon miserable and deluded followers, while the selfish and guilty leaders, whom it is as impossible to reach by the verdict of a jury as it is easy to reach by an act of the executive, remain wholly untouched. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which enables Government to apprehend such leaders upon grounds perfectly sufficient to justify their detention, though their weight would not be admitted by a jury in excited times, is the appropriate remedy. The true object of such apprehension should be, not to imprison the persons seized, but to send them out of the country, under pain of transportation if they returned before the expiration of a limited time. The ostracism of Athens, the banishment of Rome, were wise and humane institutions, had they not been often abused by a tyrant majority; and he has little reason to complain who is intercepted in his projects of revolutionising his country, and sent, till quieter times return, to ruminate on social change on the banks of the Leman Lake, or dream of human perfectibility among the crowds of Paris.

24. Motion of Mr Brougham regarding the trade and manufactures of the country.

Although the parliamentary season of 1817 was not distinguished by debates of the same surpassing magnitude and importance as that of the preceding year, yet there were one or two things deserving of notice, as indicating the silent march of thought, and consequently of future events, which characterised it. The first of these was a motion by Mr Brougham on the state of the trade and manufactures of the nation, the scope and aim of which will at once appear from the resolutions which he moved, and which were negatived by a majority of 55, the numbers being 118 to 63.* These resolutions, being by

* "1. That the trade and manufactures of the country are reduced to a state of such unexampled difficulty as demands the serious attention of this House. 2. That those difficulties are materially increased by the policy pursued with respect to our foreign commerce, and that a revision of this system ought forthwith to be undertaken by the House. 3. That the continuance of those difficulties is materially increased by the severe pressure of taxation under which

inference condemnatory of the neglect alleged to have been evinced by ministers, in not securing for the country those commercial advantages which might have been obtained by treaty with foreign nations at the conclusion of the war, were in the main of a party character, and therefore of passing interest. But there were some remarks which fell from the able and inquisitive mind of the mover which were of lasting importance, and, like the first streaks of light in the eastern horizon, betokened the complexion of the day which was beginning to dawn. "The period," said he, "is now arrived when, the war being closed, and prodigious changes having taken place through the world, it becomes absolutely necessary to enter on a careful but fearless revision of our whole commercial system, that we may be enabled safely, yet promptly, to eradicate those faults which the lapse of time has occasioned or displayed; to retrace our steps where we shall find that they have deviated from the line of true policy; to adjust and accommodate our laws to the alteration of circumstances; to abandon many prejudices, alike antiquated and senseless, unsuited to the advanced age in which we live, and unworthy of the sound judgment which distinguishes the nation. In the Navigation Laws, in particular, some change is loudly called for. Whatever may have been the good policy of that law when it was first introduced, I am quite clear that we have adhered to it for a century after the circumstances which alone justified its adoption have ceased to exist."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxv. 1048, 1055.

If these ideas of Mr Brougham were descriptive of the germ of the doctrines, the fruit of Adam Smith's philosophy, which afterwards so widely expanded, and occa-

the country labours, and which ought by every practicable means to be lightened. 4. That the system of foreign policy pursued by his Majesty's ministers has not been such as to obtain for the people of this country those commercial advantages which the influence of Great Britain in foreign courts fairly entitled them to expect."—Mr BROUGHAM'S *Resolutions*, March 13, 1817. *Parl. Debates*, xxxv. 1044.

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sioned so entire a revolution in the commercial policy of England, other acts of the legislature, at the same time, indicated the setting in of an under-current, destined to bring nothing but unmixed good to society. Almost unnoticed, amid other parliamentary business which at the time excited much more attention, a bill passed both Houses this year establishing SAVINGS' BANKS—institutions which have since spread so widely, and prospered so immensely in all parts of the island, and which, by encouraging habits of prudence, frugality, and self-control among the working classes, and fostering the generous affections in preference to the selfish passions, have gone far to elevate the character of the most deserving of the poor, and to counteract the many causes of debasement which since that time have spread such ruin amongst them. In the same session, the increasing humanity of the general mind was evinced by strong statements in the House of Commons regarding military flogging, the barbarity of which was daily attracting more attention, so as to foreshadow its abolition at no distant period; and a bill brought in by General Thornton, for abolishing the degrading punishment of the lash in the case of females, received the unanimous assent of the same House.[1]

25. Establishment of savings' banks, and diminished severity of punishment in criminal cases. May 23.

1 Parl. Deb. xxxvi. 294, 833, 932.

The respective balance of parties in the House of Commons was materially affected this year by the return to the parliamentary arena of the most eloquent man on one side, and the death of two, not the least eminent, on the other. Mr Canning—who, ever since his rupture with Lord Castlereagh in 1810, had been out of office, and since 1814 in a sort of honourable banishment as ambassador at Lisbon—returned to England on the invitation of the Prince-Regent, and accepted the office of President of the Board of Control, vacant by the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. His name will occupy hereafter a prominent place; his deeds and speeches strongly arrest

26. Return of Mr Canning from Lisbon, and death of Mr Ponsonby and Mr Horner.

the attention in the course of this history. In June 1816, Mr Ponsonby, who had long discharged with zeal, ability, and straightforward honour, the arduous duties of leader of the Opposition, died; and his lamented loss was shortly succeeded by that of Mr Horner, a much younger, but more rising and promising man, who expired at Pisa, whither he had gone on account of a pulmonary complaint, on 8th February 1817.[1]

[1] Canning's Life—Works, i. 105; Horner's Life, ii. 412.

27. Mr Horner's life and character.

Mr HORNER was born in 1778, passed the bar in Edinburgh in 1800, was called to the English bar in 1807, and entered the House of Commons in 1806. The son of a respectable linendraper in Edinburgh, he owed his elevation in no degree to aristocratic or parliamentary influences, so powerful at that period in procuring advancement for others into situations for which they were not fitted by nature. Like Mr Canning, Sir S. Romilly, Lord Eldon, and many of the greatest men whom the country can boast, he was the architect of his own fortune, and entered on his public career from no other influence but that arising from his known and acknowledged abilities. His first seat was for a Treasury borough, (St Ives,) for which, by the influence of Lord Kinnaird and the Whig Government then in power, he was elected in June 1806; so that, like all the other great men of the day, he owed his entry into public life to the nomination boroughs. So great were his abilities, and so high the respect entertained for his character, that, had he lived, he would beyond all doubt have been the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the Whigs came into power in November 1830, and possibly risen to still higher situations during the long continuance of that party in office for the next twenty years.[2]

[2] Horner's Life, i. 379.

He was the most intellectual and profound of that remarkable school of eminent men who were educated and entered life together at that period in Edinburgh. Less eloquent and discursive than Brougham, less aerial

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His character as an orator and political philosopher.

and elegant than Jeffrey, he was a much deeper thinker than either, and brought more systematically the powers of a clear understanding and logical reasoning to bear upon a limited number of subjects, to which he directed his attention. These he mastered with consummate ability. Many of his papers on the corn-laws and the currency in the *Edinburgh Review*, as well as his speeches in Parliament on the same subjects, are models of clear and accurate reasoning. Yet must history confess with regret that he stopped short in the admirable career on which he had entered, and bequeathed to posterity a host of errors when he was on the very verge of the most important truths. He was on the edge of important discoveries in the most abstruse branch of political science, to which he had been led by the native vigour of his understanding and the clearness of his perception, when he was turned aside and rivetted in error by the influence of party. He was the main author of the Bullion Report of 1810, and he bequeathed the adoption of its principles to the nation by the bill of 1819, restoring cash payments. What those effects were will abundantly appear in the sequel, and need not be here anticipated. It is sufficient to observe, as a curious proof of the warping even of the strongest intellects by the chain of party,* that while he clearly saw and has ably illustrated the obvious truths — that the great rise of prices during the war was owing to the copious issue of paper currency, and that the greatest danger to be apprehended on the return of peace was the impossibility of discharging the debts, public and private, contracted during a plentiful circulating medium, with the resources of a contracted one—he could discern no other mode of avert-

* He seriously complained to Mr Jeffrey, then its editor, that the *Edinburgh Review* was too independent, *and not sufficiently Whiggish*—a charge which has never before or since, it is believed, been brought against that celebrated journal.—COCKBURN'S *Life of Jeffrey*, i. 478.

ing these dangers but by instantly rushing into the contracted currency; and that while he was well aware that variations in the amount of the circulating medium are the greatest calamity which can befall a mercantile nation, the only way in which he deemed it practicable to avert them was to base it entirely on gold, the most eagerly desired, easily transported, and therefore evanescent of earthly things.

29. Death of the Princess Charlotte. Nov. 6.

The close of this year was marked by a most melancholy event, which, more than any other in the recollection of man, wrung with anguish the heart of the whole nation. This was the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, who expired, after severe and protracted suffering, on the 6th November. This charming princess, whose beauty, high spirit, and amiable manners had endeared her to the whole people, had lived in domestic felicity, known only by never-failing deeds of kindness, since her marriage in May of the preceding year. She was understood to be in the way of giving an heir to the monarchy; and as the direct line of succession depended on the success of her accouchement, the attention of the nation was turned with the most intense anxiety to the coming event from which so much was hoped. It came at last, but the angel of death at the same time entered the bridal chamber. So long and severe were the sufferings of the princess, during a protracted labour of forty-eight hours, that it became necessary to sacrifice the infant—an uncommonly fine and healthy prince—to her preservation; and the painful sacrifice was made in vain. Such was the exhaustion of the royal mother, after the delivery was over, that she sank rapidly, and expired a few hours after. So great was his despair at this calamitous event, that the principal medical attendant of her Royal Highness, in a fit of insanity or despair, committed suicide a short time afterwards.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1817; Chronicle, 109; Hughes, vi. 346.

No words can paint the universal consternation and

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Universal grief of the nation at this event.

grief which seized the entire nation on this calamitous event, which buried an illustrious princess, the sole daughter of England, and a royal posterity in a single tomb. Nothing comparable to it had been seen in the country since the head of Charles I. fell upon the scaffold. Then was seen how universal and deep-seated is the loyalty of the British heart, and how strong and indelible the chords which bind the people to their sovereign. Every house, from the ducal palace to the peasant's cottage, was filled with mourning; tears were seen in every eye; the bereavement was felt by all with the intensity of domestic affliction. Business was generally suspended; scarce a word was spoken even by the most intimate friends when they met in the streets—they pressed hands and went on in silence. The hum of men ceased; no sound was heard but the mournful clang of the church-bells, which from morn till night gave forth their melancholy peal; minute-guns were fired from all the batteries and ships—

"The flag was hoisted half-mast high,
A mournful signal on the main,
Seen only when the illustrious die,
Or are in glorious battle slain."

A royal proclamation ordered a general mourning. The injunction was unnecessary; every human being above the rank of a pauper spontaneously assumed the garb of woe. On the 18th November, when the funeral at Windsor took place with great solemnity, every church and chapel in the United Kingdom was opened and filled with mourning multitudes, whose grief could find no other alleviation but in its united expression. Those who consider loyalty as a merely instinctive feeling, which wears out and becomes extinct in the progress of society, with the enlightenment of the general mind and the popularising of institutions, would do well to contemplate this memorable event, and to search the annals of the world for a parallel to the grief which then wrung the British heart

among rude and uneducated nations, the most remarkable for attachment to the throne. CHAP. IV.

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The social condition of the country and its general prosperity were much improved in the year 1818. The change had begun in the middle of the preceding year, and arose chiefly from prices of agricultural produce having so much risen, and the home market for our manufactures having in consequence so much improved from the increased ability of the rural population to purchase them. The Funds, that sure test of public prosperity, rose 30 per cent; in 1817 the Three per Cents ascended from 62, in January 1817, to 83 in December of the same year. The bankruptcies in England, which in February 1816 were 209, were reduced in September to 61; the total was 1575 in the year, being a decrease of 454 from the preceding year, when they had been 2029.[1] These unmistakable symptoms of general amelioration continued throughout 1818. The Funds maintained the level they had reached on the close of the preceding year; and the bankruptcies were 519 less: they sank to 1056, being only half of what they had been in the year 1816.[2] The revenue, without the imposition of any new taxes, rose above £1,700,000; and the money applied to the reduction of debt, which in 1817 had been £14,514,000, rose in 1818 to £15,339,000, being somewhat above the loans of the year.* Wheat, on an average of the year, sold at 98s.—a high price indeed, but a considerable reduction from the preceding year, when it had been 116s.; and such was the affluence of the Bank of England, and the general confidence reposed in that establishment, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the last discussion on the subject in 1817, boasted, not without reason, that the bank had begun voluntarily to resume payments in cash;[3] that nothing

31. Improved condition of the country in the end of 1817 and spring of 1818.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1817, 238, 239; App. to Chron.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1818, 365; App. to Chron.

[3] Parl. Deb. xxxvii. 115; Hughes, vi. 337.

* Net revenue of Great Britain in 1817, . . . £52,055,913
... ... in 1818, . . . 53,747,795
—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables.*

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would prevent the restriction of cash payments from expiring in July 1818; and that even in foreign countries the notes of the bank were taken in preference to cash.

32. Cause of this increased prosperity.

The cause of this great improvement in the affairs of the country, and, of consequence, of the Government, was the continued suspension of cash payments to the 5th July 1818, according to the act of 1817, already noticed.[1] As the dreadful crash and distress of 1816 had arisen from the sudden and prodigious contraction of the country bankers' issues, which took place from the prospect of immediately being obliged to pay their notes in cash—which at once reduced their circulation from £22,700,000 in 1814 to £15,894,000 in 1816—so the postponement of cash payments by the bill of 1816 had a directly opposite effect. The circulation both of the Bank of England and the country banks increased rapidly with the period during which cash payments were postponed, and in 1818 it had become above £6,000,000 more than it had been in 1816.* The necessary effect of this increase in the circulation was a restoration of confidence, a general rise of prices, augmented undertakings by capitalists, and improved comfort among the labouring classes. The greater activity thus communicated to trade appeared in the increase of the exports, which rose in 1818 to £45,180,000 declared value, from £40,180,000 in the preceding year; but the vast addition made to the wellbeing of all classes was evinced still more clearly

[1] *Ante*, c. ii. § 45.

* Years.	Bank of England notes.	Country Banks.	Total.
1814	£24,801,080	£22,700,000	£47,501,080
1815	27,261,650	19,011,000	46,272,650
1816	27,013,620	15,096,000	42,109,620
1817	27,397,900	15,894,000	43,291,900
1818	27,771,070	20,507,000	48,278,070

—ALISON'S *Europe*, chap. xcvi. Appendix.

by the great increase of the imports, which advanced from £27,000,000 in 1816 to £36,000,000 in 1818.*

So confident were the directors of the Bank of England in the continuance of these favourable circumstances, and of their ability to continue cash payments, that in January 1817 they issued a notice that they were prepared to make payments in cash of outstanding notes of a certain description, amounting to about £1,000,000 sterling. Gold was so plentiful that it had fallen to £3, 18s. 6d. an ounce, and very little of the cash at that rate was taken up. The success of this experiment induced the directors to issue a notice, in October 1817, that they would pay cash for notes of every description issued prior to the 1st January of that year. But the result of this experiment was very different, and gave a premonitory warning of what might be expected to ensue if the suspension of cash payments was permanently closed. The deficient harvest of the preceding year had caused a considerable importation of grain, amounting to above 1,500,000 quarters of wheat alone—a quantity unexampled in those days; and to meet the bills drawn for payment of their price, and also supply the wants of the numerous English who were flocking to the Continent in search of health, amusement, or economy, and pay up a French loan of £5,000,000, a very great drain for gold set in upon the bank, and the sum paid in cash for these notes before the end of the year amounted to £2,600,000.[1] This alarming drain, and the total disappearance from the country of the coin thus withdrawn from the coffers of the bank, at length convinced Ministers of the impolicy

33. Steps of the Bank towards cash payments.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1818, 68; Parl. Deb. xxxviii. 1230, 1233.

* Years.	Exports, official value, British, Irish, and Colonial.	Imports, declared value.
1816	£49,197,850	£27,431,604
1817	50,404,111	30,834,299
1818	53,560,338	36,889,182

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, third edition, 356.

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of enforcing the return to cash payments on 5th July 1818, as it then stood regulated by law, and led to important debates in both houses of Parliament, which threw increasing light on that all-important subject.

34. Argument for the resumption of cash payments by the Opposition. May 1, 1818.

On the part of Opposition it was urged by Mr Tierney, Lord Althorpe, and Sir H. Parnell: "We have now, at the close of the war, in round numbers, £800,000,000 of funded, and £40,000,000 of unfunded debt—rather an appalling prospect, against which it is futile to set off our Sinking Fund of £14,000,000, since, although we keep up that fund, it is done only by borrowing money annually, in Exchequer bills or otherwise, to nearly an equal amount. The advantageous terms on which it appears a loan could now be negotiated, proves indeed the present prosperity of the country. But is there any man in his senses who would maintain that this prosperity should be based on a circulation not convertible into specie? On all sides it would be heard, God forbid! The suspension of cash payments was never defended but as a measure of necessity, justified by an unprecedented combination of circumstances. How, then, has it happened that, in the third year of peace, the same measure is necessary, which was only justified by the extraordinary pressure of a most extraordinary war? Why is the pledge given as to the return to cash payments in July 1818 not to be redeemed? It may be true that British capitalists, from a superabundance of money, have engaged largely in foreign loans, and that seventy-nine thousand travellers were gratifying their desires by going abroad; but are such trivial circumstances to be gravely stated as grounds for an entire subversion of our monetary system? The suspension of Mr Pitt in 1797 was expressly rested on the most overpowering necessity—a general run upon the bank, which brought it to the brink of ruin—a universal panic and hoarding in the country, and vast loans in specie to foreign countries. Can there be a more complete contrast than this state of matters affords, to the present

time, when we are at profound peace with all the world, when there were no foreign subsidies, no threat of invasion, but increasing and apparently lasting prosperity?

35. Continued.

"Did not the House of Commons, two years ago, when there really was a panic and great distress in the country, even then enter into a solemn pledge that cash payments were to be resumed in next July? And have we not been told that such is the confidence in the bank, and the public confidence in its solidity, that cash payments to a certain extent have voluntarily been resumed on the part of that establishment? Is it expedient, is it decorous, under such prosperous circumstances, to violate a pledge given in such adverse ones? The bank directors profess their willingness to resume cash payments, and have evinced the sincerity of their declarations by their voluntary acts; where, then, is the necessity for violating the faith of Parliament? Is the House satisfied that all that has been advanced by the Bullion Committee should be set aside? Is there any one who doubts that an excessive issue of paper must have an effect on the price of gold? The market price of gold is at present four shillings an ounce above the Mint price; is not that difference to be ascribed rather to the excess of paper in circulation, than the foreign loans now in course of payment? Supposing the loan to France is £10,000,000, and the money required by travellers and foreign indemnities £20,000,000 more, still a large part of this sum would be sent out in goods, and a still larger in advances by foreign capitalists. But even supposing the whole were sent out in gold—would that occasion a run upon the bank? Would it not soon improve the exchanges, and, by rendering gold dear in this country, quickly bring it back, and furnish the bank with the means of replenishing its coffers? On every ground, then, there is an urgent necessity for an inquiry into the circumstances of the bank; for if it can resume cash payments, it should be constrained immediately to do so; if it cannot, the public should be

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informed to what cause the inability is owing, and what prospect there is of cash payments *ever* being resumed.

36. Continued.

"There are some persons in this country who anticipate all sorts of horrors from the resumption of cash payments—that nobody would receive rents, the funds be reduced to zero, and a general bankruptcy ensue. There is every reason to believe that these apprehensions are either altogether unfounded, or greatly exaggerated. If cautiously gone about, it would be attended with little or no disadvantage. But even if the evils represented were in a great degree well founded, would they not be preferable to the state of uncertainty in which mercantile speculations of all sorts are kept, by the uncertainty which exists as to the resumption of cash payments? It would be better to declare at once that the bank is never to resume payments in specie, than to go on every year postponing the return from year to year, and, in consequence, alternately fostering speculation by an excessive issue of paper, and ruining the speculators by its sudden contraction. The only criterion by which it can be known whether or not an issue of paper has become excessive, is its convertibility into cash. When the obligation to pay every note issued in specie is taken away, this criterion is entirely lost; there is no longer any restriction on the amount of issues; and the enormous profits accruing from them to the bank will soon render them excessive.

37. Concluded.

"Recent events have too clearly illustrated the reality of this danger. In 1816, the average circulation of the Bank of England was £26,500,000; in 1817 it was £28,200,000—so that there was an increase in that species of paper alone of two millions, although the resources and loans of 1816 were £82,000,000, and in 1817 only £69,000,000. The average circulation of country banks before 1816 was £21,000,000; it was reduced by fully a third during that year, but it had been increased by the same amount in 1817;—so that, between

the Bank of England and the country banks, there had been an increase in the circulation in one year of no less than £9,000,000! Was there any intelligible cause, any plausible excuse even, for such an excessive issue—the result evidently of the postponement of the obligation to pay in specie? Was there any man of common honesty who could deny, in these circumstances, that inquiry is necessary? What has become of all this money? Could it have any other effect but raising the price of everything? Is not the great rise which has taken place in the Funds in the last year entirely to be ascribed to that circumstance? And what limit can be assigned to future danger, when in so short a time, and under circumstances so little justifying it, so excessive an over-issue has taken place?"[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxviii. 435, 454.

38. Answer by the Ministers.

On the other hand, it was answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Huskisson, and Mr Thornton—"The grounds on which the appointment of a committee to inquire into the affairs of the bank are rested, are entirely fallacious. The internal state of the country had never been so distressed as it was in 1816, and it had never revived so rapidly as it did in the last half of 1817, and first months of 1818. The issues of country banks had increased by at least £6,000,000 during that period; but why had they increased? Simply because the great impulse communicated to the agriculture, trade, and manufactures of the country, during that period, called for an enlargement of the issue to carry it on. The difference between the market and the mint price of gold was erroneously considered as a test of the superabundance of paper in the home market; but it in reality arose from a very different cause—the gold which was sent out of the country to pay up foreign loans, and meet the wants of British travellers. The experience of late years decisively proved that the doctrine of the Bullion Committee in 1810, that the difference between the market and the mint price of gold was owing to an

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over-issue of paper, and was measured by its amount, was decisively disproved by the facts which had since occurred. In 1814 the bank issues were £23,600,000, and the market price of gold was £5, 10s. per ounce; in 1815 the bank paper was £26,300 000, and the price of gold had fallen to £4, 6s. 6d. per ounce;—proving that the price of gold was owing to the enhanced demand for it on the Continent to meet the exigencies of foreign war, and not to any excess in the domestic circulation.

39. Continued.

"The immense loans which the French Government has been obliged to contract in the present year, amounting to no less than £30,000,000 sterling, most of which would be negotiated in England, necessarily occasioned a very great drain of gold from this country, for which it behoved the directors of the bank to make provision. Add to this a loan of £5,000,000, actually negotiating at this moment in London. These loans were eight times the amount of the Austrian loans, in 1796, of £4,500,000, which the directors at that period, by a solemn resolution laid before Mr Pitt, declared would, if repeated, prove fatal to the bank. It is true, the postponement of cash payments for a year is a deviation from what was formerly proposed and intended; but if circumstances change, must not the corresponding measures change also? The sudden disappearance of gold, to the amount of £2,500,000 in October last, not only from the coffers of the bank, but from the circulation of the country, should be a warning of the danger of recurring to cash payments when extensive remittances of gold required to be made to foreign countries, either for commercial transactions or foreign loans. No doubt, by an unlimited issue of gold from the bank, provided they could get it to issue, it might be possible to turn the present adverse exchanges in favour of this country. But where was the bank to find gold adequate to counterbalance the greater part of a loan

of £30,000,000, all payable in specie, which was to go from this country?

"The proper time for resuming cash payments is when the exchanges are at or above par. The great danger of a paper circulation is its tendency to increase itself, from the profit with which such increase is attended to the issuers; and if the bank had been prepared with gold, it would have been desirable to have returned to cash payments last year; but this year the thing was impossible. The exchanges, from the large importations of foreign grain, and the immense foreign loans negotiated in this country, were so much against us, that to do so at this time was out of the question. The loans were, for the most part, remitted to the Continent in bills of exchange; and it is no doubt true that a considerable part of such bills may be paid in goods manufactured in this country. But they cannot *all* be so paid, especially when loans to a very large amount have to be remitted; because the foreign recipients of the loans cannot take an unlimited quantity of goods; they can take only so much as their inhabitants are willing to purchase and able to pay for. The balance, which is often very large, must all be paid in money; and the fact of the exchanges being now so much against us, proves that the foreign markets are already overstocked with our manufactures, and that the only thing they will take is our gold, for which there is a never-failing demand."[1] * Upon this debate the House

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxviii. 435, 498.

* On this occasion Mr Huskisson used these expressions, which subsequent events have rendered prophetic: "The facility enjoyed by Great Britain of extending her paper circulation has had the like effect that had been found to arise from the discovery of the mines of America; for, by *increasing the circulating medium over the world to the extent of forty millions*, it proportionally facilitated the means of barter, and gave a stimulus to industry. In proportion, however, as the bank found it necessary to purchase gold on the Continent to meet its engagements with the public here, the circulating medium of the Continent was diminished; and, as the Continental States did not enjoy the credit possessed by this country, and were thereby debarred from increasing their paper circulation, the result was discernible in the great confusion and deterioration of property that had taken place on the Continent during the last two years. Indeed, he had no hesitation in saying that *much of the distress*

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of Commons supported Ministers by a majority of 65—the numbers being 164 to 99. The Committee moved for by Mr Tierney was refused, and the suspension of cash payments was continued till 5th July 1819.

41. Bill of Indemnity for persons seized under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

This, like everything relating to the currency, and, in consequence, general credit and prosperity of the country, was by far the most important measure of this session of Parliament. But others deserving of mention also took place. Under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act a great number of persons had been arrested under warrants from the Home Office in the preceding year; and one of the earliest measures of the Government in the session of 1818 was to move for a committee to report, with a view to a bill of indemnity to Ministers for their proceedings in regard to the persons who had been imprisoned without being brought to trial. In the debates which ensued on this subject, the most vehement attacks were made on Ministers, on the ground of their having been, in fact, the authors of the conspiracy in the preceding year, by the employment of spies to excite it. Lord Sidmouth, in reply, rested on the information transmitted to Government by the highest magistrates and functionaries in the kingdom; in particular, Earl Fitzwilliam, the

that had prevailed upon the Continent was fairly attributable to the purchase of bullion by the Bank of England. The increase of the circulating medium of this country has given a great stimulus to its arts and industry: it was only to be lamented that, while the general appearance of the country had so much improved, the comforts and rewards of the labourers had been much reduced. The population of the country had increased in proportion to the rapidity with which the circulating medium had advanced; but though there was an increased demand for labour, its wages, measured by the existing price of grain, were diminished. But the general improvement of the country, under the extended currency, is proved by facts beyond all dispute. From 1654 to 1758 there had not been one bill of enclosure—and this country imported corn;—from 1754 to 1796, during which there had been a rapid increase of the circulating medium by imports from the mines of America, bills of enclosure to the number of 3500 had been passed, and this country had become an exporting country. *It is idle to talk of the resumption of cash payments producing any serious convulsion;* at the same time, nothing has tended more to create alarm than the clamour raised on the subject of the resumption of cash payments by the bank. It was notorious that in Scotland, even previous to the restriction upon cash payments at the Bank of England, the principal currency was in paper, and that there was very

Whig lord-lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, as to the disturbances being the result of a settled conspiracy to overturn the Government, and the impossibility of obtaining the requisite information to trace it out without the employment of agents who might get into the confidence of the disaffected. After very warm debates, the bill of indemnity passed both Houses by large majorities—that in the Commons being 82 to 23—in the Lords, 93 to 27; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was allowed to expire on the 1st March; and Lord Sidmouth communicated the gratifying information that any further continuance of it was no longer required, and that only two persons who had been apprehended under it remained still in custody.* The conduct of Lord Sidmouth during this trying time was the subject of vehement party condemnation at the time it was going on; but, like all other conduct which is at once judicious, necessary, and intrepid, it obtained in the end the applause even of its most impassioned opponents; and his biographer may well pride himself on the testimony borne to it, twenty-five years after, by one of the most determined of his parliamentary antagonists.[1] †

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxvii. 338, 395; Sidmouth's Life, iii. 213, 215, 217, 221, 223.

The troops voted for the army in 1818 were 113,640

little gold currency in that country. Such, indeed, was the happy system of the chartered banks in Scotland, that, even in the years 1793 and 1796, when the pressure was felt as so distressing in England, *no inconvenience was felt in that country from want of a metallic currency.* Nevertheless, he felt that it was the duty of the bank to resume cash payments as soon as possible; and he was convinced that, by a gradual, temperate, and cautious conduct, the resumption might take place *without risking any material alteration in the affairs of the country.*"—Mr HUSKISSON'S Speech, May 1, 1818; *Parl. Deb.*, xxxviii. 490, 491. It is hard to find a speech in which more valuable and decisive facts are adduced on one side, or more erroneous opinions, notwithstanding, adhered to on the other, than in this very remarkable oration.

* "I cannot conclude without calling to your recollection that all this tumultuous assembling, rioting, and so forth, is *not* the consequence of distress, want of employment, scarcity, or dearness of provisions, but is the offspring of a revolutionary spirit; and nothing short of a complete change in the established institutions of the country is in the contemplation of their leaders and agitators."—Earl FITZWILLIAM to Lord SIDMOUTH, 17th Dec. 1817; *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 214.

† "As I have been correcting the press of the third volume of *our* dear

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42. Military and naval forces voted, and revenue.

men, including those in France, being a reduction of 22,000 from those voted in the preceding year; and 20,000, including 6000 marines, only were proposed for the navy. The great reduction of these numbers, compared with the establishment which had been kept up at the conclusion of the war, which was 150,000 soldiers and 39,000 sailors, showed how much the resources of Government had been hampered by the distresses of the country, and how much the abolition of the income-tax—as Lord Castlereagh had predicted it would—disabled the country from maintaining the establishment called for by its multifarious and widespread dependencies. The average number of notes of the Bank of England, from January to June 1817, had been £27,339,000; but from July to December it rose to £29,210,000, and continued above £28,000,000 through 1818. This considerable increase in the circulating medium was attended by a corresponding rise in the revenue, and increase in the prosperity of the kingdom. The entire income of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for 1818 was £68,294,568, of which £10,850,000 was loans or advances on Exchequer bills, leaving £57,444,568 for the net revenue from taxation—a great increase from the preceding year, when it had been £55,783,000 only.[1] The cheering effect of this change appeared in a still more decisive manner in the state of the Sinking Fund, which now began to exceed the loan borrowed during the year, and so to afford a prospect of a real reduction

[1] *Ante*, c. iv. § 18.

friend Lord Wellesley's memoirs, in the third volume of my 'Statesmen,' I thought your lordship would like to see the just, and most just, tribute which I have paid to your public conduct. I well know that nothing would have gratified more him who unceasingly ascribed so much of his success to your wise and generous support."—Lord BROUGHAM to Lord SIDMOUTH, Sept. 24, 1843; *Sidmouth's Memoirs*, iii. 222. The passage alluded to was in these words: "Lord Wellesley was only prevailed on to retain his position in India, at a most critical period of Indian history, by the earnest intercession of Mr Pitt's Government, who gave him, as Lord Sidmouth did, with his characteristic courage, sagacity, and firmness, their steady support. Lord Wellesley always gratefully acknowledged the merits and services of Lord Sidmouth, to whom, through life, he had been much attached."—*Statesmen of the Time of George III.*, iii. 309.

of the debt. The surplus of the Consolidated Fund this year was no less than £15,038,000, and the loans contracted £10,850,000, leaving a balance of £4,188,000 really paid off. In addition to this, £27,000,000 of Exchequer bills were funded this year, the money for which was borrowed at the very moderate rate of £4 per cent. In the course of his statement on the Budget, the Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned that such had been the progress of the Sinking Fund, that since 1st November 1815, and 1st June 1818, it had paid off £50,000,000 of stock, and was now above £15,000,000 a-year. The entire sum paid off by the Sinking Fund, since its commencement by Mr Pitt in 1786, was £347,119,000—a fact speaking volumes as to the wisdom of his finance system, and the wonders which it would have effected towards the extinction of the debt had it been adhered to by his successors.[1]

[1] Finance Accounts; Parl. Deb. xl. 32, 39, App., and xxxiv. 212, 226.

43. Expenditure, and increase of exports, imports, and shipping, in 1817 and 1818.

The expenditure of 1818, as ascertained by the accounts laid before Parliament in 1819, amounted to £68,821,000, of which no less than £44,800,000 was for the interest of the debt and Sinking Fund. This was a trifling reduction since the preceding year, when the expenditure had been £68,875,000.* The accounts of exports, imports, and shipping exhibited a steady and gratifying increase since the year of woeful depression, 1816, which will best appear by comparing the returns

* The items were as follow:—

Interest of debt and Sinking Fund,	£46,849,153
Civil List, &c.,	2,376,079
Civil Government of Scotland,	129,627
Other payments out of Consolidated Fund,	483,471
Navy,	6,521,714
Ordnance,	1,407,807
Army,	8,517,044
Foreign Loans,	206
Local Issues,	60,078
Miscellaneous,	2,620,891
	£68,966,070
Deduct loan to East India Company,	144,636
Total,	£68,821,437

—*Ann. Reg.* 1819, 408—*Parl. Accounts.*

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for these different years together.* The increase of imports and shipping inwards, it is to be particularly observed, in three years, is more than twice as great as that of the total exports, home and colonial; for the shipping had advanced from 17 to 26, and the imports from 30 to 40, but the exports only from 51 to 56. As this took place at a time when industry in all its branches at home was adequately protected by fiscal duties, this affords decisive evidence that the internal consumption of the country had, during this period of an expanded currency, undergone even a greater increase than its manufactures for the export sale, and that agriculture and the staple branches of domestic industry had, in a great degree, recovered from the state of depression in which, from the ruinous effect of low prices, they were sunk in the first year after the war.

44. Grant of a million to build new churches.

Nothwithstanding the still labouring condition of the finances of the empire, in consequence of the loss of the income-tax, Ministers had the courage to propose, and the House of Commons the virtue to vote, a grant of £1,000,000 sterling towards the building of new churches, chiefly in the manufacturing districts. The necessity of this was very apparent; for, in many counties, hundreds of thousands of persons had, within the last quarter of a century, been suddenly huddled together, for whom the old parish accommodation, calculated for perhaps an hundredth part of their amount, was wholly inadequate.† The necessary result of this was, on the one hand, a vast

* Years ending 5th January.	Exports, official value. Home and Colonial, Great Britain.	Imports, official value. Home and Colonial, Great Britain.	Shipping inwards.
1817	£51,243,574	£30,105,566	1,795,138 tons.
1818	53,123,202	33,965,232	2,070,132 ...
1819	56,851,319	40,157,634	2,648,851 ...

—*Parl. Accounts, Ann. Reg.* 1819, 404, 407.

† It was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in proposing this grant, that the proportion of persons who could be accommodated in the existing

increase of dissent to meet the religious wants of such great and growing communities; and, on the other, a still greater increase of that profligate and sensual class, the parent of crime, which lived altogether without God in the world. The money was raised by Exchequer bills, and was aided, to the amount of above thirty per cent, by munificent subscriptions of private individuals; yet all fell lamentably short of the necessities of the case. There is no solid foundation for the objection that such grants, being for the promotion of a particular religion, should not come from the public funds, which are obtained by assessment from all sects. It is the duty of Government to provide for the religious instruction of the destitute poor, who cannot pay for it themselves, and the building of additional churches is the first step in the discharge of that duty.[1] The religious accommodation provided should always be in the established faith of the country, being the faith of the majority of the whole inhabitants, and which the nation has deemed the true one— just as the defenders of the country should be arrayed

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxvii. 1118; xxxviii. 426, 430, 462.

churches and chapels, to the existing population in the under-mentioned towns and districts, stood as follows:—

	Population in 1811.	Sittings in churches.	Deficiency.
London, ...	1,129,451	151,536	977,915
York diocese, . . .	720,091	139,163	720,091
Chester diocese, . .	1,286,702	228,696	1,040,006
Winchester diocese, .	325,209	59,503	265,706
Liverpool, ...	94,376	21,000	73,376
Manchester, ...	79,459	10,950	68,509
Marylebone, ...	75,624	8,700	66,924

—*Parl. Debates*, xxxvii. 1119, 1122.

See also a very interesting publication on church accommodation, by the Rev. M. Yates, replete with valuable information.

A parliamentary return in this year showed that there were in England and Wales—

Benefices, ... 10,421
Churches and chapels, . 11,743 } for a population above 10,000,000
Glebe houses fit for residence, ... 5417
Benefices under £100 a-year, ... 2274
Do. under £150 a-year, ... 3503

—HUGHES, vi. 362, and *Parl. Rep.*, No. 79, 1818.

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under the national banners, and in the national uniform, whatever their private opinions may be. For those who do not approve of it, and prefer the luxury of dissent, every possible facility, in the way of private establishment, should be given; but the state can, with propriety, from the public funds, support only its own spiritual militia.

45. Treaty with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade. Sept. 23, 1817.

Another benevolent and most praiseworthy attempt was made in this session of parliament, which unfortunately was not attended with the same beneficial results. This was a treaty with Spain, concluded on 23d September 1817, for putting an end to the slave trade, which gave rise, in the next session, to interesting debates in both houses of Parliament. By this treaty, in consideration of the sum of £400,000 to be paid by Great Britain, on the 20th February 1818, as an indemnity to the persons engaged in that traffic, the court of Madrid engaged, from and after the 30th May 1820, that the slave trade should be absolutely abolished; and that, from that date, "it shall not be lawful for any of the subjects of the crown of Spain to purchase slaves, or to carry on the slave trade on *any part of the coast of Africa*, upon any pretext, or in any manner whatever." It was declared unlawful, from the *date of the treaty*, for Spanish ships to carry on the slave trade on any part of the coast of Africa to the north of the equator; and a reciprocal right of search on the part of ships of war of both countries was expressly provided for. A similar treaty for the entire suppression of the slave trade was concluded with the King of the Netherlands;[1] and tribunals, composed of judges from both countries, were appointed to adjudicate upon the seized vessels; and a bill passed, establishing similar mixed tribunals for vessels seized belonging to Portugal, which had already consented to the abolition. It will appear in the sequel how these treaties, conceived in a noble spirit, were evaded, and how long, and with what cruelty, the slave trade was afterwards carried on by the merchants of

[1] May 11, 1818.

every part of the Spanish peninsula. But it must ever be considered a glorious circumstance in the history of Great Britain that she took the lead in this great deliverance; that she set the example by first abolishing the odious traffic in her own dominions; that she contributed a large sum when embarrassed in finance, and overburdened with debt, to purchase its abolition in foreign states; and that, if it still continued to be carried on under their flags, it was in opposition to her example, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts on her part to prevent it.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxvii. 67, and xxxviii. 996, 1039.

46. Alien Bill, and Mr Brougham's committee concerning charities.

The Alien Bill—which gives Government the power to apprehend and send out of the country foreigners residing in it, who may be engaged in machinations to disturb the public tranquillity in this or the adjoining states—was, notwithstanding the most violent resistance on the part of the Opposition, continued for two years longer. It was justly deemed unsafe and unwise to let a knot of foreign refugees make London their headquarters for rekindling the flames of war on the Continent; and the recent example of the return of Napoleon from Elba afforded decisive evidence of the disastrous results to which the toleration of even a small body of such conspirators might lead. Mr Brougham took an active part in opposing the bill, but it was carried by a majority of 65 —the numbers being 94 to 29. That able man found a much more worthy field for his talents in the report of a committee which he had succeeded in getting appointed, on the charitable trusts and establishments of Great Britain for the education of the poor. The report, which was a most valuable and elaborate one, bore testimony to the great and increasing thirst of the poor in all situations for education, and the praiseworthy zeal with which the inquiries of the committee had been seconded by the clergy of all denominations in every part of the island; but stated, at the same time, "that a very great deficiency exists in the means of educating the poor, where-

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ever the population is thin and scattered over country districts. The efforts of individuals combined in societies are almost all confined to populous places. Nothing in such situations can supply the deficiency but the adoption, under certain material modifications, of the parish school system so usefully established in the northern part of the island, ever since the latter part of the seventeenth century." There can be no doubt of the justice of these observations; but it is a most extraordinary circumstance that, notwithstanding their undeniable weight, no provision for a general system of parochial education has yet been made in England, and still more extraordinary that it was fully established, and has ever since been acted upon with the best effects, in Scotland above a century and a half ago.[1]

[1] By the Act of Scottish Parliament 1696, c. xviii.; Report of Committee on Education, June 2, 1818; Parl. Deb. xxxviii. 814, 827, 1207.

47. Efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly to obtain a relaxation of our criminal code.

Sir Samuel Romilly continued through this session of Parliament his humane and benevolent efforts to effect a mitigation of our criminal code, and succeeded in getting through the House of Commons a bill for abrogating the punishment of death for stealing under the value of £5 in shops. He introduced this measure in a luminous speech, in which he stigmatised excessive severity of punishment as the greatest of all promoters of crime, by discouraging prosecutions, and thus practically, in the majority of cases, leading to impunity. In these attempts he was seconded by a still abler man, SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, who, in the same session, obtained the appointment of a committee to examine into the most effectual means of preventing the forgery of bank-notes. The general concurrence of both sides of the House in this measure proved that the time was fast approaching when the cruel and excessive severity of our criminal law would yield to a more humane and enlightened system. When Sir Samuel's bill, however, was sent up to the House of Lords, the Chancellor, Eldon, succeeded in getting it thrown out, as he had already repeatedly done before. He was deterred by the effects which had fol-

lowed the bill passed in the preceding session of Parliament removing the punishment of death from the crime of theft from the person, forgetting that the only effectual way of repressing crime is by insuring its punishment; and that an increase of prosecutions may, and sometimes does, arise more from the guilty being more readily brought to punishment, than from their absolute number increasing.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxvii. 1186; Twiss's Life of Eldon, ii. 316.

48. Death of Sir Samuel Romilly.

The period had now, however, arrived, when the great lawyer and humane legislator, with whom these reforms had first originated, was to be withdrawn from this earthly scene. The excessive labours of Sir Samuel Romilly's life, arising from the combination of the highest practice at the Chancery bar, with the late hours, continual excitement, and occasional efforts in debate in the House of Commons, came at length to unsettle a mind which, notwithstanding its powers, had a constitutional tendency to excessive sensitiveness. He had recently before been returned, without canvassing or solicitation, for Westminster, and was at the very zenith of his fortune, fame, and usefulness, when, on the 2d November 1818, he was found with life extinct, having committed suicide in a fit of insanity. Lady Romilly, to whom he was tenderly attached, had died three days previously; and for some weeks before he had been in a very nervous state, having for many nights together lost the power of sleeping. The grief consequent on this melancholy bereavement so preyed on a mind naturally sensitive and nervous, and overwrought by excessive exertion, as to produce the melancholy catastrophe which deprived the bar of one of its brightest ornaments—the country of one of its most useful and philanthropic legislators.[2]

Nov. 2, 1818.

[2] Romilly's Life, iii. 367, 368; Hughes, vi. 360.

49. His character.

Sir Samuel Romilly was undoubtedly a very remarkable man; that is sufficiently proved by his having risen, without either family or official connections, to the head of the Chancery bar. His powers of reasoning were very considerable, his application immense, his memory

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retentive and ready. By adopting de Witt's maxim of doing everything at its proper time, and putting everything in its proper place, he succeeded in getting through a mass of business, both legal and parliamentary, which would have crushed any ordinary man. At the same time, he kept up with the whole literature of the day—devoted the evening of Saturday and the whole of Sunday to the enjoyment of his family in the country, and never allowed secular labour to interfere with the appointed seventh day of rest. He was eminently sincere and pious in his feelings, and humane in his disposition almost to a fault. It was the strength of these feelings which led him to engage with such warmth, and prosecute with such perseverance, the reformation of the criminal code of England, and the extirpation of the many sanguinary enactments which disgraced its statute-book. Humanity owes him much for having been the first to enter upon that glorious task. Yet is it, perhaps, not to be regretted, in a general point of view, however grievous his loss was to his family and friends, that he was cut short when he was in his career of mercy, for his mantle descended upon a much superior man—a greater philosophic lawyer. He was by no means the equal, either in philosophy, oratory, or political wisdom, of Sir James Mackintosh, who followed in his footsteps. His mind was essentially sensitive. "Impressionable comme une femme," might be said, with not less truth of him than of Lamartine in after days. Hence he was a warm party man, and never rose to those lofty views by which Bacon, Burke, and Mackintosh showed themselves qualified to direct the thoughts of future times. His excessive sensibility and mental weaknesses did not appear in his public career, but have been prominently brought forward by the indiscreet zeal of his biographer, to whose amiable partiality they appeared as excellences. He was, in the highest degree, amiable in private life, and beloved alike by his friends and opponents.[1] When Lord Eldon first beheld the vacant seat

[1] Twiss's Life of Eldon, ii. 324.

within the bar where Sir Samuel used to sit, he was so affected that he burst into tears, and broke up the court.

50. Death and character of Lord Ellenborough.

Another remarkable man died this year, second to none in intellectual vigour and capacity, although they were displayed rather in legal argument than the larger political arena. This was Lord Ellenborough, Chief-Justice of the Court of King's Bench, who died, after a lingering illness, on 13th December. His health had long been declining. Like almost all the other great lawyers at the English bar, he was the architect of his own fortune. Of respectable origin, the fourth son of Dr Law, Bishop of Carlisle, he was yet without either connection or patronage, and owed his elevation entirely to the uncommon vigour and force of his understanding. These were such that they in a manner forced him into greatness, and would have done so, like other great men, in any career, civil or military, upon which he might have entered. Nothing can surpass the force of the arguments which he delivered at the bar, or the lucidity and masterly analysis of the judgments he pronounced on the bench. They remain in the law reports enduring monuments of the clearness and power of his understanding. He was a Whig in politics; and one of the most unpopular acts of that party, when they came into power in 1806, was giving him a seat in the Cabinet—a step which, however palliated in his case by his great abilities, was justly regarded as of dangerous example for future times, as putting in hazard the independence of the bench. He continued throughout life a Whig, but a Whig of the old school—that is, one who inclined to the aristocratic, not the democratic, part of the constitution. Hence, when he was made Chief-Justice in 1802, it was a common subject of complaint that he was occasionally arrogant in his manner, and overbearing in his disposition; and great surprise was expressed at the same person evincing these qualities, who had been their most

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vehement opponent when at the bar in early life. But there is nothing at all surprising in the change; on the contrary, they are both symptoms of the same ruling disposition, and often make their appearance at different periods of life in the same individual. *Resistance to opposition* is the fundamental principle—a domineering disposition, the uniform characteristic, and it never changes. In early life, when the person actuated by it is among the governed, it appears in resistance to oppression; in mature years, when he has risen to the station of governor, in coercion of insubordination.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1818, 205.

51. Death of Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis. Aug. 22, and Dec. 22.

It is remarkable that the same year which was marked by the death of Lord Ellenborough, witnessed also the demise of Warren Hastings, of whom, during his long and vexatious prosecution, he had been the steady and intrepid advocate; and of Sir Philip Francis, who had been his not less relentless and energetic persecutor. The first of these remarkable men expired at his hereditary seat of Daylesford, in Worcestershire—lost by his ancestors, but regained by his exertions—on August 22, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He belongs to a different period in the history of England—to that marvellous era when, in both hemispheres, the deep foundations of British greatness were laid. There were giants in the earth before the moral as well as the physical flood. His character has been drawn, the ingratitude he experienced depicted, in a former work.[2] Less distinguished in public life, his antagonist, Sir Philip Francis, has left a reputation hardly less enduring; for there seems to be no doubt that he was the author of the Letters of Junius, which, for a season, almost counterbalanced the influence of the sovereign on the throne. He died in London on December 22, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. The uncompromising enemy of oppression, corruption, and despotic measures in both hemispheres, he, at one period of his life, shook the

[2] Hist. of Europe, c. xlviii. § 21, 25.

throne in England; at another, fought a duel with the Governor-General of India, from whom he received a shot through the body, in 1781. A moral courage which nothing could daunt — great abilities, and the energy which a consciousness of their possession seldom fails to inspire, were his characteristics. His style of composition, as it appears both in the Letters of Junius and in his speeches in Parliament, was condensed and epigrammatic in the highest degree; and it is their admirable force and brevity which, like the sayings of Johnson, recorded by the graphic pen of Boswell, have given the former their colossal and enduring reputation. But, like all other productions in the same style, they are one-sided, and often unjust. Unfortunately, however, it is these very blemishes which have rendered them so famous; for such is the admiration of mankind for talent, that falsehood and exaggeration, brilliantly arrayed, often carry the day, even in after times, against truth and justice, clothed in the silver robe of innocence. Tacitus would never have been immortal had he not been a party writer.[1] *

[1] Ann. Reg. 1818, 205; Chron.

52. Sir James Mackintosh: his early life.

This great celebrity of rhetorical ability, and its superiority to unadorned truth, however, is not universal; and ever age presents numerous examples of men in whom justness of decision, wisdom of thought, and a philosophic turn of mind, lay the foundation of fame as great, and beneficence far more enduring, than the utmost brilliancy of one-sided eloquence. Of this Sir James Mackintosh, the able and philosophical follower of Romilly in the career of criminal amelioration, is an illustrious example. Of humble parentage, the son of a small landholder on the banks of Loch Ness, he owed nothing to early

* The author has no doubt Sir Philip Francis was the author of the Letters of Junius. Identity of style in those celebrated letters with his acknowledged compositions, as well as numerous direct pieces of evidence, appear to place it beyond a doubt.—See Lord MAHON'S *History of England*, v. 274, 285.

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patronage or connections. What he became he owed to himself alone, and the blood he inherited. But he was not without advantages in the latter respect: from the mother's side, the usual channel in which intellectual powers descend, he inherited the talents of his grandmother, Mrs Macgillivray, a woman of uncommon powers and cultivation of mind. He was born on 17th October 1765, and was educated at Edinburgh, and took part in the debates of the Speculative Society there, in which Brougham, Lansdowne, Jeffrey, Horner, and the many eminent men who afterwards rose into fame in the Scottish metropolis, made their first essays in oratory. Subsequently he was called to the English bar, and became first known to the public by his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, published to defend the Revolution in France from the dreaded antagonism of Burke. In 1803 he sailed for India, having been appointed, by Lord Sidmouth, Recorder of Bombay; and there he spent, in no very agreeable banishment, the next nine years of his life. In 1812 he returned to England, with a moderate independence, and was soon after admitted to Parliament for the close borough of Weymouth. He was afterwards made a privy councillor, but never held any Government appointment, and died in 1832, while still in the full vigour of his understanding, and without having done anything in literature commensurate to the high expectations justly formed of his abilities.[1]

[1] Mackintosh's Life, 2 vols., *passim*.

53. His character as a statesman and writer.

These expectations were chiefly formed in consequence of its being known that he had engaged in the herculean task of continuing Hume's History of England down to recent times—a work in which he had made some progress, and for which he has left several splendid sketches, for the most part composed in his voyage home, but which he never brought to maturity. In fact, he had not perseverance adequate to the task. His powers of conversation were great, and the gratification he experienced from their exercise was so excessive that it led him to forego

the main object of his life for its enjoyment. He spent the forenoon generally conversing with ladies or literary men, instead of writing; and it is not thus that great things are done.* "Conversation," says Gibbon, "strengthens the understanding; but solitude is the school of genius." It was deeply regretted by his friends at the time that this distraction of the powers of so great a mind should be going on; and, undoubtedly, for ethical and political disquisitions, and essays on history, it can never be sufficiently lamented; for in these branches his mind appeared in its full lustre. There is nothing in the English language superior in wisdom to some of his political essays, which first appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, and are now reprinted in his collected essays; in criticism, to his characters of the leading men of the eighteenth century, to be found in the very interesting memoir of him by his son. But there is no appearance in his writings of the qualities which indicate that he could ever have become great in narrating events. He was an admirable essayist on history, after the manner of Guizot; but he had not the talents requisite for a historian. His abbreviated History of England, and fragment of the History of the Revolution of 1688, are a proof of this. The former contains many admirable

* The author once spent one of these forenoons in his society, from breakfast to two o'clock. Lord Jeffrey, and Mr Earle Monteith, now sheriff of Fife, were the only other persons present. The superiority of Sir James Mackintosh to Jeffrey, in conversation, was then very manifest. His ideas succeeded each other much more rapidly; his expressions were more brief and terse —his repartee more felicitous. Jeffrey's great talent consisted in amplification and illustration, and there he was eminently great; and he had been accustomed to Edinburgh society, where he had been allowed, by his admiring auditors, male and female, to prelect and expand *ad libitum*. Sir James had not greater quickness of mind, for nothing could exceed Jeffrey in that respect, but much greater power of condensed expression, and infinitely more rapidity in changing the subject of conversation. "Tout toucher, rien approfondir," was his practice, as it is of all men in whom the real conversational talent exists, and where it has been trained to perfection by frequent collision in polished society with equal or superior men, and elegant and charming women. Jeffrey, in conversation, was like a skilful swordsman flourishing his weapon in the air; while Mackintosh, with a thin sharp rapier, in the middle of his evolutions, ran him through the body.

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observations and reflections; but it gives no idea whatever of the thread of events, and the student will rise from its perusal without any distinct impression, if otherwise uninformed, of the history of his country. The latter is so dull, that it may be doubted whether any one, but from respect for the author, or for motives of party or reference, ever read it through. His mind was essentially philosophical; hence his powers were didactic rather than pictorial—instructive than dramatic; and that is a fatal peculiarity either for a statesman or a historian. Energy and fire are the soul of eloquence in the forum, as much as wisdom and moderation are of discourses in the academy; and there never yet was a great historian whose talents would not have led him to the first eminence as a painter or dramatic poet.

54. His character as a parliamentary speaker.

In Parliament, Sir James Mackintosh attained a high, but by no means the highest place. His speeches were all prepared: they were learned and admirable essays on the subject in hand; but they had not the force of expression, personal allusion, or stinging rejoinder, requisite for success in a mixed, not always learned, but always highly excited, assembly. His luminous and learned orations were always listened to with respect, and often spoken of, on reflection, with admiration; but, at the time, they were often delivered to empty benches, or, like Burke's, acted like a dinner-bell in clearing the House. But while these peculiarities precluded him from rising to the first rank as a parliamentary debater, they qualified him admirably for the great task to which his efforts in Parliament were directed—the reformation and humanising of our criminal code. His philosophic mind threw a luminous radiance over that intricate subject, eminently calculated to make an impression on a popular assembly, in a large part of whom Liberal ideas were beginning to germinate. He took it up as a whole—generalised the infinite details in which it was involved, and deduced his conclusions from acknowledged premises and generous feelings. He

thus obtained far greater success than Sir Samuel Romilly, working only on separate and detached points, ever could have done; and it is to his influence, acting in public and private on the candid and convertible mind of Mr Peel, that the great reformation which soon after took place in our criminal code is mainly to be ascribed.

55. Death and character of Queen Charlotte. Nov. 17.

This year witnessed the demise also of the Queen, who had so long shared with her husband the honours and cares of royalty, and whose latter years, during his mental aberration, had been so assiduously devoted to his comfort. Queen Charlotte expired at Kew, on the 17th November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. If the old observation be true, that those women in any rank are most estimable of whom least in public is said, never was a more unexceptionable character than this lamented queen. She had no beauty, was not remarkable for talents, and had none of the charm of conversation or coquetry of manner which so often, in exalted stations, lead women to the perilous borders of captivation and corruption. Married early in life to a consort of religious principles, integrity of character, and domestic habits, identical with her own, to whom she bore a numerous family, her life was rather remarkable for the regularity with which home duties were performed, than the brilliancy by which public admiration or love is secured. Her sense of decorum bordered on austerity—her love of economy on parsimony. The Court, under her direction, was stiff and correct; very different from the brilliant scenes with which it is always clothed in imagination, and has since been arrayed in reality. Yet must history ever acknowledge with gratitude the inestimable service which she rendered, not only to public morals, but to the stability of the constitution, by the unvarying correctness of her private life, and the care which she took to preserve the Court from that contamination which, in so many other countries of Europe, was shaking at once the throne and the altar.[1] She was interred on 2d December, in

[1] Hughes, vi. 361, 362.

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the magnificent vault of St George's Chapel, Windsor, whither her bereaved lord was soon to follow her—ignorant now alike of his present loss or his approaching end.

56. Favourable aspect of affairs at the opening of 1819, and disasters at its close.

The year 1819 commenced under more favourable auspices than had been known for several years. In the speech at the opening of Parliament, the Prince-Regent informed the nation that "there is a considerable and progressive improvement of the revenue in its most important branches; and that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country are in a most flourishing condition." Allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration on the favourable side in all such state documents, there is enough proved, by incontestible evidence, to leave no room for doubt that, in the first part of the year at least, a very considerable amelioration had taken place. The revenue afforded evidence of that; it exhibited a very large increase in the earlier months. But these appearances were shortlived and fallacious; and the distress of the latter part of the year was so great that, upon the whole, instead of an increase, it exhibited a falling off from the preceding year of above a million.* The exports fell off in the last months of the year so immensely, that they presented a decline of fully a fourth from the preceding year; the imports, a falling off of above a *fifth*.† Something must obviously have occurred in the interval between the commencement and the end of the year, to produce so great and disastrous a change;

* Total revenue, 1818, ... £53,747,795
" " 1819, ... 52,648,847
—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 475, 3d edition.

†	Exports, British and Colonial—official value.	Imports—declared value.	Exports, British and Irish—declared value.	Shipping. Tons.
1817	£50,404,111	£29,910,502	£40,349,235	2,664,906
1818	53,560,338	35,845,340	45,180,150	2,674,468
1819	42,438,989	29,681,640	34,252,251	2,666,396

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 359, 3d edition. ALISON'S *Europe*, chap. xcvi., Appendix, 311.

nor is it difficult to perceive what that something was. In the interval, the act ESTABLISHING CASH PAYMENTS BY THE BANK OF ENGLAND was passed; and with it a series of embarrassments began, national and social, financial and political, which have never yet been got over, and have imprinted lasting effects upon the fortunes of the British empire.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1819, p. 3; Prince-Regent's Speech.

57. Commencement of the debates on the currency question.

The period had now arrived when, after various postponements, it was deemed indispensable by the leading men on both sides of politics to revert to cash payments by the Bank of England. That was universally admitted; the only question was when, and under what limitation, if any, the new system was to come into operation? The debates on this subject are of the very highest interest, fraught as they were with the future destinies of Great Britain, and exhibiting one of the most curious instances recorded in history of the erroneous views entertained by the ablest men, and the general insensibility to impending dangers on the part of an entire community, the fortune of every individual in which was more or less dependent on the measures which were adopted. The subject was introduced on February 2, by a motion on the part of the Opposition, headed by Mr Tierney, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the effects of the Bank Restriction Act; which was met by an amendment on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the day following, to the effect that the committee be instructed to report to the House such information, relative to the affairs of the bank, as may be disclosed without injury to the public interests, with their observations thereon. The amendment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was carried by a majority of 109, the numbers being 277 to 168. The secret committee was chosen by ballot, and its chairman, Mr Peel, brought up its report on April 5.[2]

[2] Parl. Deb. xxxix. 213, 280; Ann. Reg. 1819, 33.

As the legislature were all but unanimous in support of the measure which was ultimately adopted on this all-

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important subject, it is essential, in order to record the arguments urged on the other side, to have recourse to what was stated beyond the walls of Parliament. With this view, nothing better can be adduced than the petition from the merchants, bankers, and traders of the city of Bristol, which was presented to the House of Commons on February 3. It affords another example of a truth, of which many illustrations have occurred, and will again occur, in the course of this History—that the truth on important political questions is often much more clearly perceived, and the practical effect of measures better discerned, out of the legislature than in it; and that the powers of the acutest understandings are not in the latter situation to be relied on, in opposition to the influence of party connections, or the sway of theoretical opinions.

58. Petition from Bristol against the too speedy resumption of cash payments. Feb. 3, 1819.

59. Its tenor.

It was stated in this remarkable petition, which was, as it were, the opening of the great debate: "Your petitioners have heard, with much apprehension, that the design is entertained of proposing in Parliament the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. The petitioners have the utmost confidence in the resources of the national bank, and that its issues are fully warranted by the property which it holds in deposit; and they are firmly persuaded that, if this measure shall be forced upon the country before it shall, by a favourable state of its foreign exchanges, be fully prepared for its reception, not only the finances and revenue of the state must suffer, but even the stability of the bank itself be endangered, by the exportation of its bullion, and the depreciation of the property which it holds as a security for its issues. The petitioners conceive, also, that the present is a period peculiarly hazardous for an experiment of so important a nature, when loans of unprecedented magnitude are in process of payment in Europe, and when the exchange with both the continents is greatly against this country. The petitioners confidently anticipate that, as the present state of our foreign exchanges

may be justly attributed to causes which, although quite adequate to the effects, are not in themselves necessarily permanent, the period may reasonably be expected to arrive at which a resumption of cash payments may be made with safety, and without inconvenience. Awaiting, then, this period, the situation of the country can only be rendered alarming by a premature recurrence to measures which the petitioners are satisfied must cramp the commercial intercourse of England with foreign countries, contract its trade and manufactures, and be injurious to its best interests. The petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray that the House will reject every proposal which may be made for a hasty and premature adoption of such a measure." [1]

[1] Bristol Petition, Feb. 3, 1819; Parl. Deb. xxxix. 276, 277.

60. First speech of Mr Peel on the subject.

On the other hand, it was argued by Mr Peel, who was the chairman of the committee, and moved the adoption of its report: "The present position of the bank calls, in the first instance, for an interim measure before the final measure is adopted. In consequence of the notices issued in 1816 and 1817 by the bank, with the very best intentions, in which they undertook to pay in specie all notes dated previously to January 1, 1817, a very large amount of treasure had been drawn from the bank. The whole which had been issued by the bank since January 1816 had amounted to £5,200,000. The issue of that treasure had not been attended with any good to the nation; and he thought, indeed, it might have been foreseen that, unless their issue had been accompanied by a simultaneous reduction of the number of bank-notes, the gold would find its way to those places where there was a greater demand for it. There was little doubt, at present, as to the place of its destination, for, by a report of the minister of finance in France, it appeared that, within the first six months of the last year, 125,000,000 francs (£5,000,000) had been coined at the French mint, of which it was understood three-fourths had come from this country. In these circum-

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stances, it was necessary to pass a bill restraining the payments in gold until the final measure shall pass; and the circumstances of the bank were such, that it had become necessary that the bill should go through its several stages that evening." The necessity of the case being evident, a bill continuing the restriction, till the final measure was adopted, passed both Houses with very little opposition.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxix. 1399, 1401.

61. Petition of the merchants and bankers of London in favour of continuing the restriction.

The grand debate on the final measure came on on the 21st May, and preparatory to it two petitions were presented to the House of Commons—one from the directors of the Bank of England, and another from the merchants and bankers of the city of London, in which the effects of the proposed measure are foretold with a clearness, and, as the event has proved, a truth, which render them among the most valuable and instructive documents recorded in history. That from the bank directors, with great propriety disclaimed any interested view of the matter, but submitted to the legislature what must be the effect of a return to cash payments in the existing financial, commercial, and monetary state of the country.* The petition of the merchants and bankers

* The petition of the bank directors stated—"That, in the view of the committee, the measure of the bank resuming cash payments on the 5th July next, the time prescribed by the existing law, is utterly impracticable, and would be entirely inefficient, if not ruinous. The two committees have arrived at this conclusion, at a period when the outstanding notes of the bank do not much exceed £25,000,000, or when the price of gold is about £4, 1s. per ounce, and when there is great distress from the stagnation of commerce and the fall in the price of imported articles. It must be obvious that, as long as such a state of things shall last, or one in any degree similar, without either considerable improvement on one side, or growing worse on the other, the bank, acting as it does at present, and keeping its issues nearly at the present level, could not venture to return to cash payments with any possibility of benefit to the public or safety to its establishment. The proposal of the committee is, that the bank shall not resume payments in coin for four years, but shall be obliged, from 1st May 1821, to discharge their notes in standard gold bullion, at Mint price, when demanded, in sums not amounting to less than thirty ounces; and that from 1st February 1820 the bank should pay their notes in bullion, if demanded, in sums not less than sixty ounces, at the rate of £4, 1s. per ounce; and from 1st October 1820 to 1st May 1821, at £3, 19s. 6d. per ounce. The bank directors are obliged to observe that, as it is incumbent on them to consider the effect of any measure to be

of London went a step farther, and prophesied the consequences of the proposed measure in the following remarkable terms: "Your petitioners have reason to apprehend that measures are in contemplation, with reference to the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, which, in the humble opinion of your petitioners, will tend to a *forced, precipitate, and highly injurious contraction of the currency* of the country. That the consequences of such a contraction will be, as your petitioners humbly conceive, to add to the burden of the public debt, greatly to increase the pressure of the taxes, to lower the value of all landed and commercial property, seriously to affect and embarrass both public and private credit, to embarrass and reduce all the operations of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and to throw out of employment (as in the calamitous year 1816) a great proportion of the industrious and labouring classes of the community. That your petitioners are fortified in the opinion thus expressed by the distresses experienced by commercial, trading, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of the kingdom, from

adopted as operating upon the general issue of their notes, by which all the private banks are regulated, and of which the whole currency, exclusive of the notes of private bankers, is composed, they feel themselves obliged, by the new situation in which they have been placed by the bank restriction of 1797, to bear in mind not less their duties to the establishment over which they preside, than their duties to the *community at large*, whose interests, in a pecuniary and commercial relation, have, in a great degree, been confided to their discretion. The directors being thus obliged to extend their views, and embrace the interests of the whole community in their consideration of this measure, cannot but feel a repugnance, however involuntary, to pledge themselves in approbation of a system which, in their opinion, in all its great tendencies and operations, concerns the country in general more than the immediate interests of the bank alone. When the bank directors are now to be called upon, in the new situation in which they are placed by the Restriction Act, to procure a fund for supporting the whole national currency either in bullion or coin, and when it is proposed that they should effect this measure within a given period, by regulating the market price of gold by a limitation of the amount of the issue of bank-notes, *with whatever distress such limitation may be attended to individuals or the community at large*, they feel it their bounden and imperious duty to state their sentiments thus explicitly in the first instance to his Majesty's ministers on this subject, that a tacit consent and concurrence at this juncture may not at some future period be construed into a previous implied sanction on their part of a

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the partial reduction of the bank issues, which, it appears, has recently taken place. Neither the manner nor the time which, your petitioners have reason to apprehend, is intended to be proposed for the resumption of cash payments, is suited to avoid the evils they anticipate. The petitioners therefore humbly crave that the time, as at present fixed by law, for the termination of the restrictions on cash payments by the Bank of England, may be extended to a period which shall not tend to a forced and precipitate contraction of the circulating medium of the country, or to embarrass trade, or to injure public credit, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce." [1]

[1] Petition of the merchants of London, May 21, 1819; Parl. Deb. xl. 599, 600.

62. Which is presented to the House of Commons by the first Sir R. Peel.

These petitions from Bristol and London, coming, as they did, from the first commercial men in England, and couched in such strong yet respectful language, showed how strongly the mercantile classes had taken the alarm at the proposed resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, and how clearly their practical experience and native sagacity had detected the real tendency of a measure fraught with the most momentous consequences, but which it was known had obtained the assent

system which they cannot but consider as fraught with very great uncertainty and risk. They cannot venture to advise an unrelenting continuance of pecuniary pressure upon the commercial world, of which it is impossible for them either to foresee or estimate the consequences. The directors have already submitted to the House of Lords the expediency of the bank paying its notes *in bullion at the market price of the day*, with a view of seeing how far favourable commercial balances may operate in restoring the former order of things, of which they might take advantage; and with a similar view they have proposed that Government should repay the bank a considerable part of the sums that have been advanced upon Exchequer bills. These two measures would allow time for a correct judgment to be formed upon the state of the bullion market, and upon the real result of those changes which the late war may have produced, in all its consequences, of *increased public debt, increased taxes, increased prices*, and altered relations as to interest, capital, and commercial dealings with the Continent, and how far the alterations thus produced are temporary or permanent, and to what extent and in what degree they operate. The directors therefore feel that they have no right whatever to invest themselves, of their own accord, with the responsibility of countenancing a measure in which the *whole* community is so deeply involved, and possibly *to compromise the universal interests of the empire in all the relations of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue*, by a seeming acquiescence or declared approbation on the part of the directors of the Bank of England."—Petition of the Bank of England, 20th May 1819; *Parl. Debates*, xl. 601, 604.

of both branches of the legislature. The petition was rendered the more remarkable by its being presented to the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel, who had made a colossal fortune under the cash restriction system, and who now stood forward to oppose his eldest son, Mr Peel, who was prepared to terminate it. The honourable baronet observed: "The petition he held in his hand came from a body of men entitled to the very first consideration—a body of men who, in times of public distress or calamity, were the very first to come forward to relieve the Government. The Bank Restriction Act could not have passed in 1797 if the merchants and bankers of London had not, at a similar meeting, expressed themselves strongly in its favour. The petition he now held in his hand was that of a great and important body, all of the first respectability, praying that the resolutions which were intended to be submitted to the House might not be carried into effect. They were the best judges of such a measure, for their whole fortunes were wound up with it. Although, also, they were the men in the country best qualified to give evidence, from their great transactions and connection with our manufactures and commerce, yet they had not been examined before the committee. He entreated, therefore, that before a measure so destructive of the commercial interests, and, with them, of every other interest in the country, the House would pause, in order to collect that information which was so much wanted.

63. His speech on the occasion continued.

"At the meeting from which this petition originated, he was in company with many of the best friends of the country; but he should not do justice to two persons who attended there if he did not say that they behaved in a way not the least disorderly in the world, for they were in close alliance with his Majesty's ministers,—they inveighed against any attempt at deferring the period of resuming cash payments. The circumstance so new, of these men being supporters of the administration, constituted the

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subject of a very good caricature; but, at the same time, it filled him with the most dismal forebodings. To see the noble lord and his honourable friend, on the one hand, and Messrs Hunt and Wooller on the other, united in their attempt to pull down the mighty fabric erected by the immortal Pitt, was at once ludicrous and painful. He implored the House to pause before they engaged in any such attempt. It was true, in resisting it, he should have to oppose a very near and dear relation. But while it was his own sentiment that he had a duty to perform, he respected those who did theirs, and who considered them to be paramount. The gentlemen who opposed him at the meeting of which he had spoken were rather indignant at his mentioning the name of Mr Pitt. His own impression was certainly a strong one in his favour; he always thought him the first man in the country. He well remembered one occasion, when that near and dear relation was only a child, he observed to some friends who were standing near him, that the man who discharged his duty to his country in the manner in which Mr Pitt had, did most to be admired, and was most to be imitated; and he thought at that moment, if the life of his dear relation should be spared, he would one day present him to his country to follow in the same path."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xl. 673, 674.

On the other hand, it was argued by Sir Robert Peel's son, Mr Peel, who then made his first important step in public life, and was the chairman of the committee the resolutions of which were proposed to the House for adoption:* "He was bound to say that, in consequence

* The proposed resolutions were as follows:—

"I. That it is expedient farther to continue the restriction upon cash payments by the bank for a time, to be limited in such manner and on such conditions as shall be provided by Parliament, with a view to insure its final termination at the period to be fixed.

"II. That, previously to the resumption of cash payments by the bank, it is expedient that the bank should be required, at a time to be fixed by Parliament, to give in exchange for its notes gold duly assayed and stamped at his Majesty's Mint, (if demanded to an amount not less than a number of ounces to be limited,) valuing the same in such exchange at a price not exceeding £4, 1s. per ounce.

of the weight and great respectability of the evidence laid before the committee, and the discussions which had ensued upon it, his opinion in regard to this question had undergone a great change. He was ready to avow, without shame or remorse, that he went into the committee with a very different opinion from that which he at present entertained; for his views of the subject were most materially different from what they were when he voted against the resolutions brought forward in the Bullion Committee in 1811 by Mr Horner. After giving his best attention to the subject, he had no hesitation in stating, that though he should probably even now vote against the practical measure then recommended, yet he concurred in the fourteen first resolutions proposed to the House by that able and much lamented individual. He conceived them to represent the true nature and law of our monetary system. It was without shame or repentance he thus bore testimony to the superior sagacity of one with whose views he agreed on that point, although he differed so much from him on many other great political questions.

64. Argument of Mr Peel in favour of the resumption of cash payments.

"After the repeated declaration of Parliament that it was advisable that the bank should, at the earliest possible period, resume cash payments, he had hoped that the only points necessary for them to proceed to that

65. Continued.

"III. That at the expiration of a farther period, to be also fixed by Parliament, the bank should be required to give in exchange for its notes, gold, so assayed and stamped, to an amount not less than a certain number of ounces to be limited, and valuing the same in such exchange at the Mint price.

"IV. That at some time between the two periods above mentioned, the bank should be required to give in exchange for its notes, gold, so assayed and stamped, valuing the same at a price between £4, 1s. and the Mint price; and that, after the price at which gold shall be valued in such exchanges shall have been once lowered, it shall not again be raised.

"V. That after the period shall have arrived at which the bank shall be required to give gold in exchange for its notes at the Mint price, a farther period, to be fixed by Parliament, should be allowed, and a certain notice given before the bank shall be required to pay its notes in cash.

"VI. That it is expedient that all laws which prohibited the melting or exportation of gold or silver coin of the realm, and the exportation of gold or silver bullion made of such coin, should be repealed."—Government Resolutions, May 21, 1819; *Parl. Deb.* xl. 606.

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night, would be to fix on the period when the restriction should cease, and to adopt the most feasible mode of carrying their intention into effect. But it was impossible for him to conceal from himself that new and extraordinary opinions had been promulgated, which, if the House were prepared to act on them, must inevitably lead to an indefinite suspension of cash payments. When he recollected that the necessity of a resumption of cash payments was recognised in the preamble of several acts of Parliament, when he knew that no one objection was formerly made to the principle of so doing, he confessed he was not prepared to hear that a principle the very reverse was to be contended for. But, judging from several publications, by which he feared the public mind might be influenced, it did appear that the return to cash payments was viewed in some quarters with apprehension; and if weight and authority were given to the sentiments and principles contained in these works, the House must be prepared to legislate for an indefinite suspension. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that Parliament should in the contest make up its mind whether a metallic standard of value should not be resorted to. After an experience of twenty-two years, during which it was abandoned, it did appear impossible that any considerate man could hesitate upon that question, or upon the expedience of returning to the ancient system of fixing upon some standard of value.

66. Continued.

"Upon the necessity of establishing such a standard, he could appeal to the opinion of all writers upon political economy, and to the practice of every civilised country, as well as our own, prior to the year 1717. All the witnesses examined before the committee, with the exception of Mr Smith of Norwich, a very respectable man, recommended the establishment of this standard. Even he, when asked whether he would propose an indefinite suspension of cash payments without any standard of value, answered, 'No; the pound should be the

standard.' Being asked what he meant by a pound, he answered—'I find it difficult to explain it; but every gentleman knows it: it is something which has existed in this country for eight hundred years—three hundred years before the introduction of gold.' Mr Locke, with all his powers of understanding, could not succeed in defining what he meant by a pound. Sir Isaac Newton himself was for a time misled on this subject; but at length he came back to the simple doctrine, that the true standard of value was a certain definite quantity of gold bullion. Every sound writer on the subject came to the same conclusion, that a certain weight of gold bullion, with an impression on it denoting that it was of a certain weight and of a certain fineness, constituted the only true, intelligible, and adequate standard of value; and to that standard the country must return, or the difficulties of our situation would be aggravated as we proceeded. These difficulties were universally known, and they would not be diminished by our declining to acknowledge their existence; and it is notorious that the restoration of a metallic standard of value is essential to our relief from these difficulties.

67. Continued.

"The issues of the Bank of England were the foundation on which the whole superstructure of the country banks was raised, and those issues were made either in the purchase of gold, the discount of mercantile bills, or the purchase of Government securities. It is a delusion to say that the issues of the bank are regulated by the demands and necessities of the mercantile world. How can you distinguish between the advances it makes to Government in loans, or discounting Exchequer bills, and a paper circulation emanating directly from it? The bank, no doubt, is safe; the solvency of their establishment is beyond all doubt. But does it follow that, because the bank is able to discharge all its engagements, therefore there can be no over-issue of its paper? If solvency alone was a sufficient proof that there was no

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excess of circulation, the theory of Mr Law was just, and the land as well as the funds might be made the basis of a circulating medium. There was, in fact, no test of excess or deficiency, but a comparison with the price of gold. This was not the conclusion of theory only; the last few years had afforded the most ample confirmation of it.

68. Continued.

"In the year 1815 our commerce was in full activity; a great impulse had been given, speculation was at its height, and the exports were great beyond example. But 1816 and 1817 came—the natural result of those overstrained hopes and expectations. A languor proportionate to the degree of excitation succeeded. An immense accumulation of property had taken place, for which there was no demand. Prices fell—the country banks stopped their issues—and thousands were in a moment stricken to the ground, by a blow which they could not foresee, and against which it was impossible to provide. The Bank of England notes in circulation previous to 1814 were £23,000,000; in 1815, £25,000,000; 1816, £26,000,000; end of 1817, £29,000,000. At the latter period, trade revived, and importations were made from all parts of the world. Many were deceived by a nominal profit, which, in truth, resolved itself into an excess of currency; and the same scene of distress and embarrassment was renewed. Mr Gladstone, the great Liverpool merchant, had stated before the committee that the value of grain and provisions imported into Liverpool, from Ireland, in 1817, was £1,200,000; and in 1818, £1,950,000. He added, that in 1816, 270,000 bales of cotton were imported into the same place; in 1817, 350,000; 1818, 457,000. The consequence of this prodigious excess in the supply was a fall in the price of cotton of 40 per cent. Mr Gladstone added, that in 1818, goods to the value of £3,000,000 were stored in Liverpool beyond what had been done in the preceding year. All this overtrading was productive of

no lasting advantage even to the parties engaged in it; but to the labouring classes it was attended with incalculable mischief. The unequal and fluctuating demands for labour deranged all the relations of humble life. The rapidity with which these changes succeeded one another defeated all private arrangements, discouraged the steady accumulation of savings, and frequently overwhelmed the labourer with want and misery.

69. Continued.

"The only effectual check which can be imposed on these evils is a check on the over-issue in which they all originate, and this can only be applied by the establishment of a metallic standard of value; for the issue of paper has not, like the wise provisions of Providence, or the prudent regulations of man, any counteracting principle within itself. The paper system went on very well as long as the excitation lasted; but it was sure, on its relapse, to scatter distress and ruin. Private bankers, at first anxious to accommodate, no sooner perceived the symptoms of declining credit, than, in the eagerness to provide for their own security, they refused farther aid, and increased the want of confidence. This is the great defect of the paper system; and the question the House has to consider is, whether a system fraught with so many evils is to be permitted to continue? Its evils in future are not to be measured by the past. Hitherto there has always been some check—the admonitions of Parliament had been respected; but if once a hope should be held out that the suspension might last for an indefinite time—that the amount of the circulating medium was to be left to the discretion of the directors—they would be controlled by no consideration but that of their own profits, and it is impossible to over-estimate the mischief that would ensue. The committee had perceived that a mere declaration on the subject would be useless, and that mercantile transactions would continue in their present course, instead of being adapted to a return to the ancient standard. It would answer no good purpose to

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declare in favour of a return to cash payments without fixing upon some definite period for the resumption; for such a promise had already been made no less than five times, and every time proved delusive. The country, then, to be satisfied, must see that a serious resolution existed upon the subject.

70. Continued.

"It was when engaged in the conquest of Wales, and amidst his efforts to subdue Scotland, that Edward I. first turned his attention to the reformation of the coin; and the next great reformer in that respect was Queen Elizabeth. At her accession to the throne she found that the coin had been debased 400 per cent in the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; when there should have been eleven ounces, there were only three. The price of everything, in consequence, had risen greatly, and there were considerable commotions throughout the country. By the advice of Burleigh, she determined to restore the value of the coin; and when the difficulties of the attempt, in the distracted state of her dominions and precarious title to the throne, were represented, that able minister replied—'So far should such considerations be from deterring your Majesty from the pursuit, they should rather be considered as the motives for perseverance, as in the end they must raise and establish the character of the country, increase the attachment of your Majesty's subjects, and command the respect even of your enemies.' Such a conduct was the proudest eulogium on her merits. The inscription on her tomb, after enumerating the queen's titles to distinction, concluded with these words—'Gallia domata, Belgium sustentum, pax fundata, moneta in justum valorem reducta.' The glories of the present reign exceeded the glories of Elizabeth, and it was to be hoped the hour was near at hand when the triumphant parallel would be completed.

71. Continued.

"It is a mistake to say that the country was indebted for all its military honour in the late war to an inconvertible paper currency. Had not the country enjoyed its

full share of prosperity and military glory before 1797, when that blessing was first accorded us? Let them adhere to that good faith in time of peace which they had shown with such magnanimity through all the dangers of war, and towards the foreigners whose countries were at war with them. Let them recollect that the fluctuations of price which an inconvertible paper currency occasioned, were injurious to the labourer, who found no compensation in the rise of his wages at one time, for the evils inflicted by their depression at another. Every consideration of sound policy, and every consideration of strict justice, should induce them to return to the ancient and permanent standard of value. It is a most delusive idea to suppose that the evils of an inconvertible paper currency will be obviated by obliging the bank, as has been proposed, to pay their notes in bullion at the current price it bore in the market at the time. He warned the House against the adoption of a measure so fatal—a measure fraught with destruction to the ends proposed;—a plan which would reduce gold to the standard of paper, instead of paper to the standard of gold, and inevitably lead to the interminable continuance, the total adoption, of a paper medium, and only multiply *ad infinitum* the difficulties with which the subject was at present surrounded.

72. Concluded.

"When people talked of gold rising in price, were they prepared to show it had risen in intrinsic value? Let them not talk of its price in paper, but in any other commodity of a real and fixed value. Did a given quantity of gold at present buy any more corn, or any more silver, than it would have done fifty years ago? Setting aside the fluctuations of seasons, which of course materially affected the price of grain, it would be found that gold did not, within the period alluded to, through its increased price, command more of any fixed commodity than in former times. So far from that being the case, it positively commanded less than it did formerly;

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and on this account—because they had found a substitute for gold; and beyond that—because they had a greater stock of that metal, and consequently its value was less than it was fifty years ago. There could not, as long as the pound remained the standard, be any corresponding variation between the price of gold and the increase of taxation."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xl. 676, 700.

73. Argument on the other side.

So general was the concurrence of the Houses of Commons and Lords in these opinions, that in searching for the leaders of the debate on the other side, we must recur to names unknown to fame; but not on that account the less worthy of attention, for they were practical men, who spoke from their actual experience of what would be the result of the proposed change. It was stated by Mr Alderman Heygate and Mr Gurney: "It was generally supposed, and in fact commonly assumed, as an incontrovertible position, that our paper was depreciated to a certain extent. Great as the authorities and splendid as the names were, which were cited in the report of the committee as supporters of that opinion, yet research and inquiry would convince every unbiassed mind, not only that no such depreciation did now exist, but that it never could exist. The preliminary point for inquiry is, Was our money depreciated or not? If it was, we were bound to devise a remedy; if it was not, Parliament should pause before they put in force enactments which could not but have the most distressing consequences. Can the circulation be called excessive? Is it not, on the contrary, too small, when it is recollected that it is no larger now than it was in 1792? It could not be considered as excessive, if we considered the enormous increase of population, property, and taxes, in the intermediate period, during which the inhabitants of the empire had increased at least fifty per cent; the revenue had risen from £16,000,000 a-year to £54,000,000, and the National Debt from £240,000,000 to £800,000,000. Add to this the still greater increase of our colonies, commerce,

docks, public buildings, agriculture, manufactures, and undertakings of all kinds, and no man can deny that, so far from our circulation being excessive, it is greatly within the wants of the community.

74. Continued.

"The argument that the supply of gold is dependent on the paper circulation, and that it will always be driven out of the country when an over-issue of that takes place, is utterly erroneous, and is disproved by the facts. In November 1817, the notes in circulation exceeded £29,000,000, and the price of gold was £4, 0s. 6d. the ounce. Since that period there had been a reduction of £3,000,000 in the notes in circulation, and yet the price of gold had been somewhat higher. Gold, in the last years of the war, was as high as £5, 4s. an ounce; and, without any reduction in the amount of bank paper in circulation, it fell in 1816 to £4, 1s. the ounce. The truth was, gold was a valuable commodity, an article of commerce in universal request, and, like every other such article, it varied in price according to the varying demand for it in this or other countries. Nothing could be more dangerous than to make our entire circulating medium dependent on the supply of gold, and impose upon the bank the necessity of constantly referring to its price as the measure whereby to regulate the amount of their own issues. The circulation of the country banks is entirely regulated by the profuseness or caution of the issues of the Bank of England; and the whole circulation being in this manner dependent on that basis, in what situation shall we be if, the moment the price of gold rises, and it, in consequence, disappears from circulation, our whole paper is, at the same time, drawn in? This was exactly what happened in 1816. Gold was then on a par with paper; and yet such was the calamity, and so extensive the distress at that unfortunate period, that it pervaded every part of the country. The landed proprietor could get no rents, the manufacturer no market, the labourer no employment. Bankruptcy was universal. Even if

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next autumn the harvest should be abundant, the exchanges become favourable, and the price of gold fall, still every prudent banker must, if the proposed plan receives the sanction of Parliament, limit his issues, and every prudent merchant and manufacturer his undertakings; and thus, with all the elements of prosperity at our command, universal distress must again ensue. This anticipation was supported by all the evidence taken before the committee, and by none more than that of Mr Baring, the individual, perhaps, in existence, best qualified to form an opinion on the subject. But if the price of gold should rise, and exchanges prove unfavourable, can imagination itself assign any limit to the disasters which must ensue?

75. Continued.

"The right honourable mover of the resolutions had eulogised the conduct of Queen Elizabeth in restoring the purity of the coin; but were the circumstances of that period parallel? Were they not rather a contrast to the present? The country was not then burdened with a debt of £800,000,000, and the necessity of raising a revenue of £54,000,000 annually. What might have been wise and magnanimous in that princess, might now be the height of imprudence and infatuation. It is a most fallacious idea to suppose that, if the proposed plan were adopted, the price of gold would permanently remain at the present level. It might do so, in so far as this country is concerned; but who can be sure that nothing is likely to occur abroad which will at once raise the price of gold, and occasion such a run upon the Bank of England as will seriously injure, if not wholly destroy credit? In such a case, the situation of the bank, and with it of every country bank, would be full of hazard. Their only chance of safety would be in an appeal to Parliament to relax the law; but it might not be sitting at the time; and, at all events, it would undoubtedly be reluctant to interfere till the very last extremity, and great distress had already been undergone. If, however, the recom-

mendations of the report were adopted, every merchant, manufacturer, and banker, would regulate his dealings with a view to the possibility of such an event; and if it occurred, where would be the employment of the poor? and how fearful the increase of the poor-rates! This is the expectation of a large portion of that part of our community engaged in carrying on agriculture, trade, and manufactures; and coming events are already foreshadowed by the great decline of confidence, and decrease of orders and employment, which has taken place since the secret committees were appointed in the present session of Parliament.

76. Continued.

"The avowed object of the new system is to establish a fixed standard of value; but although by its adoption you may confer steadiness on that of gold, at what price will that be purchased, in the price of all other commodities? Can any man, if the resolutions are adopted, say what will be the condition or value of his property in February next? If a run upon the bank takes place at that time, it may be compelled to stop payment in a fortnight. The country, which had so cheerfully borne the burdens of the war, is at least entitled to be saved from the risk of losing its currency, and having the miseries to undergo consequent on a universal destruction of credit. The rise in the price of provisions has no natural or immediate effect on the wages of the labouring classes, but a cessation of employment has an instantaneous and destructive effect upon them. All we have suffered from the terrible fluctuation of prices since the peace is to be ascribed to the erroneous determination avowed by Government, that an ounce of gold should, under a debt of £800,000,000, happen what might, pass for no more than £3, 17s. 10½d. an ounce—a determination which only fixes it at that price by destroying credit, ruining industry, and occasioning a frightful fluctuation in the prices of all other commodities. It is said by the supporter of the measure proposed (Mr Ricardo) that

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the variation of prices it will produce will not exceed 3 *per cent;** but it will be found that it will be above 20 per cent; and if so, how are our farmers to pay their rents, or the nation its taxes, and the interest on its debts, public and private?

77. Concluded.

"It is said that an alteration on the standard would be a fraud on the national creditors, and that, in justice to them, we must return to the old standard. But, to say nothing of the comparative amount borrowed since the restriction, it should be recollected there are two parties to a bargain. Has the national creditor called for this change? Had he thought the change would prove beneficial to him, the Three per Cents would have risen to 100, instead of falling, as they have now done, to 66. But the national creditor saw, what was undoubtedly the fact, that increased pressure upon those who must pay him his interest lessened his security, and he would gladly continue to take his share in a currency somewhat diminished in value, together with his neighbours, rather than incur the risk of being exempted from that which, in fact, had operated as a sort of property-tax on property of every description, and which had insured the regularity, if it had diminished the value, of the stockholders' dividends."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xl. 750, 762.

78. Decision of Parliament on the subject.

Upon this debate the resolutions were agreed to *without one dissentient voice*, the proposed amendment of Alderman Heygate being withdrawn. Mr Canning stated "that he would take this as nothing less than a *unanimous determination* of Parliament that the country should return, as speedily as possible, to the ancient standard of value in the establishment of a metallic currency," which was accordingly done by the act which passed in terms of the resolutions.[2] †

[2] Parl. Deb. xl. 800.

* "The difficulty is only that of raising the currency 3 per cent in value, (hear, hear); and who can doubt that, even in those states where the currency is wholly metallic, it often suffered a variation equal to this without inconvenience to the public?"—Mr RICARDO's Speech, May 24, 1819; *Parl. Deb.*, xl. 743.

† The resolutions were:—

"I. That it is inexpedient to continue the restriction of cash payments beyond the time at present limited by law.

On one occasion, counsel, pleading in the House of Lords before Lord Eldon, opened the case by saying— "My lords, this is an appeal from a *unanimous* judgment of the Court of Session." "So much the worse for you," observed the Chancellor, "for that renders it the more probable that the case was either not understood or not properly considered." When the question was put to the Convention, whether Louis XVI. was guilty or innocent, they unanimously declared him guilty; the subsequent narrow division was on the nature of the punishment to be inflicted only. Posterity has reversed the sentence; it has unanimously declared him innocent. This is not the time to discuss the effects of this great measure, with which, for good or for evil, the future destinies of Great Britain, and, with it, of half the globe, are wound up. At present three things only are worthy of observation, and should be kept in mind in considering the ample commentary which subsequent events have furnished on this unanimous decision of the legislature. The first is, that no allusion was made on either side to the great defalcation then going on, and which had been in progress for ten years before the discussion began, in the supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe

Reflections on this decision.

"II. That it is expedient that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction on cash payments, and that preparatory measures should be taken to facilitate and insure, on the arrival of that period, the payment of the notes of the Bank of England in the current coin of the realm.

"III. That the debt of £10,000,000 due by Government to the Bank should be provided for and gradually paid.

"IV. That it is expedient to provide by law, that from and after 1st February 1820, the bank shall be liable to deliver on demand, gold of standard fineness, having been assayed and stamped at his Majesty's Mint, a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required in exchange for such an amount of bank notes of the bank as shall be equal to the value of the gold so required, at the rate of £4, 1s. per ounce.

"V. That from 1st October 1820 the bank shall be liable to deliver gold at the rate of £3, 19s. 6d. per ounce, and from 1st May 1821, at £3, 17s. 10½d.; and that from 1st May 1823 the bank shall pay its notes on demand in the legal coin of the realm.

"VI. That all laws prohibiting the melting and exportation of coin shall be repealed."—*Parl. Deb.*, xl. 701.

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from the South American mines, from the revolutionary convulsions raging in that quarter, although the effect of those convulsions had been to reduce the annual supply of the precious metals, available for the circulation of mankind, to little more than a *fourth* of its former amount. The second, that the ablest speakers who supported the resolutions—in particular, Mr Peel and Mr Ricardo—maintained that the change of prices, arising from this measure, would not exceed 3 per cent; and that its adoption was the only way to guard against the evils of great variations in prices. The third is, that these views were *unanimously* adopted by the legislature—the opponents of the measure being too few in number to risk a division—at the very time when a contraction of the currency was so much to be deprecated, from the great falling off in the supply of the precious metals from the South American mines, and the vast addition to the wants and transactions of the world which was daily taking place from the continuance of peace, the extension of commerce, and rapid increase of population, as well in Europe as in the States of North America; and the immense loans which at that very time required to be provided for, contracted by the French government.

80. Mr Vansittart's finance resolutions.

The finances of the country underwent a very thorough discussion in this session of Parliament, both on occasion of a motion by Lord Castlereagh for a select committee to inquire into the income and expenditure of the country, and of a series of finance resolutions which Mr Vansittart

June 3.

brought forward on 3d June. These resolutions, and the report of the committee, are very valuable, as exhibiting the financial state of the empire, and the resources it possessed at the time when the great change in its monetary policy was adopted. The results were extremely satisfactory—much more so than could have been anticipated, when it is considered what an enormous weight of debt, funded and unfunded, remained at the close of the year; that £17,000,000 of taxes had been taken off in the first year of the peace, and the revenue that

remained had been seriously impaired by the repeated fluctuations of the currency, induced by the constant terror of resuming cash payments which hung over the bank; and that, with very few exceptions, and those of short periods only, general distress had prevailed in the country. It was stated in Mr Vansittart's resolutions, that, by the removal of the property and war malt taxes, the income of Great Britain had been reduced by £18,000,000 yearly; that the interest and charge of the debt, funded and unfunded, of Ireland, exceeded its revenue by £1,800,000 annually; that the revenue of the United Kingdom, for the year ending 5th January 1818, was £51,665,458, while, for the year ending 5th January 1819, it was £54,620,000, showing an increase of above £3,000,000—which, however, was reduced by arrears of war duties on malt and property to only £49,334,927 as the real income in 1817, while the income in 1818 included only £556,639 of these. The general result was, that there was, in 1818, a total surplus of £3,558,000, applicable to the reduction of the national debt; and if £1,000,000 was allowed as the interest of the loan required to keep the expenditure off the Sinking Fund, there would remain £2,500,000 of real surplus revenue, and really paid-off debt.[1] *

[1] Mr Vansittart's Finance Resolutions; Parl. Deb. xl. 914, 923.

Mr Vansittart stated, in reference to future finance measures of Government—"That in consequence of the

* The income and expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1819 stood as follows:—

I. Income.

Customs,	£11,692,664
Excise,	25,565,640
Stamps,	6,889,074
Post-office,	1,790,199
Lesser items—	
Lottery,	665,300
Unclaimed dividends,	237,312
Imperial monies,	374,906
Total revenue,	56,040,108
Loans,	18,756,087
Total,	£74,796,196

II. Expenditure.

Interest of National Debt and Sinking Fund,	£46,467,997
Interest on Exchequer bills,	779,992
Civil List, and charges on Consolidated Fund,	2,538,666
Civil Government of Scotland,	129,998
Lesser payments,	389,161
Navy,	6,395,552
Ordnance,	1,538,209
Army	9,450,650
Local objects,	53,101
Miscellaneous,	1,855,948
Total,	£69,599,276

—*Ann. Reg.* 1820, 618.

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81. Mr Vansittart's finance plan and new taxes.

extensive and searching investigations that had lately taken place into our finance situation, its strong and its weak points were now fully known both in this country and abroad; while at the same time, by the return of our army from France, and the great reductions which had been made in our establishments both by land and sea, we had arrived at what might be called our peace establishment, from which no material reductions were to be expected. At the same time, our currency had at length been restored to its proper basis; and as the military pensions, which constituted so large a part of the cost of the army must soon yearly diminish, it becomes Parliament at the same time to take measures for putting our finance on a proper foundation. This can only be done, adverting to the magnitude of our public debt, by applying £5,000,000 at least annually to its reduction. The Sinking Fund is about £15,000,000 a-year; and the loan this year will be £13,000,000. This leaves an excess of £2,000,000 really applicable to the reduction of debt; and, therefore, £3,000,000 additional taxes would require to be laid on, to make up the requisite annual surplus. Of the loan of the year I propose to devote one-half in liquidation of the unfunded debt, and one-half in repaying part of the £10,000,000 advanced by the bank." Parliament agreed to these proposals, which were obviously founded in statesmanlike wisdom, and the new taxes imposed were on foreign wool and tobacco, tea, coffee, and cocoa-nuts. This was a great step in the right direction; for not only was a considerable sinking fund secured, but it was obtained without recurring to the odious and unjust system of direct taxation, which falls with very unequal weight upon a small part only of the community, but by indirect taxation chiefly on luxuries, which is in general so light, and spread over so large a surface, that it is no exaggeration to say the money is got without any one being sensible of the burden of its collection.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xl. 917, 927.

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Sir James Mackintosh, in this session of Parliament, brought forward the subject of a reform of the criminal law, in a speech replete with masterly statements and statesmanlike views, which showed how little the cause had lost by the work of Romilly having been transferred to him. He observed: "I do not propose to form a new criminal code. Altogether to abolish a system of law, admirable in its principle, interwoven with the habits of the English people, and under which they have long and happily lived, is a proposition too extravagant to be for a moment listened to. Neither is it proposed to abolish the punishment of death. The right of inflicting it is a part of the right of self-defence with which all societies, as well as individuals, are endowed. Like all other punishments, the infliction of death is an evil, if unnecessary; but, like any other evil employed to remedy a still greater one, it is capable of becoming a good. Nor is it proposed to take away the power of pardon from the Crown. On the contrary, my object is to restore to the sovereign the real and practical enjoyment of that prerogative, of which usage in modern times has nearly deprived it. My object is to bring the letter of the law more near its practice; to make the execution of the law form the majority, its remission the minority, of cases. It is impossible, indeed, to frame a system of law so graduated that it can be applied to every case without the intervention of a discretionary power; but there is good reason to complain of a system of law such as that which at present prevails in England, when the remission of the law forms the rule, and its execution the exception. The object of my reform is to transfer into the statute-book the exceptions to rigour, which the wisdom of modern times has introduced into its practice.

82. Sir James Mackintosh's argument in support of criminal law reform. March 2.

"It is said the progress of the country in manufactures is the principal cause of the great increase of crime which has taken place But is our progress in wealth and manufactures to be arrested? Great cities are, without

83. Continued.

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doubt, the hotbeds of crime; but can cities be prevented from becoming large in the later stages of society? It is to the causes of increase which arise from errors of legislation, and a pernicious code of laws, that the attention of Parliament should chiefly be directed, because it is there alone that the means of reformation are in our hands. The game-laws are, without doubt, in rural districts, a great source of demoralisation; and the returns of commitments show a great increase since 1808, when our paper currency first became seriously depreciated. But the main ground for a reformation of the criminal law is, that it is not so efficacious as it ought to be in checking the increase of crime arising from these various causes, and that in consequence of its excessive severity. There are no less than two hundred felonies on the statute-book punishable with death; but, by the returns from London and Middlesex, from 1749 to 1819, a period of seventy years, there are only twenty-five sorts of felonies for which any individuals have been executed; so that there are a hundred and seventy-five capital felonies respecting which the law, during that time, has never been enforced! In the thirteen years since 1805 there are only thirteen descriptions of felonies on which capital convictions have taken place in England and Wales; so that there are one hundred and seventy capital felonies which have practically gone into desuetude.

84. Continued.

"This extraordinary multiplication of crimes, against which the sanction of death was pronounced, has arisen mainly from the Revolution of 1688—in other respects productive of so much good—by the facility which it afforded to every class to get any offence which trenched at all on them declared capital. It is inconceivable how heedlessly and recklessly this was done in former times. The anecdotes which are current of this extraordinary and shameful facility I am almost ashamed to repeat. Mr Burke told me that on one occasion, when he was leaving the House, one of the messengers called him back.

Mr Burke said he was going on urgent business. 'Oh!' replied the messenger, 'it will not keep you a single moment; it is only a felony without benefit of clergy.' Mr Burke added, that although, from his political career, he was not entitled to ask any favour of the ministry, yet he was persuaded he had interest enough, at any time, to obtain their assent to a felony without benefit of clergy. This unfortunate facility in granting an increase in the severity of the law to every proposer, with the most impartial disregard of political consideration, arose and was carried on at the very time when the humane feelings of the country were daily more and more refining under the influence of knowledge; and this it was which produced the final separation between the letter and practice of the law, for the Government and the nation alike revolted at executing laws which in moments of heedlessness the Legislature had sanctioned. Most justly did that great and good man, Sir William Grant, say that it was impossible both the law and the practice can be right; that the toleration of such a discord was an anomaly which ought no longer to exist; and that as the law might be brought to an accordance with the practice, but it was impossible to bring the practice into accordance with the law, the law ought to be altered for a wiser and more humane system. The last century has exhibited a continual confederacy of prosecutors, witnesses, counsel, juries, judges, and the advisers of the Crown, to prevent the execution of the law.

85. Continued.

"The crimes against which our penal code, as it at present stands, denounces the punishment of death, may be divided into three classes. In the first are numbered murder, shooting, stabbing, and such other offences as endanger life, and on which the extreme sentence of the law is invariably executed. In the second class are included arson, highway robbery, piracy, and other similar offences, in which the law, though not always, is very frequently carried into effect. On these two divisions I

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admit that at present it would be unsafe to make any alteration. But there is a third class—some connected with frauds of various kinds, but others of the most frivolous and fantastic description, against which the punishment of death is denounced in our statute-book, but never now carried into execution, and in which it never was executed, even in former times, without exciting the utmost disgust and horror in all good men—such as cutting down a hop-vine, or a tree in a gentleman's park; or cutting the head of a fish-pond, or being found on the high-road at night with the face blackened. These trifling and even ridiculous capital felonies are about a hundred and fifty in number; and although for the last seventy years they have in no one instance been carried into execution, yet there they stand, at this hour, a perpetual monument of savage barbarity, and an eternal proof of the difference between the written law and its practical execution. From the whole of this class of cases I propose to take away in law, as has long been done in practice, the capital sanction.

86. Continued.

"But even in those cases where the punishment of death may still, without shocking our moral feelings, be inflicted, it seems expedient, in every point of view, that the extreme punishment of the law should, if not entirely removed, be at least extremely limited. I do not contend for the entire abolition of the punishment of death: in some crimes, and especially murder, it ought to be inflicted. The courts of law should, in such cases, be armed with the awful power of taking away the offender's life; and thus it may be seen that, in this country, that may be done by justice which may not be done by power. But in order to render that authority fully impressive, I am convinced that the punishment of death should be abolished in those cases where inferior punishments are not only applicable, but usually applied. Nothing can be more detrimental to the purposes of justice than the frequency with which the sentence of death is pronounced

from the judgment-seat, with all the solemnities prescribed for the occasion, when it is evident, even to those against whom the sentence is pronounced, that it will not be carried into effect. The frequency of escape in such cases takes away the whole effect of capital sentence as an example. 'A single escape,' says Fielding, 'excites a greater degree of hope in the minds of criminals than twenty executions excite of fear.' The whole effect of punishment, as an example, is destroyed when the sympathy of the spectators is with the criminal when he is executed, or against the law when sentence is pronounced.

87. Concluded.

"In all nations, and in all stages of society, an agreement between the laws and the general feeling of the people is essential to their efficacy. But this agreement becomes of unspeakable importance in a country in which the charge of executing the laws is in a great measure committed to the people themselves. God forbid that I should wish to throw any impediment whatever in the way of our civil government; on the contrary, it is my object to remove such as exist. My object is to make the laws popular, to reconcile public opinion to their enactments, and thus to redeem their character. It is to render their execution easy, their terror overwhelming, their efficacy complete, that I implore the House to give to the subject their most serious consideration. The just and faithful administration of the law is the great bond of society—the point at which authority and obedience meet most nearly. If those who hold the reigns of government, instead of attempting a remedy, content themselves with vain lamentations on the increase of crime—if they refuse to conform the laws to the opinions and dispositions of the public, that growth must contribute to spread a just alarm." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxix. 778, 798.

To these just and able arguments, it was replied by Lord Castlereagh, Mr Canning also coinciding with him: "My own views do not differ materially from those

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88. Answer of Lord Castlereagh.

which have been enforced by the honourable gentleman with so much learning and ability. The great point, however, is to proceed with due caution; for unless this is done, the cause of criminal reform itself will be endangered by the experienced failure of its effects. This result has already taken place in one instance. In the year 1815, Sir Samuel Romilly brought in a bill which became law, taking away the punishment of death for stealing from the person. What was the result? Why, that the convictions for that offence had increased fourfold;*—that crime, the punishment of which had relaxed, had increased in a greater proportion than other crimes. The argument, therefore, that a relaxation of punishment would produce diminution of crime, was not in every instance well founded. This did not show that the Parliamentary inquiry moved for should not be granted; but it was a warning how cautiously and deliberately it should be entered into. The committee moved for, was not to be authorised to consider the question of secondary punishments. But how was it to bring about any practical good unless it did so? For if the punishment of death is to be taken away, is not the very first thing to be considered, what penalties are to be substituted in their room? Out of the 13,000 criminals with whom our jails are annually crowded, at least 10,000 are those to whom such secondary punishments are applicable.

89. Continued.

"It is fortunate that the learned mover has not been led away by the theoretical innovations as to the abolition of the punishment of death in all cases. When was there a nation which had ever been able to dispense with that painful necessity? Indeed, the mover's speech is to be admired, not less for what is contained

* Convicted for Stealing from the Person.

Years.	Convicted.	Years.	Convicted.
1810,	64	1815,	131
1811,	83	1816,	234
1812,	78	1817,	257
1813,	135	1818,	262
1814,	311		

than what is omitted in it. It may be true that the great increase which has taken place in the crimes for which the punishment has been mitigated, has been owing to the increased number of prosecutions. But is it possible, with any consistency, to say first that the increase of crime has been owing to undue severity in its punishment, and then that a still greater increase has been owing to its relaxation? If there is truth in the argument on the other side, the diminished severity of punishment, and consequent increase of convictions, should have led to a decrease in the crimes committed. The committee already appointed, and now actually sitting, on the state of the jails in the kingdom, with a view not only to the safe custody, but to the reformation of prisoners, would have to consider much which should be embraced in the present motion; that on the punishment of transportation, another part. It was prudent to await the result of their labours, before engaging in any more extensive inquiry as to the general amendment of the criminal law; for what could be more dangerous than to abolish generally the punishment of death, without being prepared to say what secondary penalties could be inflicted in its stead?"[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxxix. 800, 836.

90. Sir James Mackintosh's motion is carried. March 3.

It was evident, from the feeble manner in which Sir James Mackintosh's motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into our criminal laws was resisted, that Government felt that the case was indefensible, and that the sense of the House, as well as the nation, was in favour of the desired reformation. They only resisted the motion by a side-wind, in order to gain time, or bring forward a motion themselves, on which they might get a committee of their own appointment. In this, however, they were unsuccessful, for, on a division, Sir James's motion was carried by a majority of 19—the numbers being 147 to 128.[2]

[2] Parl. Deb. xxxix. 845.

This was the first decisive victory gained in the legislature by the advocates of criminal reform, and as such it

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91. Reflections on this subject.

deserves consideration. It was the turning-point between two systems. For a hundred and fifty years before it, every successive session of Parliament had been marked by one or more additions to the catalogue of capital crimes, until at length they had reached the enormous number of two hundred. Since that time, the penal sanction has been taken away by statute in so many cases, and the mercy of the Crown exercised so liberally in others, that for ten years past no persons have been sentenced to death in Great Britain but for murder; and execution has never taken place, except in wilful and cold-blooded cases of that crime. The number of persons who suffer the extreme penalty of the law is now never above fifteen or twenty in a year in England, and three or four in Scotland; and the melancholy spectacle of public executions does not take place a tenth part as frequently as it used to do, before Romilly and Mackintosh began their humane labours.* So far there is great cause for congratulation on the part of all the friends of humanity. But the subject is surrounded with difficulties; and if there is good cause for rejoicing in this respect, there is equal ground for apprehension in another. The difficulty arises, not from the argument, but the fact, and the results which have actually followed this great relaxation of our penal code.

It has been followed by a very great increase both of committals and convictions; the former, however, in a

* Sentenced to Death in England and Wales.

Years.	Sentenced.	Executed.	Years.	Sentenced.	Executed.
1816	890	95	1845	49	12
1817	1302	115	1846	56	6
1818	1254	97	1847	51	8
1819	1314	108	1848	60	12
1820	1236	107	1849	66	15

Since 1839 no person has been executed in England but for wilful murder; before the change in the law, the murderers were seldom more than a fourth of the number executed.—Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 635, third edition.

considerably greater proportion than the latter—indicating that, though the administration of the criminal law has become more regular, and there is an increased inclination on the part of injured persons to prosecute, and of juries to convict, yet no decrease, but, on the contrary, a very great increase of crime has taken place.* The increase of commitments, since the lenient system first began to be carried into effect in 1822, has been most alarming; for they have swelled in Great Britain and Ireland during that period from 27,000 to 74,000, or above 280 per cent; while, in the same period, population has only advanced from 21,000,000, in the two islands, to 28,000,000, or about 33 per cent; in other words, crime has increased about *eight times* as fast as the numbers of the people.† This is a sufficiently start-

Results of experience on the subject.

* Convictions in England and Wales per cent of Committals.

Years.	Per Cent.	Years.	Per Cent.
1805	60.43	1830	70.72
1810	61.35	1835	71.04
1815	62.46	1841	73.05
1820	67.23	1845	71.60
1825	69.01	1849	75.49

—Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 638, third edition.

† Commitments for Serious Crimes in Great Britain and Ireland.

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.	Population of whole.
1822	12,241	1,691	13,251	27,183	21,500,000
1823	12,263	1,733	14,632	28,628	
1824	13,698	1,802	15,258	30,748	
1825	14,437	1,876	15,515	31,828	
1826	14,164	1,999	16,318	34,481	
1845	24,303	3,537	16,696	44,536	
1846	25,107	4,069	18,492	47,668	
1847	28,883	4,635	31,209	64,677	
1848	30,349	4,909	38,522	73,780	
1849	27,806	4,357	41,982	74,162	28,000,000

—Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edition, pp. 8, 635, 667, 668, and *Parl. Returns.*

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ling result, the more especially as the last year (1849) was undisturbed either by Irish famine or rebellion; and the free-trade measures, from which the most general blessings had been predicted for the empire, had been for three years in full operation in Great Britain. And as it is well known to all persons practically engaged in these matters, that so far from commitments for trial being of late years issued for more trivial crimes than formerly, the case is just the reverse; and cases are constantly now disposed of by the police magistrates, and chastised by a few weeks' imprisonment, for which, thirty years ago, sentence of death or transportation was pronounced.

93. What has caused the apparent anomaly?

In truth, however, this anomaly is more apparent than real; and this disheartening result, so far from disproving, only proves more clearly the justice of Sir James Mackintosh's principles. Crime has increased so immensely, chiefly because they were applied only to the punishment of death, and not followed out, as they should have been, through the whole ramifications of offences, and the penalties attached to them. His fundamental principle was, that *certainty* of punishment is the only effectual mode of deterring from crime, and that this can never be attained unless the feelings of the people coincide with the law, and co-operate in its execution. No reasonable being can doubt the soundness of this principle; but, to be effective, it should be applied universally. When the capital sentence is taken away from a great variety of offences, if *certainty* of secondary punishment is not imposed in its stead, the temptation to the commission of crime, from the hope of comparative impunity, is of course increased. Unfortunately, however, many causes have contributed to render secondary punishments in the British empire more uncertain and ineffective, at the very time when the punishment of death has in all cases, excepting wilful murder, been taken away. One class trusted to education to arrest the progress of crime; forgetting that in England the educated criminals were already double of

the uneducated—and in Scotland, four and a half to one.* Another rested their hopes on the effect of the improvement of prison discipline in reforming the criminals, an illusion of all others the greatest; for experience has now abundantly proved that neither solitary confinement, nor long imprisonment, nor any amount of moral and religious instruction within the walls of a prison, has the least effect in amending the lives of prisoners in their own country, when they are discharged from it. In the meanwhile, the great increase of prisoners transported, who swelled from a few hundreds to nearly five thousand annually, and the extremely injudicious step of sending them all, without any intermixture of untainted settlers, to Van Diemen's Land—the most remote colony of Great Britain, and the least accessible to free colonists—rendered transportation there so great an evil, and so much an object of dread to other colonies, that a general resistance to the reception of convicts was manifested, and for several years none excepting young women were removed to the colonies. Thus transportation, after being pronounced as a sentence, was not carried into effect; the

* Table showing the instruction of criminals over the British empire in 1841 and 1848:—

	Neither read nor write.	Imperfectly.	Well.	Superior.	Total educated.	Total uneducated.
1841.						
England	9,220	13,732	2,253	126	18,171	9,220
Scotland	696	2,248	554	42	2,834	696
Ireland	7,152	3,084	5,631	...	8,733	7,152
1848.						
England	9,691	17,111	2,884	81	20,076	9,691
Scotland	...	...	...	...	3,985	911
Ireland						

—*Parl Returns*, 1841-8.

In France, it appears from M. Guerry's tables that in all the eighty-four departments, without exception, the amount of crime is in proportion to the amount of instruction; while in Prussia, where education is more general than in any other country in the world, being enforced by Government on every citizen with a family, the proportion of serious crimes to the population is *twelve times greater* than in France, where half the people can neither read nor write.—See ALISON'S *Essays*, i. 558.

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jails soon became incapable of holding the multitudes crowded within their walls; Government quietly let them go, after a year or two of imprisonment had been undergone; and they were soon back in their old haunts, committing new crimes, and giving their old associates the most encouraging accounts of the ease with which, by a little address, liberation from the severest sentence of transportation could be obtained.*

94. True principles on the subject.

The true principles to follow in dealing with secondary punishments, as with that of death, is to render them as certain as possible, and to consider imprisonment at home as only a preparation for, and means of teaching a trade to, those who are ultimately to be transported. For juvenile offenders and trifling cases, a very short imprisonment, as of a week, or a flogging, should be inflicted, merely with a view to terror. For a second offence of any sort, or a first of more serious, a prolonged imprisonment—as of nine months or a year—should be the penalty, during which the convict should be carefully instructed in a trade. For the next offence, transportation should invariably be inflicted, and as *invariably carried into execution.* And if it be objected that the colonists will not receive the convicts, the answer is, that no such difficulty was experienced till, by the abolition of the assignment system, and keeping convicts in gangs, and sending them all in overwhelming multitudes to *one* colony, and that the most distant and inaccessible to free settlers, it became an object of dread rather than ambition to all others; that this difficulty will at once be overcome by engaging, on the part of Government, to send three untainted colonists for one convict to any colony which will receive the latter; or establishing an

* At the spring circuit at Glasgow, in April 1848, out of 117 ordinary criminals indicted, there were 22 who had been convicted at that place within two years previously, and sentenced to various periods of transportation, none under seven years; and the previous sentence was stated in the indictment as an aggravation of the offence. The same was the case for several years, and obtains, though in a lesser degree, to this day.

entire new penal colony, to which all untainted persons emigrating at the expense of Government might be sent—a system which would at once convert all the refractory colonies into petitioners for a portion of the fertilising stream; and that, if it should prove otherwise, Australia is large enough to afford room for the establishment of new penal colonies, regarding which no consent need be asked for thousands of years to come.*

95. Clandestine succours sent by the English to the South American insurgents.

Another subject of general interest was discussed in Parliament this year, which was that of the succours clandestinely furnished by the British to the insurgents in South America. Ever since the contest between the splendid colonies of Spain and the mother country had begun in 1810, of which an account has been given in a chapter of the author's former work,[1] it had been regarded with warm interest in Great Britain;—partly in consequence of the strong and instinctive attachment of its inhabitants to the cause of freedom, and sympathy with all who are engaged in asserting it; partly in consequence of extravagant expectations formed and fomented by interested parties, as to the vast field that, by the independence of these colonies, would be opened to British commerce and enterprise. As long as the war in Europe lasted, this sympathy was evinced only by an anxious observance of the struggle; for the physical resources of the country were entirely absorbed in the terrific contest with Napoleon. But when peace succeeded, and the armies of all the European states were in great part reduced, the interest taken in the cause of South American independence began to assume a more practical and efficient form. Great numbers of officers from all countries, wearied of the monotony of pacific life, or tempted by the high rank and liberal pay offered them in South America, began to go over to the ranks of the insurgents, and ere long ren-

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lxvii.

* In the essay on "Crime and Transportation," in the author's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 547, this very important and interesting subject is discussed more at length, and in detail, than is practicable in a work of general history.

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dered their forces greatly more formidable than they had previously been. The English, prompted by the love of freedom, wandering, and adventure, which seems to be inherent in the Anglo-Saxon character, were soon pre-eminent in this respect; and the succours they sent over ere long assumed so formidable an appearance as attracted the serious notice of the Spanish government. Not only did great numbers of the Peninsular veterans, officers and men, go over in small bodies, and carry to the insurgents the benefit of their experience and the *prestige* of their fame, but a British adventurer, who assumed the title of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, collected a considerable expedition in the harbours of this country, with which, in British vessels and under the British flag, he took possession of Porto Bello, in South America, then in the undisturbed possession of Spain, a country at peace with Great Britain. This violent aggression led to strong remonstrances on the part of the Spanish government, in consequence of which Government brought in a Foreign Enlistment Bill, which led to violent debates in both Houses of Parliament.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. June 28, 1819, xl. 1381, 1382.

96. Argument of Ministers in favour of the Foreign Enlistment Bill.

On the part of Government, it was argued by the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Castlereagh: "As the law at present stands by the 9th and 29th Geo. II., and the 9th Geo. III., it is made felony, without benefit of clergy, to seduce subjects of this country to enlist in the service of foreign powers. These enactments are quite general, and apply to all foreign countries without exception, and have no special reference to the raising troops for the service of the Pretender, though they were probably conceived with that view. Soon after the late peace was concluded, it was discovered that several British officers had left this country to take service with the insurgents of South America. At first, while the number was inconsiderable, the Government did not consider it necessary to notice their engagements. When, however, the number increased, it was notified to officers on half-pay, that if they enlisted in foreign service they

would lose their half-pay. This notice, however, had not the desired effect. The enlistment of recruits for South America went on openly: several large bodies embarked in British harbours for that country, and lawyers thought it doubtful whether the existing Acts of Parliament could reach them. It became necessary, therefore, to do something more efficient; and this was alike called for by our position as a neutral power, and by the special engagements under which we stood with Spain, relative to the South American insurgents.

97. Continued.

"By the treaty of 1814 with the cabinet of Madrid, Great Britain had expressly become bound to furnish no succours to the Spanish insurgents, and the Government declared their resolution to observe a strict neutrality; and a proclamation, founded on this principle, was issued in 1817, warning his Majesty's subjects not to accept any military commissions from, nor give any aid to, either of the parties. This principle was strictly acted upon by the British Government; and although some British officers were serving by license in the Spanish army, it was understood they were not to act against the insurgents; and this understanding had been enforced in two instances. A change of the law, however, had become necessary, because the severity of the penalty denounced in it rendered it impossible to carry it into execution. It is proposed in the present act to take away the capital sanction, and declare persons enlisting in foreign service guilty of misdemeanour only, and to declare the supplying the belligerents with warlike stores, and equipping vessels for warlike purposes, the like offence. The law thus mitigated, in conformity with the spirit of the age, may be really carried into effect, so as to show that we are really in earnest in the neutrality we have declared.

98. Continued.

"Such a determination is one which is not to be regarded as a temporary, but a permanent resolution—a declaration of the policy which, in all similar circumstances, has regulated just and considerate neutral states, and which it is incumbent on this country in an especial

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manner steadily to adhere to. It is expressly provided for by the treaty with Spain in 1814; but, irrespective of that treaty, it is incumbent on us by the external principles of justice and the acknowledged maxims of international law. It is impossible to say we are at peace or amity with a country, the subjects of which are entitled to make war at pleasure with the subjects of our own country. Such a species of hostility is war in its very worst form; for it is war without its laws, its restraints, its direction, or its objects. It is not national hostility directed to public purposes, but private piracy aiming at nothing but individual plunder. Can we permit armaments fitted out in this country to attack the peaceable colonies or possessions of another country, or to aid its insurgents in severing themselves from its dominion? This case has actually occurred in the recent seizure of Porto Bello, a town of New Spain, by an expedition commanded by a person who assumed the title of Sir Gregor M'Gregor. If this was sanctioned against Porto Bello, might it not equally be done against Corunna, Cadiz, or Madrid itself? Was this consistent with justice? Was it not, on the contrary, sanctioning the grossest injustice? Of all states in the world, Great Britain is the one which has the most decided interest to resist the promulgating of such doctrines; for not only is Ireland the perpetual field of domestic discontent and foreign tampering, but her colonies in every part of the world at once invite aggression, and render defence almost hopeless.

99. Concluded.

"The same case has occurred in former times with other countries, and been always met by the steady resistance for which we now contend. In 1792 a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the United States, by which it was stipulated that the subjects of neither power should accept commissions in the service of any prince or state at war with the other. The government of the United States, when the war broke out between this country and France, immediately passed a law prohibiting the enlisting of their citizens in the service of any

foreign prince or power, or furnishing them with ships or warlike stores; and this act, which punished any infringement of its provisions by fine or imprisonment, though at first temporary, was afterwards made permanent. In 1818 the Americans extended this law to any power, whether recognised or not, expressly in order to meet the case of the succours sent to the Spanish insurgents in the southern parts of their continent. It is true that volunteering into foreign service was permitted in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I., and James II.; but then it was only because the services entered into were those of states at war with the avowed enemies of Great Britain, and at a time when the virulence of religious warfare rendered hostilities as ceaseless between Catholics and Protestants as ever they had been between Mussulmans and Christians. But can this be predicated of our old and faithful allies the Spaniards, who have stood by our side in the terrible Peninsular struggle during seven years with Napoleon? And are we prepared, as the first proof of our gratitude to them for the devoted fidelity with which they fulfilled their engagements towards us during war, to aid their enemies, on the return of peace, in dismembering their dominions?"[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xl. 1378, 1387.

100. Answer by the Opposition.

On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Holland, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr Tierney: "The present bill has been brought forward, not on any general ground of policy, for it is directly contrary to the practice of England in its best days, but solely in consequence of a specific application from the court of Spain. Had, then, that power any right to make that demand, either upon the ground of the general law of nations, or the terms of any particular treaty; and if she had not, are there any reasons of justice or expedience which calls upon us to depart from the undoubted law, and still more undoubted feeling, of this country for above a century back? Both questions must be answered in the negative. The German jurists, particularly Martens, say that it is perfectly consistent with neutrality to give every assistance to either of the

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belligerents, except warlike expeditions. This principle has been constantly acted upon in this country. It was done, and to a very great extent, in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Dutch were struggling for their independence; and in that of James, when Gustavus Adolphus was contending, on the plains of Germany, for the cause of religious freedom all over the world. Could it be said that the efforts of individuals to support the cause of South American independence were warlike expeditions, in the sense of the German jurist? 'Every state,' says Martens, 'has a right to give liberty of raising troops in its dominions, and marching them through the country, and may grant to one state what it refuses to another, without infringing its neutrality.' It is in vain to say this is a novel and unheard-of doctrine; it has been constantly acted upon in this country. Queen Elizabeth allowed her subjects to enlist to any extent in the service of the Dutch commonwealth, though never in that of Philip of Spain; and James I., a great jurist, though certainly no hero, allowed 2800 soldiers to be raised for the service of Gustavus Adolphus, while he remained undisturbed in his relations of amity with the Emperor, against whom they acted. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that for four centuries, and down to the year 1792, when the Netherlands were engaged in a revolt against Joseph II., there never was a period in which British subjects were not engaged in giving succour, as individuals, to other states; and no instance can be shown in which Government interfered in the manner now proposed to prevent them.

101. Continued.

"But it is said the Government of Spain is entitled to particular rights by the treaty of 1814, already alluded to. Not a hint on this subject had been given when the treaty was signed; but now, after the lapse of five years, they come forward and claim performance of certain stipulations in their favour. It is impossible to suppose that the clause in that treaty is to be understood in the

sense now put upon it; for, if so, how is it possible to explain the silence of both governments in regard to it during the last five years? Nay, in the treaties with France the subjects of the two countries are interdicted from issuing letters of marque; so that, according to the doctrine of Government, this country, not having the advantage of a treaty of commerce with Spain, was to be held as having incurred an obligation which only a treaty of commerce could have imposed. The strict interpretation of this treaty would bear very hard on the independent states of South America; for it is well known that arms are sent openly from this country to the government of old Spain, to be used against the South American states; and, indeed, the public journals have publicly declared that the expedition from Cadiz was only delayed for that purpose. The execution of this treaty would not be preserving even the balance of a strict neutrality; it would be enabling the government of England to give assistance to the government of old Spain, while it withheld succour from the states of South America, struggling for their independence.

102. Concluded.

"Much had been said as to the assistance given to the South American states by the half-pay officers who have entered their service from the army of this country; but there is much also to be said on the other side, on behalf of that gallant and meritorious body of men. It is easy to make rhetorical flourishes about soldiers retiring, and converting their swords into pruning-hooks; but every one knows that, though that sometimes took place in antiquity, it does not exist save in the dreams of the poets in modern times. A large body of men who have devoted themselves to war as a profession, and have spent the best part of their lives in its service, cannot, in general, turn to any other profession; and if unable to maintain themselves in their proper rank in this country, it is the height of injustice to debar them from following out their profession in foreign states. The commercial

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interests of the country loudly call for the Government not to discourage a movement eminently calculated to extend and promote new fields for the enterprise of its merchants in the New World. This is a great and important consideration, which ought not lightly to be passed over. There is no man in England who can for a moment suppose that the colonies of Spain will ever return to the government of the old country, attached as they are to freedom by passion and inclination, as well as by the prospect of enjoying the blessings which Providence has so bountifully placed within their reach. After the long, painful, and bloody war shall have ended, and these countries have obtained those first of earthly blessings, liberty and independence, it would be painful to think that England, during its continuance, had been linked only with the cause of their tyrants; and that, not content with dealing out a fair measure of justice between the contending parties, Parliament had thought fit to invoke the aid of the common informer against those persons who devoted their abilities and energies to the cause of freedom in the New World."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xl. 1388, 1401.

On this debate the Lords determined in favour of Ministers by a majority of 53—the numbers being 100 to 47. On a debate on the same subject in the House of Commons, the majority was 61—the numbers being 190 to 129.[2]

[2] Parl. Deb. 1284, 1416.

103. The succours to the insurgents still continue. Reflections on this subject.

It was evident, from the comparatively narrow majority in the Commons on this important subject, that a strong national feeling had come to prevail in the legislature in favour of the insurgents in South America; and, in truth, this feeling was but the reflection of a still stronger one in the nation on the subject. The English people were all but unanimous in favour of the cause of South American independence. All classes joined in the desire to see the Spanish colonies emancipated from what was supposed to be, and in some respects with justice, the tyranny of the mother country. The philanthropic and

enthusiastic saw a boundless career of happiness opened to those immense regions, if they were extricated from the meshes of governors and priests, and blessed with Anglo-Saxon freedom and institutions. The democratic party rejoiced in the establishment of republican institutions all over the world. The half-pay officers, languishing in obscurity and poverty, were easily persuaded to enter the service of states which offered them high rank, liberal pay, and a grant of land at the conclusion of the contest. Not a few of the giddy youth were caught by the brilliant uniforms which were displayed at the shop-windows, and which, donned the moment they received their commissions, enabled them to figure at balls in London before they had undergone any of the perils of real warfare. The covetous and selfish—and they were by far the largest class—looked forward to an immense addition to our export trade, to the future extension of which no limits could be assigned, if the Spanish monopoly was broken down, and a colonial trade, which, before the war, amounted to above *fifteen millions sterling of exports* from old Spain, was thrown open to British enterprise.[1] The two strongest principles in the Anglo-Saxon mind—the love of freedom and the love of gain—were so firmly enlisted in favour of the South American insurgents, that all attempts to check it were vain. The Act of Parliament passed remained a dead letter. The embarkation of troops, stores, and loans of money, continued without intermission; and, as detailed in a former work, Spanish America was thereby rendered independent, and severed from the dominion of old Spain.[2]

[1] Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne, iv. 153, 154.

[2] See Hist. of Europe, c. lxvii. §§ 47-91.

104. Vast extent of the aid thus afforded to the insurgents.

Yet, though success attended these efforts of Great Britain in favour of the Spanish insurgents, as it did those of France in support of the North American insurgents in the last century, there can be no doubt that in both cases the conduct was equally criminal, and equally a violation of the law of nations. Admitting that the doctrine of Martens, on which Lord Lansdowne so

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strongly rested, is well founded, and that it is no violation of neutrality for one belligerent to be allowed to levy men in the dominions of a neutral power, that was a very different thing from the course which was now adopted in Great Britain in regard to the South American insurgents. There was no levying of men by isolated foreign agents, as in the wars of the Duke of Alva or Gustavus Adolphus. Joint-stock companies were formed; loans to an enormous extent granted to the governments of the insurgent states, at a very high rate of interest, provided for by retaining twenty or thirty per cent off the sum subscribed; and great expeditions sent out, which at last amounted to 8000 and 10,000 men, fully armed and equipped by the companies engaged in the undertaking, in order to secure for them the payment of their dividends. Never had the Government of England during the war, before the Spanish contest commenced, furnished such effective succours to its allies on the Continent, both in men, money, and arms, as were now sent out by private companies and individuals to aid the cause in which they were so deeply interested in the New World; and the success gained was proportionally great; for it, and it alone, prolonged the contest, and at length severed the colonies from the parent state.[1]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lxvii. §§ 49-91.

105. Punishment which England has received for this injustice.

But immediate success is not always the test either of the wisdom or justice of national measures. God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, but it is often on the third and fourth generations. From 1814 to 1824, England acted most iniquitously in aiding in the dismemberment of an allied state, with which she was in perfect amity at the time, and which had faithfully stood by her during her previous struggle; and, like France, for a similar faithlessness before, she has got her reward. By aiding the revolution in America, France brought on revolution upon herself a few years after; and the same result followed, though from a different series of causes, the English efforts to dismember the allied Spanish empire

in the next century. The prolongation of the contest, which raged without intermission for fifteen years, from 1810 to 1825, utterly ruined the mines of South America, and brought down the annual supply of precious metals for the use of the globe from ten millions to three millions annually; thence, of course, ensued a general reduction of prices of every article over the whole world, and especially its workshop and trading emporium, Great Britain. Actuated by a similar motive, the love of gain, and the desire of augmenting the value of realised capital, England at the very same time adopted the decisive step, by the Act of 1819, of contracting her paper currency, and rendering it entirely dependent on the retention of gold, beyond the limited amount of fourteen millions—an amount wholly inadequate to the wants of the nation. At the moment when, by its foreign policy, and the aid given to the cause of insurrection, the nation was so diminishing the supply of the precious metals over the globe, as to render their retention in this country in adequate quantities a matter of impossibility, it voluntarily cut off the resource of a domestic paper circulation, and dried up the springs of industry by halving the currency by which it was to be maintained. Thence the terrible monetary crisis of 1825, the long-continued and widespread suffering which followed that catastrophe, the Reform revolution which that suffering induced, the total change in the commercial policy of the empire which ensued in the next twenty years, and the dissolution of those bonds which united her colonies to the parent state, and held together the magnificent fabric of the British empire. All this resulted from our own acts—was all the direct and immediate consequence of our own injustice. The year 1819 was the turning-point in our policy, both foreign and domestic; all the vast changes which have since ensued may be traced to the ascendancy of the principles in the nation which were then brought into operation.

And what gain has England won, even in the first

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106. Dreadful losses arising from our interference with South America.

instance, to compensate such widespread and lasting devastation? Admissions made by the ablest leaders of the new system, facts collected by its best statisticians, give the answer. Lord Palmerston has told us, in his place in Parliament, that Great Britain, between 1820 and 1840, had advanced £150,000,000 in loans to the popular states and republics of Spain and South America, nearly the whole of which had been lost by the faithlessness or insolvency of the states which received them. If to this we add the dreadful losses consequent on the monetary crisis of 1825, the direct consequence, as will immediately appear, of the speculations entered into in 1824 by British capitalists in South America, at a time when the maintenance of our currency at home was rendered entirely dependent on our retention of the daily declining supplies of gold, we shall have a loss of at least three hundred millions sterling inflicted upon Great Britain, the direct consequence of her own selfish pursuit of gain at the expense of other interests or states. Was, then, the gain from these unwise or iniquitous measures such as to compensate the direct and fearful loss with which they were attended? So far from it, the export trade from Great Britain to South America, which embraces nearly all of European fabrics which the independent states can take off, had sunk to £1,290,000 in 1827, and in 1824 had only reached £2,300,000;* although the exports from Spain alone to these colonies before the war was £15,000,000, and the imports from them

* Exports from Great Britain to South American States.

Years.	Mexico.	Texas.	Guatemala.	Columbia.	Rio de la Plata.	Peru.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1827	692,800		1,948	213,972	154,895	228,466	1,292,076
1828	307,028		6,191	261,113	312,389	374,615	1,261,330
1829	303,562		..	232,708	758,540	300,171	1,549,048
1840	465,330		2,373	359,743	614,047	799,991	2,239,454
1841	434,901		21,265	158,972	989,466	536,046	2,140,440
1842	374,969		..	231,711	969,791	684,313	2,260,784

—Porter's *Parl. Tables*, xii. 114.

£17,150,000, the greater part of which immense trade was in the hands of British merchants.* As if to demonstrate, too, that it is to the Revolution, and it alone, that this prodigious decline is to be ascribed, our exports to Brazil, which has retained its monarchical government, have averaged about £2,500,000 for the last twenty years.† And our exports to America, exclusive of the United States, were in 1809, before the Revolution began, no less than £18,014,219; and in 1810, £15,640,166.‡ Such have been the effects, even to the immediate interests of England, of her iniquitous attempt to dismember, by insidious acts in peace, the dominions of a friendly and allied power! Providence has a just and sure mode of dealing with the sins of men, which is to leave them to the consequences of their own actions.

* IMPORTS from SPAIN, and EXPORTS to it from the SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIES in 1809.

	IMPORTS FROM SPAIN.		EXPORTS TO SPAIN.			
			Agricultural produce.		Precious metals.	
	Piastres.	£	Piastres.	£	Piastres.	£
Porto Rico,	11,000,000	2750,000	9,900,000	2,250,000		
Mexico,	21,000,000	5,250,000	9,000,000	2,250,000	22,500,000	5,660,000
New Granada,	5,700,000	1,450,000	2,000,000	500,000	3,000,000	750,000
Caraccas,	8,500,000	2,150,000	4,000,000	1,000,000		
Peru and Chili,	11,500,000	2,875,000	4,000,000	1,000,000	8,000,000	2,000,000
Buenos Ayres and Potosi,	3,500,000	875,000	2,000,000	500,000	5,000,000	1,250,000
	59,200,000	15,200,000	30,000,000	7,500,000	38,500,000	9,650,000

—HUMBOLDT'S *Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne*, iv. 153, 154.

† EXPORTS from GREAT BRITAIN to BRAZIL and AMERICA, excluding UNITED STATES.

To BRAZIL.			To AMERICA, excluding United States.		
Years.			Years.		
1827	...	£2,312,109	1806	...	£10,877,968
1828	...	3,518,297	1807	...	10,439,423
1829	....	2,516,040	1808	...	16,591,871
1840	...	2,625,853	1809	...	18,014,219
1841	...	2,556,554	1810	...	15,640,166
1842	...	1,756,805	1811	...	11,939,680

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, xii. 114.

‡ PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 359, third edition.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, THE ARTS, AND MANNERS, IN GREAT BRITAIN AFTER THE WAR.

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1. Great impulse given to literature and science after the war.

THOSE who consider war a universal and unmitigated evil, and fields of battle vast shambles, where human beings massacre each other without either object or pity, would do well to consider the progress of Great Britain and France in literature, science, and the arts, during the forty years which followed the close of the war, and compare it with any other epoch which is to be found in the annals of modern times. In none does so great an impulse appear to have been given to human genius, nor were such efforts made by human industry, nor such triumphs achieved by human exertion. Compared with this era, all preceding ones sink into insignificance. Science made splendid discoveries—literature a mighty stride—genius took lofty flights. The effect was the same in England, France, and Germany; the Augustine age of each is that which immediately succeeded the fall of Napoleon. The triumphs of art, the additions made to the power of man over the elements, were unparalleled during this period. Space was almost annihilated—time essentially abridged. The electric telegraph conveyed intelligence in a few minutes from Paris to London. Steam conveyed the emigrants in ten days from Britain to America, in six weeks to India. In proportion to the vehemence of the internal passions, the hidden fires which

impelled mankind into the wilderness of nature, was the addition made to the facilities by which they were to reach, the powers by which they were to subdue it; and after the lapse of three thousand years, Fire vindicated the right of the poet to rank Prometheus as the greatest benefactor of the human species.

2. Way in which war produces this effect.

It is not merely by the impulse given to energy, and the extrication of talent and vigour by the danger and necessities of war, that it acts in this decisive way in great emergencies upon the fortunes of mankind. A still more important effect takes place by the direction which it gives to the passions and the thoughts, by impelling them out of the narrow circle of selfish and individual objects, into the wider sphere of public and national interest. Selfishness is the upas-tree which invariably grows up and sheds its poisoned drops around during periods of tranquillity, because then there is no counter attraction to the seductions of sense—the suggestions of interest. Every man sits under the shadow of his own fig-tree, but every man thinks of that fig-tree alone. In war he is obliged, by the approach of danger, to extend his view to the farthest parts of the horizon—to become interested in remote and future events; to sympathise with the fortunes of men in distant lands. This, when extended to nations, is an immense advantage; for it is the application of a remedy to the greatest weakness and radical curse of humanity. The actors in war, indeed, are often selfish, rapacious, hard-hearted; though many among them are noble, generous, devoted. But the sufferers under it are actuated in general by the generous emotions. Among them is to be found the patience which endures suffering, the heroism which braves danger, the patriotism which sacrifices self to country. It is in these emotions that the spring is to be found of national greatness, even in the arts of peace; it is not less true in the moral than the material world, that "a nation makes the Past, the Distant, and the Future predominate

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over the Present—exalts us in the scale of thinking beings."

3. Rapid progress of steam navigation in Britain.

If the period succeeding the war is one which is not rich in great events, it is fruitful in great men; if the triumphs of arms are awanting, those of philosophy, literature, and the arts were memorable and everlasting. It was distinguished by the first successful application of steam to the purposes of locomotion—a discovery of which the original honour is due to Scotland, but the first successful application to America; and of which the consequences in their ultimate results are destined to change the face of the moral world.* Like all the other changes which have made a great and lasting impression on human affairs, its importance was not at first perceived. It was decried by philosophy, and rejected by the French *savans*, to whom Napoleon remitted the consideration of it as a means of forwarding the invasion of Great Britain.† Practical men, however, were not long of discovering its importance; and within a few years of the time when the first steam-boat—the Comet—was launched upon the Clyde, several hundreds were sailing round the British islands. For long it was thought that steam could not be used for long voyages; and naval men generally declared, that, from the fragility of the materials necessarily employed in generating it, it would make no material change in naval warfare. Time, however, has now enabled us to estimate at their true value these prognostications. The Atlantic has been breasted by the British steamers—the duration and expense of the voyage to New York have been halved—the journey to Bombay, by the Red Sea, is habitually performed in six

* The first steam-boat ever constructed was built by Mr Miller of Dalswinton, in 1797. The author has seen it, as a curiosity, on the Forth and Clyde Canal. One of the workmen engaged in its construction carried the secret out to America, where it was eagerly embraced, and energetically carried into execution by Fulton in 1812. The first one which ever sailed in the British seas was the Comet, on board of which the author made a voyage in 1813.

† See ALISON'S *Europe*, c. 34, § 67.

weeks; and preparations are making for conveying emigrants in seven by the Isthmus of Panama or that of Suez to Australia. Already nearly the half of the British navy is composed of steam-vessels of war; and the principal security of England is founded on the belief that she could on an emergency fit out a greater number of those ocean giants than any other power.

4. And of the cotton manufacture.

Less striking in appearance, but not less important in reality, has been the progress of the cotton manufacture, the creature of steam, in the British islands, especially during the years which immediately succeeded the peace. Rapid as had been its advance during the war, its forward movement and the improvement in its machinery was still more marvellous since its termination; for British industry was then exposed to the competition of foreign nations in which labour was cheaper and taxes lighter, and superiority could only be maintained by a continued addition to the powers and simplification of the wheels of machinery. But here the coal and ironstone of Great Britain came to the aid of its inhabitants; and great as had been the discovery of Watt, its powers were quadrupled by the additions made to it by subsequent genius. The marvels of the cotton manufacture, in Britain, have since that time exceeded all other marvels; and the vast development of native wealth and industry during the last thirty years has been mainly owing to its progress. From the accounts laid before Parliament, it appears that the official value of cotton goods exported, which in 1785 was £864,000, and in 1797 had risen to £2,580,000, had mounted in 1814, at the close of the war, to £17,655,000; and in 1833 had reached the enormous amount of £46,000,000! So great and rapid an increase is, perhaps, not to be found in any single branch of manufacture; nor, perhaps, in all branches put together, since the beginning of the world. If these wonderful statistics afford a key to much of the strength exhibited in England during the war, those which follow

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are equally symptomatic of its weakness, and of the prolific seeds of distress which the resumption of cash payments and the contraction of the currency had implanted, in the period succeeding the peace, in the community. The *official* value, which indicates the *quantity* manufactured, had risen, between 1814 and 1832, from £17,600,000 to £46,000,000; the *declared* value, which indicates the price received for it, had sunk from £20,000,000 to £18,450,000.* It is not surprising that this extraordinary diminution in the declared value of cotton goods exported took place at a time when so great an increase in the production was going forward, for such was the reduction in the cost of production, by the application and improvement of machinery, and contraction of the currency, that the price of cotton yarn, No. 100, which in 1786 was 38s., had sunk in 1832 to 2s. 11d.; and a piece of calico, which in 1814 cost £1, 4s. 7d., was selling in 1833 for 6s. 2d.! Whoever will consider these figures with attention, will have no difficulty in discovering the principal causes at once of the strength and weakness of the British empire during and subsequent to the war, and of the vast social and political changes which so soon after occurred in it.[1]

[1] Barnes' History of Cotton Manufacture, 350, 357; Parl. Papers, 1831, No. 145.

The vast impulse given at this period to industry was

* Cotton Manufactures and Yarn exported from Great Britain.

Years.	Official value.	Declared value.	Years.	Official value.	Declared value.
1697	£5,915		1821	£23,541,615	£16,094,807
1780	355,060		1822	26,911,043	17,218,801
1785	864,710		1823	26,544,770	16,276,843
1797	2,580,568		1824	30,155,901	18,376,515
1800	5,854,057		1825	29,495,281	18,253,631
1810	18,951,994		1826	25,194,270	14,013,675
1814	17,655,378	£20,033,132	1827	33,182,898	17,502,394
1815	22,289,645	20,620,956	1828	33,467,417	17,140,114
1816	17,564,461	15,577,392	1829	37,269,432	17,394,575
1817	21,259,224	16,012,001	1830	41,050,969	19,335,971
1818	22,589,130	18,767,517	1831	39,357,075	17,182,936
1819	18,282,292	14,699,912	1832	43,786,255	17,344,676
1820	22,531,079	16,516,758	1833	46,337,210	18,459,000

—*Parl. Paper*, 1831, No. 145; and *Finance Accounts*, 1834.

5. Progress in other branches of manufacture.

not confined to the cotton manufacture; though it, as the greatest, was the most conspicuous, and has attracted most attention. In woollen goods, cutlery, hardware, and iron, the progress was nearly as rapid; the last, in particular, was in a manner a new creation in Great Britain since the peace. The total quantity of pig iron wrought in Great Britain, in 1814, was 350,000 tons; in 1835 it had risen to 1,000,000 tons.* Generally speaking, however, it was in the useful arts only that this extraordinary growth was perceptible; in the more delicate and ornamental, and those which depended on the fine arts for their design and beauty, we were still greatly inferior to our Continental neighbours. Remoteness of situation, distance from the models of taste in the remains of ancient genius, was the cause of this inferiority. The necessity of studying them, the value of schools of design to diffuse and perpetuate a knowledge of their beauty and of the principles of art, was unknown. A quarter of a century had to elapse before the nation became sensible of its inferiority in these respects, and endeavoured, by the general establishment of elementary schools for the study of the fine arts, to emancipate itself from the necessity of recurring to foreign artists for designs in all the ornamental branches of manufacture. Since that period its progress in the fine manufactures, and the designs requisite for them, has been great and rapid; but at the Great Exhibition of 1851 it was apparent that even then an equality with foreign taste had not yet been attained.

* Iron made in Great Britain.

Years.		Tons.	Years.		Tons.
1796	...	124,000	1830	...	653,000
1802	...	170,000	1835	...	1,000,000
1806	...	250,000	1836	...	1,200,000
1814	...	350,000	1840	...	1,500,000
1823	...	442,000	1847	...	1,999,000
1825	...	581,367	1848	...	2,093,736
1828	...	702,584			

—Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 267, 269, third edition.

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6. Brilliant eras in literature which generally succeed those of great public dangers.

If the triumphs of British art and industry have been great during this memorable period, those of its genius and thought have been not less remarkable, and still more lasting. This is generally the case, after a great and decisive national struggle: the energy and talent developed during its continuance by the urgency of the public dangers, is directed, on their termination, to pacific objects. Literature then assumes its noblest character, and is directed to its most elevated objects; for general have superseded individual desires, and the selfish passions have, by the pressure of *common* danger, been for a time extinguished by the generous. This appeared—and from the same cause—both in Greece and Rome, and in modern Europe: the age of Pericles and Euripides immediately succeeded that of Themistocles; the genius of Cicero and Virgil illuminated the era which had witnessed the contests of Cæsar and Pompey. The era of Michael Angelo, Ariosto, and Tasso threw a radiance over the expiring strife of the Crusades; that of Bossuet, Molière, and Racine over the declining glories of the Grand Monarque; that of Shakspeare, Bacon, and Milton soon followed the fierce passions of the Reformation. The period during which this transcendant union exists is generally as short-lived as it is brilliant; and the reason, being founded in the very causes which produced it, is of lasting influence. The vehement contests which awaken and draw forth the latent powers of the human soul, are necessarily of no very long duration: one party or another is ere long vanquished in the strife; and alike to the conquerors and the conquered succeeds a period of constrained repose. It is at the *commencement* of that period, when the sway of the generous passions awakened by former common danger is still felt, and their direction only is changed, that genius appears in its brightest colours, and works destined for immortal endurance are produced. The lengthened duration either of the prosperity consequent on success, or the humiliation result-

ing from adverse fortune, does not extinguish genius, but misdirects it; in the first case, by directing effort to selfish objects—in the last, by depressing it through the extinction of hope.

7. Literary character of Sir Walter Scott.

Sir WALTER SCOTT is universally considered as the greatest writer of imagination of this century; and his reputation has been so widespread and lasting, that it may reasonably be anticipated that it will not materially decline in succeeding times. Like most other great men, the direction of his genius was in a great degree determined by the circumstances in which he arose; but its character was exclusively his own. He advanced to manhood during the heart-stirring conflict with the French Revolution; and his mind, naturally ardent, was early inflamed by the patriotic and warlike feelings which that contest naturally produced. A volunteer himself in the yeomanry ranks, his animated strains induced many to follow his example. The influence of those circumstances is very conspicuous in his writings, and many of the finest passages in his descriptions of Flodden and Bannockburn were suggested by the mimic warfare on Portobello Sands, near Edinburgh, where his corps exercised. This in some degree directed the application, but it did not stamp the character of his genius. That was entirely his own. Close observation of nature, whether animated or inanimate, was his great characteristic; the brilliancy of fancy, the force of imagination, were directed to clothing with sparkling colours her varied creations. It is hard to say whether his genius was most conspicuous in describing the beauties of nature, or delineating the passions of the heart; he was at once pictorial and dramatic. To this he owes his great success — hence his world-wide reputation. He was first known as a poet; but, charming as his poetic conceptions were, they were ere long eclipsed by the widespread fame of his prose romances. The novels of the Author of *Waverley* caused the poems of Walter Scott to be for a time forgotten. But time has

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re-established them in their celebrity; and great as is still the fame of the Scotch novels, it is rivalled by the heart-stirring verses of *Marmion*, the enduring charm of the *Lady of the Lake.*

8. Peculiar character of his writings.

Sir Walter Scott commenced his career under very peculiar circumstances, singularly favourable for the portraiture of character at different times and under different aspects. Passing much of his childhood on the banks of the Tweed, his early fancy was kindled by the tales of the Border chivalry; educated in Edinburgh, he dreamed, in maturer years, in the grassy vale of St Leonards, of the knights of Ariosto and the siege of Jerusalem. But the charms of poetry, the creations of romance, did not detach his mind from the observation of nature. Mounted on a hardy Highland pony, he wandered over the mountains of Scotland, observing its scenery, inhaling its beauties, studying the character of its inhabitants. On the mountain's brow, by the glassy lake, he engraved the features of the land on his recollection; by the cottage fireside he stored his mind with the feelings and anecdotes of the peasantry; amidst the castle ruins he realised in fancy the days of chivalry. The poetic temperament of his mind threw over the pictures of memory the radiance of imagination, without taking away the fidelity of the recollection. Thence the general admiration with which his works were received. The romantic found in them the realisation of their imaginative dreams; the antiquarian, a reminiscence of the olden times; the practical, a picture of the characters they had seen around them, and with which they had been familiar from their infancy. Lord Jeffrey said, in one of the early reviews of his writings, that Scott had opened an unworkable vein, and that no human ability could make the manners of the olden time popular;—a strange observation in a country in which the creations of Ariosto, the tenderness of Tasso, charmed every successive generation of men, and the error of

which subsequent experience has abundantly demonstrated.

9. Their elevated moral character.

With these great and varied powers Scott might have been a most dangerous writer, if, like Voltaire, he had directed them to sapping the foundations of religion, or to the delineation of the degrading or licentious in character. But the elevated strain of his mind preserved him from such contamination. It was on the noble, whether in high or low life, that his affections were fixed; the ordinary was delineated only as a set-off to its lustre. Thence his enduring fame—thence his passport to immortality. Nothing ever permanently floated down the stream of time but what was buoyant from its elevating tendency. The degrading, the licentious, the fetid, is for a time popular, and then forgotten. Alike in delineating the manners of feudal times, or the feelings of the cottage, the dignity of *man* was ever uppermost in his mind: he was the poet of chivalry, but, not less than the bard of nature, he never forgot that—

> "The rank is but the guinea stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that."

No man ever threw a more charming radiance over the traditions of ancient times, but none ever delineated in a nobler spirit the virtues of the present; and his discriminating eye discovered them equally under the thatch of the cottage as in the halls of the castle. It has been truly said that the influence of his writings neutralised, to a certain extent, the effect of the Reform Bill; but it is not less true that none ever contributed more powerfully to that purification, without which all others are nugatory—the reform of the human heart; and perhaps he is the only author of numerous works of fiction of whom it may with truth be said, that he never wrote a line which, on deathbed, he could wish recalled.

It is to his earlier writings, however, that this unqualified praise applies. *Waverley, Guy Mannering, The*

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10. The defects of his later writings.

Antiquary, The Bride of Lammermoor, Old Mortality, are the perfection of romantic pictures of later times; *The Abbot, Quentin Durward,* and *Ivanhoe,* of the days of chivalry. But these rich veins were at length exhausted; and the prolific fancy of the author diverged into other scenes and periods in which he had not such authentic materials to work with, and where his graphic hand was no longer to the same degree perceptible. Some of his later romances are so inferior to the first, that it is difficult to believe they have been composed by the same master spirit. It is on the earlier novels, which delineate the manners, feelings, and scenes of Scotland, and a few, such as *Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, The Talisman,* and *Quentin Durward,* which paint those of other lands, that his fame as a writer of romance will permanently rest: another proof, among the many which the annals of literature afford, that it is on a faithful delineation of nature that the permanent reputation of works even of imagination must be founded, and that the Ideal can be securely rested on no other basis but the Real.*

11. Lord Byron.

Lord Byron is the author who, next to Sir Walter Scott, has obtained the most widespread reputation in the world; and yet his character and the style of his writings differ so widely from those of the Wizard of the North, that it is difficult to understand how, at the same time, they attained almost equal celebrity. He was not antiquarian in ideas, nor graphic in the delineation of character. He neither studied the days of chivalry in old romances, nor human nature in the seclusion of the cottage. He was in an especial manner the poet of high life. He has often delineated the Corsairs of the Archi-

* Sir Walter Scott had a prodigious fund of stories and anecdotes at command, both in regard to the olden and the present time, which he told with infinite zest and humour; and his conversation was always interspersed with those strokes of delicate satire or sterling good sense which abound in his writings. But he had not the real conversational talent; there was little interchange of ideas when he talked; he took it nearly all to himself, and discoursed of persons or old anecdotes, or characters, not things.

pelago and the maids of Greece; but it was to please the high-born dames of London that all his pictures were drawn. Born of a noble English family, but of a Scotch mother, and nursed amidst the mountains of Aberdeenshire, his ardent temperament was first evinced in childhood by a precocious passion for a Scottish beauty, his poetic disposition awakened by the mist-clad rocks of Lochnagar. Thrown into the fashionable world in London at a very early age, he soon felt that satiety which genius never fails to experience from the excess of pleasure, and that dissatisfaction which real greatness generally feels amidst the vanities of fashion. Wearied with the inanities of gay, the dissipation of profligate life, he sought change abroad: the rocks of Cintra, the beauties of Cadiz, the isles of Greece, successively rose to his view; and the brilliant moving panorama, seen through the eyes of genius, produced the poem of *Childe Harold*, which has rendered his name immortal.

12. His merits and defects.

It is on this splendid production, more than on his metrical romances, that his reputation will ultimately rest. The success of the latter was at first prodigious, but it arose from a peculiarity which is fatal to durable fame. They were so much admired, not because they were founded on nature, but because they differed from it. Addressed to the exclusive circles of London society, they fell upon the high-born votaries of fashion with the charm of novelty; they breathed the language of vehement passion, which was as new to them as the voice of nature, speaking through the dreamy soul of Rousseau, had been to the corrupted circles of Parisian society half a century before. As such they excited an immense sensation, and, even more than the thoughtful and yet pictured pages of *Childe Harold*, raised the author to the very pinnacle of celebrity. But no reputation can be lasting which is not founded on the images and feelings of nature: singularity, affectation, caprice, if wielding the

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powers of genius, may acquire a temporary celebrity, but it will be but temporary. With the circumstances which nursed, the fashion which exalted it, it falls to the ground. It was ere long discovered that his Corsairs and Sultanas were all cast in one mould, and bore one image and superscription; their passions were violent and powerfully drawn, but they were all the same, and bore no resemblance to the diversified emotions of real life. They were like the trees of Vivarez or Perelle, so well known to the lovers of engravings—rich, luxuriant, and charming at first sight, but characterised by decided mannerism, very different from the veracious outlines of Claude or Salvator.

13. His dramas, and Don Juan.

In once class of readers the dramas of Byron have won for him a very high reputation; in another, *Don Juan* is his passport to popularity. But though characterised by ardent genius, and abounding with noble lines, his dramatic pieces want the elements of enduring fame. They are too wild for ordinary life, too extravagant for theatrical representation. They do not come home to our hearts; there is nothing in them which can be enjoyed by the cottage fireside. Applause from the humbler classes would never begin with their performance. They are addressed to, and calculated for, minds as high-strung and poetical as his own; and how many are they amidst the multitude of ordinary readers? *Don Juan* is different: there is much in it which unhappily too powerfully rouses every breast. But although works of fiction, in which genius is mingled with licentiousness, often, at first, acquire a very great celebrity, at least with one sex, they labour under an insurmountable objection—they cannot be the subject of conversation with the other. Works of fiction are chiefly interesting to both sexes, because they portray the feelings by which they are attracted to each other. When they are of such a description that neither can communicate those feelings to the other, the great

object of composition is lost, and lasting celebrity to the author is impossible.*

14. Moore as a lyric poet.

The same objection applies in an equal degree to the earlier writings of MOORE; but there is a much wider acquaintance with the human heart in his later poems, and a much more graphic, and therefore touching, delineation of human feeling than in the Corsairs and Medoras of Byron. In some respects he is the greatest lyric poet in the English language. Without the discursive imagination of Akenside, without the burning thoughts of Gray, without the ardent soul of Campbell, he has written more than comes home to the hearts of the young and impassioned of both sexes, than any other author—if a few lines in Burns are excepted—in the whole literature of Great Britain. His Irish and national melodies will be immortal: and they will be so for this reason, that they express the feelings which spring up in the breast of every successive generation at the most important and imaginative period of life. They have the delicacy of refined life without its fastidiousness — the warmth of natural feeling without its rudeness. He is in an especial manner the poet of love; but it is the love of chivalry and romance rather than licence, and embellished with all those images and associations with which genius in successive ages has heightened the warmth of natural feeling. Vast numbers of his lines are committed to memory by the young of both sexes; their charm is to

* It was impossible that a man of Lord Byron's genius could converse for any length of time without some sparks falling; and his celebrity and rank rendered him a great favourite, especially of women of high rank. But he wanted nature in his ideas, and simplicity in his manner. He never forgot himself, and was constantly affecting the *roué* and man of fashion, rather than the poet or literary man. *Don Juan* was the picture of him in real life, much more than any of his heroes or Corsairs. The author met him only once, at Venice, in 1818, when he kindly entertained him in his hotel, and rowed him through the Grand Canal and the Lagunas to Lido in his gondola. The conversation was charming, chiefly from the historic anecdotes connected with the places which Lord Byron mentioned; but the impression left, on the whole, was rather lowering than elevating to that previously formed by the study of his writings.

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many associated with the magic of song—the smiles of beauty; and their enduring celebrity may be anticipated by the widespread interest which they have already awakened.

15. His Oriental turn, and satirical verses.

The mind of Moore was essentially Oriental: the images and ideas of the East sparkle in all his verses. His feelings were chivalrous—his soul penetrated with the refinements of Europe; but his thoughts were of the cloudless skies, and resistless genii, and bewitching maids, of the land of the sun. So strong was his propensity, that it led to the composition of a poem of which the scene and characters were entirely laid in the East; and *Lalla Rookh* remains an enduring monument of the charm produced by the clothing of Oriental images and adventure with the genius and refinement of the Western world. But though agreeable to persons of general reading and varied information, it will never be so popular with ordinary readers as those lyric poems which express the feelings of the universal heart. The greatest defect of his compositions is a vein of conceit, which, even in mature years, he was never able entirely to overcome. His images are always sparkling, often brilliant; but they are as frequently far-fetched, and bespeak rather the strained effort of fancy than the genuine effusions of passion. His earlier poems, published under the name of Little, though often beautiful, are so licentious that they are never now heard of but from the lips of the professed votaries of pleasure. Great part, in point of bulk, of his poems is occupied with subjects of a satirical cast or ephemeral character: they will share the usual fate of such productions; they will expire with the manners or characters which are satirised. There are many *lines* in the satires of Juvenal and Horace which are in every mouth, but the *whole poems* are *read* by none except schoolboys, into whom they are driven by the force of the rod, or pedants who aspire to the dignity of wielding it. Many persons are amused, some instructed, by the

picture of the follies of their own age, but comparatively few by the absurdities of those which have preceded them; and although few are indifferent to the scandal of their contemporaries, fewer still take an interest in that of their great-grandmothers.*

16. Campbell: his vast and noble genius.

If the wide spread of his fame, and deep impression produced by his poems, is to be taken as the test of excellence, CAMPBELL is the greatest lyric poet of England, and second to few in the general scale of poetic merit that Great Britain has ever produced. With the exception of Shakspeare and Gray, there is no author of whom so many ideas and lines have been riveted in the general mind of his country, or become, as it were, household words of the English in every land. It is not so much the felicity and brevity of expression, though they never were surpassed, which have won for him this vast celebrity; it is the elevation and moral grandeur of his thoughts which have so generally fascinated the minds of men. He was in every sense the Bard of Hope. Undoubting in faith, untired in hope, he discerned the Rainbow of Peace amidst the darkest storms of the moral world.† In the gloomiest disasters he never

* The author met Moore only once, but that was under very interesting circumstances. After an evening party at Paris in the Rue Mont Blanc in 1821, when he charmed every one by his singing of his own melodies, especially the exquisite one on genius outstripping wealth in the race for woman's favour, they went away together, and, falling into very interesting conversation, walked round the Place Vendôme, in constant talk for three hours. They separated at three in the morning, with regret, at the foot of the Pillar of Austerlitz, and never met again. His conversation was very sparkling; and, as it abounded in the rapid interchange of poetical ideas, it impressed the author more than the more discursive and amusing anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott.

† Witness his noble lines on the partition of Poland—

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell;—
Yet thy proud lords, unpitied land! shall see
That Man hath yet a soul, and dare be free;
A little while along thy saddening plains
The starless night of Desolation reigns;
Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of Heaven.
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurled—
Her name, her nature, withered from the world."

Pleasures of Hope.

CHAP. V. despaired of the fortunes of mankind, and was prepared to light

"The Torch of Hope at Nature's funeral pile."

The experienced in the ways of men will probably be inclined to regard many of his poems as Utopian and impracticable—the wise and reflecting, as better adapted to a future than the present state of existence; but the young, the ardent, and enthusiastic, will never cease to turn to them, as fraught with the noblest aspirations of our nature; and we may despair of the fortunes of the species when the admiration for *The Pleasures of Hope* begins to decline.

17. His lyrical poems.

Great as is the reputation of that noble poem, that of his lyrical pieces is still greater. They are at present, perhaps, the most popular poems of the kind in the English language; and there is no appearance of their fame diminishing. The *Rainbow*, the *Mariners of England*, the *Stanzas to Painting*, *Lochiel's Warning*, the *Ode to Winter*, the *Last Man*, *Hohenlinden*, the *Battle of the Baltic*, have become so engraven on the national heart that their impression may be regarded as indelible. They bear a very close resemblance to the ballads and poems of Schiller, and share in all the noble feelings, and yet simple and home-spun images, by which those beautiful strains are distinguished. They have all the terseness and felicity of expression which have rendered Horace immortal, without any of the licentiousness which disfigures his pages. But his poems are very unequal: many, especially of the later ones, are so feeble and inferior, that it could hardly be believed they proceeded from the same hand as his earlier productions. No man was ever more felicitous in his images, or conveyed a beautiful idea in more pure and striking metaphor. His well-known image—

"'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before"—

is perhaps the most perfect and unmixed metaphor in the English language. His genius was brilliant, but it was precocious, and declined as life advanced; its flame rose up at once to a towering height, but it did not, like that of Burke, Bacon, and Rousseau, gather strength with all the acquisitions of life; and of him could not be said, as was done of ancient genius, "Materia alitur, motibus excitatur, et urendo lucescit."

18. Rogers' Pleasures of Memory.

If the *Pleasures of Hope* to the end of time will fascinate the young and the ardent, those of *Memory* will have equal charms for the advanced in years and the reflecting. ROGERS has struck a cord which will for ever vibrate in the human heart, and he has touched it with so much delicacy and pathos, that his poetry is felt as the more charming the more that the taste is improved and the mind is filled with the recollections of the past. His verses have not the vehemence of Byron's imagination, nor the ardour of Campbell's soul: "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" will be looked for in vain in his compositions. He was not fitted, therefore, to reach the highest flights of lyric poetry. He never could have written the "Feast of Alexander," like Dryden; nor the "Bard" of Gray, nor the "Stanzas to Painting" of Campbell; but he possessed, perhaps, in a still higher degree than any of them, the power of casting together pleasing and charming images, and pouring them forth in soft and mellifluous language. This is his great charm; and it is one so great, that, in the estimation of many, particularly those with whom the whirl and agitation of life is past, it more than compensates for the absence of every other. To the young, who have the future before them, imagination and hope are the most entrancing powers, for they gild the as yet untrodden path of life with the wished-for flowers. But to the aged, by whom its vicissitudes have been experienced and its enjoyments known, memory and reflection are the faculties which confer the most unmixed pleasure, for they dwell on the past, and recall its most

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enchanting moments. Campbell had the most sincere admiration for Rogers, and repeatedly said that he was a greater poet than himself. Without going such a length, it may safely be affirmed that there is none more chaste, none more refined; and that some of his verses will bear a comparison with the most perfect in the English language.*

19. Southey: his peculiar character.

If ever two poets arose in striking contrast to each other, Rogers and SOUTHEY are the men; and yet they appeared in the same age, and flourished abreast of each other. Rogers is the poet of home; his charm consists in painting the scenes of infancy—portraying the endearments of youth; and he is read by all with such pleasure in mature life, because he recalls ideas and revives images which all have known, but which have been almost forgotten, though not destroyed, by the cares and anxieties of life. Southey embraces a wider sphere, but one less calculated permanently to interest the human heart. His knowledge was immense—his reading unbounded—his memory tenacious; and he availed himself of the vast stores these provided, with graphic power and scrupulous fidelity. He was a historian in poetry as well as prose; and narrated, with all the power of diction, and embellished with the richest hues of nature, many of the most stirring events which have occurred in the annals of mankind. But it is rare, indeed, to find a man which can clothe reality in verse with the colours of fiction. Homer, Virgil, and Shakspeare, have alone done so since the beginning of time; and the secret of their success was not their graphic power nor their brilliant imagination, so much as their profound knowledge of what is in all ages the same—the human heart. Southey's *Madoc*, *Don Roderick*, and

* As, for example, the Invocation to Memory—

"Hail Memory, hail! within thy sparkling mine,
From age to age what boundless treasures shine!
Thought and her shadowy brood thy call obey,
And space and time are subject to thy sway!
Thy pleasures most we feel, when most alone,
The only pleasures we can call our own!"

Pleasures of Memory.

the *Curse of Kehama*, are splendid metrical histories, but they do not contain the traits which speak at once to all mankind—they are addressed to the learned and studious, and these are a mere fragment of the human race. Admired, accordingly, by the well-informed, they are already comparatively unknown to the great body of readers; and the author's poetical fame rests chiefly on *Thalaba*, in which his brilliant imagination revelled without control, save that of high moral feeling, in the waterless deserts, and palm-shaded fountains, and patriarchal life of the happy Arabia.

20. His merits as a historian and moralist.

If Southey's knowledge as a historian has impeded his success as a poet, his fancy as a poet has not less seriously marred his fame as a historian. He wrote several large historical works, of which the *Annals of the Peninsular War* and the *History of Brazil* are the most considerable; but though both possess merits of a very high order, and abound in passages of great descriptive beauty, they have never attained any high reputation, and are now well-nigh forgotten. He had not the patience of research and calmness of judgment indispensable for a trustworthy historian. His facts in many places will not bear investigation; he was credulous in the extreme, and gravely retailed statements on the authority of inflamed chronicles which subsequent inquiry disproved, and common sense at the moment might at once have discovered to be false. Living secluded and retired, he was entirely ignorant of the realities of life, and never had been brought in contact with men in their business transactions—the only way in which a thorough knowledge of their secret springs of action can ever be attained. The want of this is painfully conspicuous both in his historical and social writings; but though this deficiency must prevent them from permanently holding the place in general estimation which might have been anticipated from the genius and acquirements of the author, they must always command respect from the erudition they display, the reflec-

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tion they evince, and the elevated moral and religious feelings by which they are always characterised.*

21. Wordsworth: his character as a writer, and great fame.

In all these respects, except the last, the neighbour of Southey in the mountains of Cumberland, WORDSWORTH, presents the most decided contrast. He had not his information—was not distracted by any prose compositions—and made no attempt to traverse the numerous and varied fields of thought or industry which Southey has tilled with so much zeal. But on that very account he was more successful, and has left a far greater reputation. He was less discursive than his brilliant rival, but more profound. Little attended to as works of that stamp generally are in the outset, they gradually but unceasingly rose in public estimation; they took a lasting hold of the highly educated youth of the next generation; and he now numbers among his devout worshippers many of the ablest men, profound thinkers, and most accomplished and discriminating women of the age. Indeed, great numbers of persons whose mental powers, cultivated taste, and extensive acquirements entitle their opinion to the very highest consideration, yield him an admiration approaching to idolatry, and assign him a place second only to Milton in English poetry. He is regarded by them in much the same light that Goethe is by the admiring and impassioned multitudes of the Fatherland.

22. Parallel between him and Goethe.

It may be doubted, however, whether, with all his depth of thought, simplicity of mind, and philosophic wisdom, Wordsworth will ever get that general hold of the English which Goethe has done of the German mind.

* The author met Southey only once, but he then saw much of him, under very interesting circumstances. Travelling through the Highlands of Scotland in autumn 1819, with his friend Mr Hope, the present Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, they were put into a room at Fort Augustus, the inn being crowded, with two other gentlemen, who proved to be Mr Telford, the celebrated engineer, a very old friend of the author, and Southey. It may readily be believed the conversation did not flag in such society; it continued from nine at night till two in the morning, without a moment's intermission. Southey was very brilliant, but yet unassuming. He left an impression on the mind which has never been effaced; and the author was gratified to find, on sending him a copy of his *History*, that he had not forgotten the nocturnal meeting.

The reason is, that he is not equally imaginative. He is a great philosophic poet; and, to minds of a reflecting turn, no writer possesses more durable or enchaining charms. But how many are the thoughtful or reflecting to the great body of mankind? Not one in twenty. "C'est l'imagination," said Napoleon, "qui domine le monde." Goethe, on the other hand, is not only simple and reflecting, but he is in the highest degree imaginative. His creative genius transports us alternately to the Chersonesian Taurus, the palace of Ferrara, and the cliffs of the Brocken. He is equally at home in the prison of Count Egmont, the wickedness of Mephistopheles, and the jealousy of Tasso. Wordsworth had nothing dramatic in his composition; he had an eye alive to the beauty, a soul responsive to the melody, of nature; but he had not the power of bringing the events of life with the colours of reality before the mind of the reader. His reflection was vast on the stream of human affairs, his sagacity great in detecting their secret springs; but he viewed them as a distant unconcerned spectator, not an impassioned energetic actor. Goethe had as little turn for action as Wordsworth, but he had incomparably more power of narrating its passions; he kept out of the whirl himself, but he lent the whole force of his mind to delineating the feelings of those who were tossed about by its billows. As the active bears so great a proportion to the speculative part of mankind, Goethe, who depicts the feelings of the former, will always be a more general favourite than Wordsworth, who delineates the speculations of the latter; but that very circumstance only enhances the admiration felt for the English poet, by that small but gifted portion of the human species who, mingling with the active part of the world, yet judge them with the powers of the speculative.

COLERIDGE, in some respects, bore a close resemblance to Wordsworth, but in others he was widely different. He was deep and reflecting, learned in philosophic lore,

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23. Coleridge: his poetic character.

and fond of critical disquisition. He was less abstract than Wordsworth, but more dramatic—less philosophic, but more pictorial. Deeply penetrated with the genius of Schiller, he has transferred the marvels of two of the great German's immortal dramas on Wallenstein to the English tongue with the exactness of a scholar and kindred inspiration of a poet. His ode to Mont Blanc is one of the sublimest productions in that lofty style in the English language. But he is far from having attained the world-wide fame of Gray, Burns, and Campbell in that branch of poetry. The reason is, that his ideas and images are too abstract, and too little drawn from the occurrences or objects of common life. He was deeply learned, and his turn of mind strongly metaphysical; but it is neither by learning nor metaphysics that lasting celebrity, either in oratory or poetry, is to be attained. Eloquence, to be popular, must be in advance of the age, and *but a little* in advance. Poetry, to move the general mind, must be founded on ideas common to all mankind, and feelings with which every one is familiar, but yet educe from them novel and pleasing conceptions. It reaches its highest flights when, from these common ideas and objects, it draws forth uncommon and elevating thoughts; conceptions which meet with a responsive echo in every breast, but had never occurred, at least with equal felicity, to any one before.

24. Mrs Hemans.

The genius of woman at this period produced a rival to Coleridge, if not in depth of thought, at least in tenderness of feeling and beauty of expression. Mrs HEMANS was imbued with the very soul of lyric poetry; she only required to have written a little less to be one of the greatest in that branch that England ever produced. A small volume, containing twenty or thirty of her best pieces—and these only such as "The Graves of a Household," "The Deserted Hearth," "The Cliffs of Dover," "The Voice of Spring," "The Ancestral Homes of England," and the like—would at once take its place beside

the lyric poems of Collins, Gray, and Campbell. Melancholy had marked her for its own; she was deeply impressed with the woes of life, and it is in working up mournful reflections and images with the utmost tenderness and pathos that her great excellence consists. There she is perhaps unrivalled in the English language. She had undergone more than the usual share of the sufferings of humanity; for, married early in life, and, as it proved, unhappily, she was thrown, in some degree, for the support of herself and her sons, upon the resources of her own genius. Thence at once her excellence and her failings: her sufferings made her portray grief with faithful power; her circumstances impelled her to do so in dangerous profusion. It is impossible to be a great *and voluminous* lyric poet: the fame of Horace and Pindar rests on as few great odes, as Schiller, Gray, or Campbell have left to the world. The diamond, the brightest and purest of all substances, lies hid in the recesses of nature, and is drawn forth only in small portions, and distant intervals, to fascinate the world.

25. Crabbe.

Memorable, indeed, in poetic annals is the age which produced seven such poets as those who have now been considered; and immortal would be the British muse, if she never added another string to her lyre. But there were other poets at the same period whose talents adorned the poetic literature of the day, and whose genius would have conferred lustre on any preceding age. CRABBE was a writer of a totally different character from any of the preceding; but, nevertheless, of very high merit. He had nothing imaginative in his disposition—none of the spirit of chivalry, none of the ardour of romance. But he had a feeling, sensitive heart—warm sympathy with the sufferings of the poor, great power of delineating them. Living in a country village, and surrounded with distress, which his humanity prompted him to seek out, and affluence did not enable him to relieve, he endeavoured to support the cause of the poor by painting their lives,

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their virtues, their sufferings, and thus enlisting the sympathy of the rich in their behalf. In this attempt he was eminently successful; and whoever wishes to obtain a faithful picture of the real condition of the rural population of England at that period, will do well to consult his graphic pages. But their reputation is sensibly on the decline: he is now seldom read, and still seldomer quoted; none of his lines have sunk into the public mind, and become as household words. The reason is that they want the lofty spirit, the elevating tendency, which is the only passport to immortality. Such a lofty spirit is perfectly consistent with the delineation of humble life. We see it in the lives of the patriarchs in Holy Writ—we see it in the poems of Burns—we see it in the tales of Sir Walter Scott. Gray has made the most popular poem in the English language out of the reflections on a country churchyard—

"The short and simple annals of the poor."

But the mere delineation of humble life, without the heroism which dignifies, or the magnanimity which rises superior to it, however popular for a season, never has a durable reputation. Time ever vindicates the immortal destiny of man; nothing can permanently float down its stream but what is buoyant from its elevating tendency.

26. Joanna Baillie.

JOANNA BAILLIE is an authoress of a totally opposite character—of less graphic, but greater imaginative powers. In the seclusion of a Scottish manse were nurtured in her breast, in early life, the romantic visions of real genius: the past with its heroes, its minstrels, its damsels, its tragedies, floated before her eyes; she aimed at delineating the passions, but it was the passions as they exist in noble breasts. Less stately and pompous than Corneille, less vehement and impassioned than Schiller, her dramas bear a certain affinity to both; they belong to the same family, and give token of the same elevated and heroic spirit. The great defect of her tragedies is, that they want those touches of nature and genuine pathos which

go at once to the soul, and thrill every succeeding age by the intensity of the emotions they awaken. Everything is in sonorous Alexandrine verses; stately, dignified, and often beautiful; but sometimes tedious, and often unnatural, at least in impassioned scenes. She had no conception of stage effect; and on this account, as well as from the English being habituated to the rapid dialogue and strokes of nature in Shakspeare, her dramas have never succeeded in actual representation. But to minds of an elevated and sympathetic cast, they form, and will ever form, a charming subject of study in the library; and whoever reads them with a kindred spirit will acquiesce in the elegant compliment of Sir Walter Scott—

> "And Avon swans, while rang the grove
> With Basil's love and Montfort's hate,
> Responsive to the vocal strain,
> Deemed their own Shakspeare lived again."

27. Tennyson.

TENNYSON belonged to a period in English annals somewhat later than the one with which we are now engaged; but the whirl of political events will not permit a recurrence to the inviting paths of poetry and literature—and he will, perhaps, not regret being placed beside his great compeers. He has opened a new vein in English poetry, and shown that real genius, even in the most advanced stages of society, can strike a fresh chord, and, departing from the hackneyed ways of imitation, charm the world by the conceptions of original thought. His imagination, wide and discursive as the dreams of fancy, wanders at will, not over the real so much as the ideal world. The grottoes of the sea, the caves of the mermaid, the realms of heaven, are alternately the scenes of his song. His versification, wild as the song of the elfin king, is broken and irregular, but often inexpressibly charming. Sometimes, however, this tendency leads him into conceit; in the endeavour to be original, he becomes fantastic. There is a freshness and originality, however, about his conceptions, which contrast strangely

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with the practical and interested views which influenced the age in which he lived, and contributed not a little to their deserved success. They were felt to be the more charming, because they were so much at variance with the prevailing ideas around him, and reopened those fountains of romance which nature has planted in every generous bosom, but which are so often closed by the cares, the anxieties, and the rivalry of the world.

28. Character of the prose compositions of the period.

It was hardly to be expected that the same age was to be equally celebrated in prose compositions; it is rarely that the sober thought required in works of abstract reasoning, and the ardent temperament which is the soul of poetry, coexist in the same generation. Yet such a union, though unfrequent, is not unknown; and the ages of Sophocles, Socrates, and Thucydides—of Cicero, Virgil, and Livy—of Bossuet, Racine, and Molière, are sufficient to prove that, when it does occur, it leads to the very highest efforts of human intellect. It could not, in truth, be otherwise; for repetition and monotony of ideas are the bane of literature not less than of imagination; and the social convulsions which lead to the most daring flights of the poetic muse, tend equally to cast down the barriers which restrain thought, and induce the collision of opinions, from which, as from the striking of flint and steel, the light of truth is elicited. It is not at once, however, that the bright illumination always appears; clouds and dust often, for a time, follow the shock; and it is only when they have rolled away that the pure flame at length shines forth.

29. Dugald Stewart.

As a philosopher, DUGALD STEWART stands at the head of the writers of the age; but yet he belonged rather to the one which had preceded it. His writings are the efflorescence of the ideas which grew in the days of Montesquieu and Helvetius, of Reid and Hume. French philosophy and Scotch metaphysics met in his mind; but he arrayed the offspring of the marriage in brilliant colours. His learning was great, his taste exquisite: all

the philosophy of mind, from the days of Plato, was present to his memory; all the images of poetry, from the time of Homer, floated in his imagination. The author is not afraid of exaggerating, either from the recollections of early friendship, or the reverence of academic instruction, when he places him at the head of the didactic orators of the age. His lectures were written, but always interspersed with long interludes of extempore effusion; and on these occasions the glow of his eloquence, and rich treasures of his memory, were poured forth with a profusion which transported every one who listened to it. Philosophers may contest many of his opinions, statesmen search in vain for instruction in his writings; but none ever listened to his lectures without having an image engraven on the memory which no length of time can efface.

30. His want of original thought.

Yet with these many and transcendant merits, Stewart had several wants; and hence his fame with posterity will be greatly less than it was with the age in which he lived. The very qualities which rendered him so great as a teacher to the young, disqualified him from being the leader of opinion to those engaged in active life; he lived in thought with the past, and therefore he failed to meet the wants of the present. He was the man of the past age, but not of the one in which he lived; he brought his pupils down the stream of time with admirable skill to the edge of the ocean on which they were to embark; but he there left them, without either rudder or compass, to the mercy of the waves. He did more; he imbued them with doctrines which, if carried out to their full extent, would lead to the most disastrous consequences. In metaphysics, he had corrected the errors of Locke and Hume, by the sound sagacity of Reid; but in politics, he was still guided by the visions of Turgot in the days of Napoleon; in political economy he was a follower of Quesnay and Smith, in the age which was resounding with the gloomy predictions of Malthus. He discoursed admirably on the

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thoughts of preceding times, but he drew little light from the events of his own; and his writings are distinguished rather by great learning, refined taste, and correct judgment, than original thought, or a just appreciation of the social changes in the midst of which he himself was placed.

31. Dr Brown.

The successor of Dugald Stewart in the chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, Dr THOMAS BROWN, was a man, if not of so cultivated, at least of a more original cast. His mind was of a very peculiar kind; it was a cross between the Scotch metaphysician and the German romancer. He had all the acuteness and analytical turn of Hume or Hutchison, and all the ardour and tenderness of Goethe or Schiller. It is not often that such opposite qualities and powers coexist in the same mind; but, when they do, they seldom fail in producing a very great impression, and conferring durable fame. Rarity is not the least ingredient in earning permanent popularity; it is common minds with their works which are swept down the gulf of time. Inferior in learning to Stewart, Brown was more original; he drew less from the thoughts of others—more from the ideas of his own breast. He was extremely acute, and inferior to none in the masterly manner in which he analysed the feelings, and detected the errors of former inquirers. But it was other qualities which gave him his great success. Himself of a poetical turn of mind, his taste was exquisite, and he adorned his lectures by those charming fragments of former genius which, often more than even original composition, contribute to the power of eloquence. The success of his published Lectures accordingly was immense; they have already gone through sixteen editions—by far the greatest number of any book on the subject in the English, or perhaps any other language. So vast a circulation proves that they had extended beyond the narrow circle of metaphysicians into the great sphere of general readers. A premature death, brought on in some degree by the intensity of his studies, cut him off in the

flower of his age, and deprived Great Britain of one of the most eminent philosophers, and his friends of one of the most amiable men, that ever existed.

32. Paley.

If Scotland, in Brown, gave token of its national character, by exhibiting the combination of poetic genius with metaphysical acuteness, the practical and sagacious turn of the Anglo-Saxon mind was not less clearly evinced in PALEY. He belongs rather to the age of George III. than to that of his successor; but he is too eminent to be omitted in a survey of English literature at this period. His mind was essentially English, and English in its best mood. He was not remarkable for his learning, though far from being ill-informed; but the bent of his mind was not towards scholarship. He was eminently practical in his ideas; his thoughts, descending from the clouds, ever turned to some object of actual importance in real life. His mind was not of the most elevated cast, and accordingly he made *utility* the great object of life and measure of actions. He will never be a favourite, accordingly, with that handful of men who nevertheless alone do great things in the world, who aim at the noble and generous in all things, and let the useful take care of itself.* But, while his disposition precluded him from rising to the highest rank in literature, which never is to be attained but by the influence of lofty feelings, within his limits, and in a lower sphere, he was very admirable, and eminently useful. His *Natural Theology* is the best work on the sublimest subject of human contemplation—the wisdom of God in the works of nature—that exists in our language; his *Moral Philosophy*, a clear exposition of the leading truths and most useful branches of ethics. That so very eminent a man, who had rendered such services to his country, should not have been raised to the highest dignities in the Church, to which so many inferior men were

* "Paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse, eoque factum, ut divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret."—SALLUST, *Bell. Cat.* § 53.

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elevated; is the strongest proof of the narrow and timid principles on which patronage in those days was regulated. George III. said of him, "Paley is a great man—will never be a bishop, will never be a bishop;" —words which at once mark the acknowledged superiority of his intellect, and the inferiority of those who are intrusted with the disposal of Church preferment.

33. Malthus: what led to his doctrines.

If original views were awanting in this accomplished writer, they were not so in the great political philosopher of the age, Mr MALTHUS. On him, at least, the experience of passing events was not thrown away; and the collision of thought struck out new and original ideas, which cast a broad light on political science. Action and reaction seems to be the law, not less of the moral than the material world; it is only after violent oscillations either way that the pendulum of thought takes its lasting position in the centre. From the earliest period of civilised history, it had been thought that the strength of a state depended mainly on the amount of its population; and it had passed into a maxim, both with statesmen and philosophers, that to increase the numbers of the people was the surest way both to augment the national resources, and add to the sum of human happiness. In the end of the eighteenth century, however, the aspect of things, both in the Old and the New World, led this original thinker to distrust these propositions. The social misery which had terminated in such convulsions in France—the increasing and alarming weight of the poor-laws in England—appeared to give no countenance to the idea that the oldest periods of social progress were the happiest; while the extraordinary rapidity with which population was advancing in America, afforded the clearest indication of the capability of advance with which, under favourable circumstances, the human species was invested. Mr Wallace had previously demonstrated that the rate of human increase, if unchecked, was that of a geometrical progression; and as that rapidity of

progress had actually been realised for nearly two centuries in America, Malthus arrived at the conclusion that it would obtain universally, if the powers of human multiplication were not restrained by adverse external circumstances. These appeared to be, Moral Restraint—or a prudential abstinence from marriage till the means of providing for a family had been attained—and Vice and Misery; and so general and widespread did the operation of the two latter checks seem to be, compared to the limited sphere of the former, that he arrived at the melancholy conclusion that the great source of human suffering was to be found in the disproportion between the powers of human increase, and those by which subsistence can be provided for the growing multitude. Population was capable of increasing in a geometrical, while, by the utmost efforts of industry, subsistence could not be made to advance in more than an arithmetical ratio: the former was thus constantly pressing on the latter; this pressure increased with the advancing age of society; and so severe did it at length become, that all other sources of misery were as nothing compared to the original and inherent causes of distress which arise necessarily and immediately from the constitution of our nature, and our position in the world.

34. Great influence and rapid spread of his doctrines.

To produce a great and immediate effect on general opinion, there is nothing so efficacious as some image which strikes the senses, or some terse expression of familiar illustration, which conveys in the clearest possible manner a simple idea to the mind. It is the most difficult thing in the world for reason or experience to combat such an influence. Government, for many a long day, was twitted with "the ignorant impatience of taxation," of which, in vexation at losing the income-tax, Lord Castlereagh spoke; and many convulsions which shook the most powerful states have arisen from the cry at the high price of provisions, or the exhibition of the big and little loaf. The celebrated paradox of Malthus was of

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this description. The idea he struck out was novel—the illustration by which it was conveyed, equally clear and felicitous. The geometrical and arithmetical progression were soon in every mouth. Men caught with alacrity at an expression which seemed to express with precision an idea which had been long floating in their minds, and which explained in the clearest possible way some of the most alarming anomalies in our social position. It was satisfactory to be able to lay upon Providence many evils which had formerly been supposed to have been induced by ourselves; and it was not the least agreeable consequence of such a doctrine, that the necessity of public and private charity was in a great measure removed by the obvious inadequacy of such remedies to close the real sources of human suffering.

35. His errors, and subsequent demonstration of them.

Political economy is not less certain in its conclusions than the exact sciences, when it is founded on a sufficiently broad deduction of facts, and the whole circumstances bearing on a particular result are carefully taken into view. But it is the most uncertain of all branches of thought, when conclusions are drawn from insulated or detached facts, and general inferences are deduced from partial premises. The geometrical and arithmetical progression is nothing more than a huge fallacy, only the more deceptive from its wearing an air of mathematical precision. There is no relation between the increase of population and subsistence, but that of cause and effect; if mouths increase fast, hands increase as fast also, and hands in a right governed state will never want employment. Population, it is mathematically certain, is capable, if unchecked, of advancing in a geometrical ratio; and it is equally certain that the earth, if unchecked, will fly to the centre of attraction, and the vision of the poet be realised—

> "Suns sink on suns, and systems systems crush;
> Headlong, extinct, to one dark centre fall,
> And dark, and night, and chaos mingle all!"

But the centrifugal force averts the catastrophe, and for ever retains the heavenly bodies in their orbits. It is the same in human affairs; there are centrifugal as well as centripetal forces in the moral as well as in the material world. The passions of men, the moving powers of mind, ruled by Omnipotence, hold the balance as even in the former as the opposite forces of attraction and repulsion do in the latter. Even in the age in which Malthus lived, this was demonstrated. While the attention of men, fascinated by the novelty of his doctrine, and the striking example of North American increase, was fixed on the alarming powers of human multiplication, the human race was disappearing in its original seats, and the most gloomy apprehensions were entertained of its entire extinction on the plains of Shinar, and in the Delta of Egypt. And within half a century of the time when the terrors of undue multiplication in these islands got possession of the British mind, a stop was put to British increase; for the first time in five centuries our numbers declined, and the annual exodus of 300,000 of our people proved that Providence, when the appointed season arrives, can transport the chosen race to the promised land.*

36. His character as a political philosopher.

Notwithstanding this fundamental error, Malthus was a great political philosopher, and the very promulgation of his error was an important step in the advance to truth. His mind was vigorous and capacious—his understanding clear—his information immense. He cast a discriminating glance over the whole surface of the world, and compared the condition of mankind in all ages and countries, with a view to deduce the general laws of their social condition. His principles of population were a vast step in political science, and even greater in the method of investigation pursued than in the deductions drawn. He

* The population of Ireland had declined, between 1845 and 1851, above 2,000,000; that of the British islands, taken together, about 600,000 in the same period.—*Census of* 1851.

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first applied on a great scale the method of induction to political science, and made the "Past, the Distant, and the Future," predominate over the Present. Hume had obtained a glimpse of the system, but he had not sufficient industry to carry it through. Malthus did not, like Adam Smith, dream, in the solitude of Kirkcaldy, of the doctrines of the Economists, and imagine a scheme of universal freedom from restraint, at variance alike with the wants, the necessities, and the selfishness of men. He was, in every sense, the man of the age—impressed with its wants—aware of its necessities—taught by its lessons. But it is not equally certain that he was the man of the next age. He first opened the eyes of men to the important truth, that the mere multiplication of their numbers, though an important, is not the *sole* element in national prosperity; and that, though generally a source of strength, it may, under adverse circumstances, become a cause of weakness. He is a bold man who, with the example of Ireland before his eyes, attempts to gainsay that proposition. The result at which philosophy will probably ultimately arrive is, that the true test of social felicity is to be found in the *increase of mankind combined with their general felicity;* that the means of attaining this combination have been afforded by the bounty of Providence in every age to all; that the requisite limitations to population are as much a part of the human constitution as the principle of increase itself; and that nothing mars the harmony of their co-operation, but the disturbing forces arising from the selfishness, the follies, and the vices of men.*

Adam Smith and Malthus were the two original men whose *idées mères* gave an entire new turn and direc-

* The author is profoundly impressed with the truth of the propositions contained in this paragraph, which he has endeavoured to illustrate in his *Principles of Population;* but they are too much at variance with present opinions to render it possible for him to look for a general concurrence in them during his own lifetime.

tion, on these subjects, to human thought. But they were followed by other men of great talent and industry, who pushed their doctrines to their remotest consequences, and perhaps impaired their practical usefulness—certainly diminished their popularity—by laying down their results as abstract propositions of undoubted truth, to be carried into execution without any regard to the modifying circumstances of society. Immense is the influence which their principles have had, not so much with the majority of men in England, as with the thinking few, who in every age regulate the opinions and determine the destiny of their countrymen. If the economists, of whom Turgot was the incarnation, had a great share in producing the French Revolution, the political economists have had a still greater, in inducing the alteration of opinion on commercial and monetary subjects, and with it the organic changes which have altered the constitution, and the commercial policy which has been adopted by the councils of England. They have collected a great variety of statistical facts, relating to the present time, to support their opinions; but unfortunately have not, like Sismondi in France, been equally attentive to those on the other side, which the historical records of other states present. Mr RICARDO, Mr M'CULLOCH, Mr SENIOR, and Mr MILL, are the most eminent of this school of political philosophy in recent times; and they have brought to bear upon that important and interesting science intellectual powers and industry of the very highest kind. Even those who differ most (and they are many) from their abstract conclusions, or the expedience of applying them practically in these times, and our present complicated state of society, must be the first to admit their great ability, and the vast addition which the facts they have collected, and the ideas they have thrown out, have made to the sum of human knowledge, and eventually, by their establishment or overthrow, to the cause of truth.

37. Ricardo, M'Culloch, Senior, and Mill.

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38. Davy: his philosophical discoveries.

If Malthus cast a broad and lasting light on political affairs, DAVY, in the same age, gave an impulse almost as great to physical science. Endowed by nature with the intrepid and inquisitive spirit which is the very soul of discovery, he carried the torch of sagacious inquiry into the recesses of nature, and for the first time detected, in the physical world, mineral substances the existence of which had never before been even suspected by the most inquisitive observers. His powers of conversation were great, his temper mild, his disposition unruffled. He carried the spirit of "the last days of a philosopher" through the whole of life. Nor were his researches confined to abstract subjects. He applied science with success to its noblest purpose—human improvement; and had the happiness, which to a man of his benevolent mind was great, of reflecting, on his deathbed, that he had chained even the frightful violence of the fire-damp, and given the miner the means of securely pursuing his darksome toil, while the noisome blast, pregnant with death, played innocuous round the lambent flame that rested on his forehead.*

39. Herschel, Playfair, D'Israeli, Alison.

Though not on a level with these illustrious philosophers, there were several other men in Great Britain who signalised themselves in different branches of science and literature at this period. Herschel, by multiplying with incredible labour and skill the powers of the telescope, was enabled to look farther into space than man had ever done before, discover a world hitherto unseen in the fir-

* Sir Humphry Davy's powers of conversation were great, and the more charming from the entire freedom from vanity or ostentation, and almost boyish simplicity, by which they were distinguished. The author once supped with him at Rome, when the whole party consisted of Sir Humphry, Lady Davy—who was also brilliant in conversation—Canova, and his late lamented friend, Captain Basil Hall. The conversation turned on the deficiency, at that period, of the fine arts in England, and the author observed that it was very surprising, because in other countries, as Greece and modern Italy, the fine arts had advanced *abreast* of literature, philosophy, and the drama. Canova replied—"Sir, it is entirely owing to your free constitution; it drains away talent of every sort to the bar and the House of Commons. If England had been Italy, Mr Pitt and Mr Fox would have been your artists; and then you would have had no reason to lament your inferiority in the fine arts."

mament, and, in the Georgium Sidus, add a "new string to the lyre of heaven;" Playfair, illustrating with philosophic wisdom and chastened eloquence the thoughts of Hutton, developed the true theory of the earth, now universally admitted, and traced in the revolutions of our globe that mysterious system of action and reaction which pervades alike the moral and the material world; D'Israeli, (the father,) casting the glance of genius over its achievements in former days, illustrated the curiosities of literature, the literary character, the animosities and sufferings of authors, with the knowledge of a scholar, the zeal of an antiquarian, and the powers of an orator, at the same time that, in history, he threw a new and important light on the eventful reign of Charles I.; while Alison, inspired by a genuine taste for the sublime and the beautiful, resolved the beauty of the material world into the expression of mind, traced the influence of association in multiplying the links of the unseen chain which unites man to the Creator, and sought to represent "the world we inhabit as the temple of the living God, in which praise is due, and where service is to be performed."[1]

[1] Alison's Essays on Taste, concluding sentence.

40. Modern geology: Buckland, Sedgewick, Sir Charles Lyell, and Sir David Brewster.

One branch of knowledge may in a manner be said to have been created, and almost brought to perfection, during this period. This was the science of GEOLOGY, as based on the study of organic remains in the various strata of which the crust of the earth is formed. Werner in Germany, and Hutton in Scotland, had previously presented complete theories of geology, which still remain monuments of their genius and reach of thought, and from a combination of which the true theory of the earth has since been extracted; and Playfair had illustrated the subject with the spirit of philosophy and the graces of eloquence. But little was thought, or indeed known, by any of these great men, of the organic remains which were imbedded in the strata, the formation of which they considered, and which yet, like the relics of language in the strata of the

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human species, bespoke the successive revolutions of the globe. The study of these remains opened a new field of profound and interesting inquiry—so much the more valuable, that it was entirely based on facts and actual discovery—so much the more interesting, that it carried us back, by a certain clue, into the labyrinth of forgotten time. Mr BUCKLAND, PROFESSOR SEDGEWICK, and Sir CHARLES LYELL, are the most eminent of the new school of geology which has sprung up simultaneously in France and England, and which, by a strict application of the Baconian method of philosophising, has made earth reveal the secret of its formation anterior to the race of man, by the remains imbedded in its bosom. A more fascinating inquiry never was presented to the investigation of the philosopher; and it derives additional interest to the Christian believer, from the confirmation which it affords, at every step, of the Mosaic account of creation, and the truth of Holy Writ. Optics had made so great a stride under the genius of Newton that little remained to be gleaned by future observers; but yet BREWSTER has added much to the circle of our knowledge in the polarisation of light, and added a new element in the production of harmonious beauty in the changes of the kaleidoscope.

41. Rise of the learned reviews and lengthened essays.

In one particular a fresh walk in literature was opened up at this period, and cultivated with the most brilliant success. This was the new style of review and lengthened essay. Reviews, indeed, had long been established in Great Britain; and Addison, Steele, and Mackenzie, had brought the *short* essay to as great perfection as was practicable in that limited species of composition. But the *Monthly Review* and *Gentleman's Magazine* were poor periodicals, distinguished by little talent, illuminated by no genius, containing scarcely more than meagre abstracts of, or interested eulogiums on books, and jejune records of transactions. Even the mighty genius of Burke, then unconscious of its own strength, had been

unable to burst the fetters with which political narrative at that period was restrained; and his historical compositions in the *Annual Register* contain few symptoms of the vast conceptions which afterwards shone forth and illuminated the world in his writings. No one need be told that the essays of Addison, Steele, and Johnson, are charming compositions, distinguished by taste, embellished by fancy, adorned by imagination, in which the stores of learning are set off with all the decorations of modern genius. But their day has passed away; they are well-nigh forgotten. They are to be seen in every library, but are seldom taken down from its shelves. This oblivion is no doubt in part to be ascribed to the prodigious multiplication of works of imagination which has since taken place, and which renders it next to impossible for works of a former period to maintain their ground against the constantly increasing tide. Yet this is not the sole cause of their neglect; works of superlative merit have no difficulty in maintaining their place. Poems innumerable have since appeared, but Virgil and Tasso are in no danger of being forgotten; our walls are every day decorated with new paintings, but we gaze with undiminished admiration on the works of Raphael and Claude. The true reason of the decline in the estimation in which our old essayists are held, is to be found in their own defects. With a few brilliant exceptions, they are commonplace in thought, and feeble in expression; full of truisms, but wanting in originality; often distinguished by conceit, seldom by simplicity; remarkable more for taste than genius; and rather fitted for the thoughtless amusement of a vacant half-hour than to be the charming companion of an evening fireside.

It was in this state of the periodical literature of the country that the EDINBURGH REVIEW arose, and communicated a new character to its pages, a fresh impulse to its exertions. Discarding the feeble and irresolute criticisms of the *British Critic* and *Monthly Review*, its

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42. Rise of the Edinburgh Review, Quarterly Review, and Blackwood's Magazine.

authors boldly dashed forward into the unoccupied arena of severe and caustic animadversion, and quickly secured general favour by indulging in general abuse. This is the most certain passport to extensive popularity; all, except the objects of attack, like to see others abused. Above all, it was refreshing to the great body of readers to see the oligarchy of authorship broken down, and the lash of criticism applied to a class who, even when in fault, had hitherto escaped without any adequate animadversion. The practical application of their motto, "Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur," gave universal satisfaction; for every one hoped his neighbour would fall under, and himself escape the chastisement. The vigorous talent and varied acquirements of its early contributors sustained and increased the reputation at first acquired by more questionable means; it was impossible that a journal where the talents of Jeffrey, Brougham, Sidney Smith, Mackintosh, Playfair, and Malthus, were alternately exerted, could fail in attracting general notice and acquiring extensive popularity. Its reputation, accordingly, soon became very great, its circulation immense, its influence formidable even to the Government in power. To counteract it, a new journal was set up in London, which, under the title of the QUARTERLY REVIEW, under the direction, first of Gifford, and then of Lockhart, with the aid of Sir Walter Scott, Southey, Canning, Ellis, Frere, and Rose, soon came to rival its northern competitor, and has ever since maintained its elevated position; while in Edinburgh itself a rude assault was made on the Whig oligarchy of the north by a still more sturdy antagonist, and the genius of Wilson, Lockhart, and their coadjutors, soon elevated BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE to the lead in patriotic effort, independent thought, and varied criticism. These journals, each admirable in its way, but yet entirely different from each other, have given an entirely new tone to our periodical literature, and been the vehicles by which the most

important thoughts on philosophical, political, and literary subjects, have, during the last half-century, been sent forth to the world.

JEFFREY, who took the lead in this great revolution in literature, was a very remarkable man, but more so from the light airy turn of his mind, and the felicity of illustration which he possessed, than from either originality of thought or nervous force of expression. His information was far from extensive: he shared in the deficiency of his country at that period in classical knowledge; he was ignorant of Italian and German; and his acquaintance with French literature was chiefly confined to the gossiping memoirs of the day—and with that of his own country, to the writings of the Scotch metaphysicians or the old English dramatists. But these subjects he knew thoroughly; within these limits he was thoroughly master. He was fitted by nature to be a great critic. A passionate admirer of poetry, alive to all the beauties and influences of nature, with a feeling mind and a sensitive heart, he possessed at the same time the calm judgment which enabled him to form an impartial opinion on the works submitted to his examination, and the correct taste which, in general, discovered genius and detected imperfections in them. Kindly and affectionate in private life, he was equally indulgent and considerate in his public disquisitions: his long career as a critic foreshadowed on a great scale the uprightness and temperance of opinion which rendered him in the highest degree popular and useful as a judge. His style of speaking in public was rather fascinating from quickness of fancy, or felicity of illustration, than impressive from force of expression or elevation of thought. In conversation his mind was rapid, discursive, and often very brilliant; but there was a constant straining after display, and a total want of that simplicity which always characterises the greatest minds and constitutes their chief charm. His political essays contained nothing ori-

43. Jeffrey.

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ginal or striking, and were so deeply imbued with the party views of the day, that they have long since been forgotten, and have not, in one single instance, been reproduced in his collected works.

44. Brougham.

A more striking contrast to Jeffrey, as an essayist, can hardly be imagined than BROUGHAM; for he possessed all that the former wanted, and wanted everything which he possessed. His writings, like his speeches, are varied, vigorous, and discursive, full of talent, replete with information, and often adorned by a manly eloquence. But they have none of the cool thought and temperate judgment which is essential for lasting influence in political science; they partake rather of the excitement of the bar, or the fervour of the senate, than the sober judgment of the academy. Many of them were much admired and talked of when they first appeared; none are now recollected, or have taken a lasting place in our literature. What is very remarkable, his style, both of speaking and writing, is precisely the reverse of what his taste approves, and what his judgment has selected as particularly worthy of admiration in others. He is a passionate admirer of the Greek authors, and peculiarly emphatic in his eulogies on the terseness of their expression, and the admirable brevity of their diction; and yet he himself, in his style of composition, is the most signal example of the danger of deviating from these excellences, and of the way in which the greatest talent may be in a manner buried under the redundance of its own expression. He illustrates an idea, and puts it in new forms, till the original impression is well-nigh obliterated. His knowledge is great, his acquirements vast, his mind capacious; but his fame is varied rather than great. He has marred his reputation by aiming at eminence in too many things; and he will be considered by posterity rather as a powerful debater and a skilful dialectician, than either a profound philosopher or consistent statesman.

MACKINTOSH has been already discussed in these pages

as a senator; but his merits as an essayist, and as one of the original contributors to the *Edinburgh Review*, are too considerable to render any apology necessary for again making him the subject of discussion. His mind was essentially philosophical; his soul was imbued with principle, his memory stored with knowledge. He was fitted to have been a great teacher of men, rather than their powerful ruler. These characteristics are strongly apparent in his writings; and the English language cannot present a more perfect example of philosophical disquisition than some of his political essays, particularly that on Parliamentary Reform, exhibit. He had candour enough, in his later years, to abandon many of the opinions which, with the hasty ardour of genius, he had at first embraced; the antagonist of Burke, and the apologist of the Revolution in the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* in early life, he became the most ardent admirer of the former, and enemy of the latter, in his maturer years. He had great powers both of generalisation and condensation—two qualities apparently dissimilar, but which, in reality, are counterparts of each other; for the former distils thought, the latter abbreviates expression. He was greatly improved as a philosopher, though perhaps injured as a debater, by his long residence in the solitude of the East: it is not in the arena of politics, or the busy whirl of party contention, that the fountains of wisdom are unlocked to mankind. His compositions on the voyage home are a proof of this: there is nowhere to be found a more brilliant series of characters of literary and political men, than those in the composition of which he relieved the solitude of the Atlantic wave, and which appeared in his admirable biography by his sons. But his mind was philosophic, not dramatic—his style didactic, rather than graphic. He had no pictorial powers, and little poetic thought; he was a great discourser on history, but not a historian. He never could have carried on, in a style of equal popularity, the immortal work of

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Hume; and the absorption of his mind and waste of his time in the attractions of London society, so much a subject of regret at the time to his friends, perhaps saved his reputation from the injury it must have sustained had he aimed at a higher flight, and failed in the attempt.

46. Sidney Smith.

SIDNEY SMITH, so well known in his day as one of the most popular essayists in the *Edinburgh Review*, and of the most brilliant wits about London, had powers of an entirely different order, but more fitted for immediate popularity than Mackintosh. He had no philosophic turn, little poetic fancy, and scarce any eloquence, but a prodigious fund of innate sagacity, vast powers of humorous illustration, and a clear perception of the practical bearing of every question. Though bred to the Church, and holding considerable preferment, the Dean of St Paul's had very little of the clerical in his disposition; his turn was rather for the humorous in thought, the brilliant in society, the felicitous in expression. He would have made a great *nisi prius* lawyer; his influence with juries, from the combined effect of wit and sterling good sense, would have been irresistible. In society he was very much sought after, from the fame of his convivial talents, and the real force of his colloquial expressions; but there was a constant straining after effect, and too little interchange of thought to raise his discourse to a very high charm. It is very seldom that the conversation of professed wits possesses that attraction; it sometimes amuses, seldom interests. It is in statesmen, diplomatic characters, and men of the world, where they are also well informed, that we must look for the true conversational talent, which consists in the rapid interchange of thoughts on interesting subjects, and which, when it occurs between persons of equal abilities, sympathetic minds, but opposite sexes, is perhaps the greatest enjoyment which life can offer. It is neither to be found in the prelections of professors, the vanity of artists, nor

the sallies of wits. Sidney Smith's talents as an essayist were great—the success of his collected works, both in Great Britain and America, is a decisive proof of it. But their popularity was owing to force and felicity of expression, rather than depth of thought or power of eloquence; his name is linked with no great question, either in morals or politics, which is permanently interesting to mankind; and he will probably, in the end, afford another illustration of the truth of Sir Joshua Reynolds' observation—"Posterity and present times are rivals; he who pays court to the one must reckon upon being discountenanced by the other."

47. Macaulay.

MACAULAY, as a historian, belongs to a later period of this history; but, as an essayist, he early began to give tokens of the vast and deserved reputation which he afterwards acquired. Nature had singled him out for a great man: she had impressed the signet mark of genius on his mind. Endowed with vast powers of application and an astonishing memory, an accomplished scholar and erudite antiquarian, he had, at the same time, the brilliant genius which can apply the stores of learning to useful purposes, and the moving eloquence which can render them permanently attractive to mankind. It is hard to say whether his poetry, his speeches in Parliament, or his more brilliant essays, are the most charming; each has raised him to very great eminence, and would be sufficient to constitute the reputation of any ordinary man. That he was qualified to have taken a very high place in oratory, is proved by many of his speeches in the House of Commons, particularly those on the Reform Bill; that he was a brilliant essayist will be doubted by none who have read his reviews of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, perhaps the most perfect compositions of the kind in the English language; that he was imbued with the very soul of poetry is sufficiently evinced by his "Battle of the Lake Regillus," and his moving "Legends of Rome." Rarely, indeed, does a single mind exhibit a

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combination of such remarkable and opposite qualities. But perfection was never yet given to a child of Adam, and the traces of the weakness common to all may be discerned in him in the very brilliancy of the qualities which render him so attractive. His imagination often snatches the reins from his reason; his ardour dims his equanimity. His views, always ingenious, generally eloquently supported, are not uniformly just; his powers as a rhetorician sometimes make him forget his duties as a judge; he is too often splendid rather than impartial. The reader will never fail to be interested by his narrative; but he is not equally certain to be instructed: the impression left, however brilliant, is often fallacious; and the fascinating volume is often closed with regret that the first pleader at the bar of posterity has not yet been raised to the bench.

48. Lockhart.

If the *Quarterly Review* cannot exhibit such a splendid series of essays from one individual, as those of Macaulay in the *Edinburgh*, it has not the less taken a memorable part in English literature, and acquired no inconsiderable weight in the formation of English opinion. Supporting the principles of Conservatism in politics, of orthodoxy in religion, it has brought to the support of the altar and the throne a powerful phalanx of talent, and an immense array of learning. Its present accomplished editor, LOCKHART, who at a short interval succeeded Gifford in its direction, brought to his arduous task qualities which eminently fitted him for its duties. He is not political in his disposition, at least so far as engaging in the great strife of public questions is concerned; he is one of the light, not the heavy armed infantry, and prefers exchanging thrusts with a court rapier to wielding the massy club of Hercules.* But in

* The expression was suggested by the distinction drawn by a lady of rank and genius, who was well acquainted with the talents of either, and at her splendid mansion of Newton Don had often received both Sir Walter Scott and Mr Lockhart. "Sir Walter," said Lady Don, (now Lady Wallace,) "always puts me in mind, in conversation, of his own description of Richard Cœur-de-

the lighter branches of literature he has deservedly attained the very highest eminence. As a novelist, a critic, and a biographer, he has taken a lasting place in English literature. His *Valerius* is the most successful attempt which has ever yet been made to engraft the interest of modern romance on ancient story; its extreme difficulty may be judged of by the brilliant genius of Bulwer having alone rivalled him in the undertaking. But his fame with posterity will mainly rest on his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, for which, as his near relation, he had no doubt great advantages, but which he has executed with so much skill, and in so admirable a manner, that, next to Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, it will probably always be considered as the most interesting work of biography in the English language.

49. Wilson.

WILSON, as the leading contributor for a long series of years to *Blackwood's Magazine*, has brought more vigour and genius into the field of periodical literature than any of his contemporaries. His mind is essentially poetical. The inspiration of genius is apparent in all his writings. Ardent in feeling, warm in temperament, impassioned in thought, he wants the calm judgment, patient research, and laborious industry requisite for success in political or historical literature; his fancy wheels in aërial flights through the heavens, without alighting or caring for the concerns of a lower world. He dwells in the regions of imagination, and there he soars on the eagle's wing. The whole literature of England does not contain a more billiant series of critical essays than those with which he has enriched the pages of *Blackwood's Magazine;* and,

Lion; he lets fall a massy club: Lockhart is Saladin, who flies round him with a Damascus scimitar." It is impossible to characterise more happily the conversational character of these two near relatives and very eminent men; and the author trusts an early and highly-valued friend, whose great talents and charm in conversation—equal to that of either—so eminently qualify her to appreciate similar excellences in others, will forgive him for recording an expression which depicts, more truly and faithfully than he could have done, the conversational talents of two men in whom posterity will always feel so warm an interest.

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what is rarer still, the generosity of feeling by which they are distinguished equals their critical acuteness and delicacy of taste. Himself a poet, and endowed with the very highest gifts of the muses, he is entirely destitute of that wretched jealousy which so often, in persons of a similar temperament, mars the greatest endowments, and disfigures the brightest genius. If his criticisms have any imperfections, it is that they are too indulgent. He is justly alive to faults, and, when obliged to notice, points them out with critical justice: but the generosity of his nature leads him rather to seek for excellences, and, when he finds them, none bestows the meed of praise with more heartfelt fervour. He is one of the most striking examples that ever existed of the important truths, that simplicity of thought and generosity of feeling are the surest characteristics of the highest class of intellect; that true taste is to be evinced by the appreciation of beauties rather than the detection of blemishes; and that none are fitted really to criticise merit but those who could have rivalled it.

50. Change in the style of history. Hallam.

Historical literature, next to poetry, reflects most strongly the images of the time; the moving phantasmagoria of real events ere long kindles the imagination, and tinges the pictures of the narrative. The cold academic style of Robertson may suit the comparative calmness of the eighteenth century, but the fervour and animation of its close communicated itself to the historical works of the next. HALLAM was the first historian whose style gave token of the coming change; his works mark the transition from one age and style of literature to another. In extent and variety of learning, and a deep acquaintance with antiquarian lore, the historian of the Middle Ages may deservedly take a place with the most eminent writers in that style that Europe has produced; but his mind is more imaginative than those of his laborious predecessors, and a fervent eloquence, or poetic expression, often reveal the ardour

which the heart-stirring events of his time had communicated to his disposition. His extensive and varied learning, alike in parliamentary transactions and general literature, has enabled him to throw an important light on our constitutional history, and illustrate, with happy discrimination, the literature of modern Europe. It is only to be regretted that he sometimes has not, in artistic style, sufficiently massed his lights and shadows. There is often a want of breadth in his pieces—the light is thrown too equally on all; and the mind of the reader, oppressed with an infinity of unimportant details, or unknown names, sometimes loses the general thread of the composition, or misses the impression which the author himself desired to produce by his work.

51. Sharon Turner and Palgrave.

SHARON TURNER, like Hallam, belongs to the antiquarian school, but, like him, he has enlivened the industry of unwearied compilation by gleams of fervent imagination. His *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, by far his best work, has thrown a new and important light on that interesting portion of English history; and illustrated, with equal truth and accuracy, the institutions, manners, and habits of the people who form so large a part of the stock of English ancestry. When we compare the meagre and often inaccurate accounts of our Saxon forefathers, which preceded the labours of this indefatigable antiquarian, with the broad light which has now been shed upon them, the step appears great indeed, and evinces how many treasures ardent zeal and indefatigable industry may often extract from mines which appeared well-nigh exhausted. Turner's *History of England*, though distinguished by the same research and acuteness, is not of equal merit; and unfortunately the peculiarities and uncouthness of its style, as well as a strange attempt to introduce novelty in spelling, has hindered the work from acquiring the popularity which it really deserves. No account of the historians of early England could be regarded as complete, if honourable mention is not made

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of Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE, whose antiquarian lore is so great, and withal so accurate, that we not only have obtained the same light from his labours on the past which we enjoy on the present, but feel equal confidence in threading our way through the one which we do in treading the other.

52. Lingard: previous prejudices of the historians of the Reformation.

LINGARD is a historian of great merit, whose labours have filled up an important blank in English literature. However much we may pride ourselves on the liberty of our constitution, and the manner in which, under the influence of unbounded freedom of discussion, truth is elicited from the collision of opposite opinions, there is nothing more certain than not only that it is not immediately that this effect takes place, but that centuries may often elapse before the most important transactions are represented in their real colours. Violent convulsions, whether in religion or politics, so strongly move the passions, that the strongest partialities or prejudices are often perpetuated for a very long period; chains may be thrown over the human mind, as well by the tyrant majority as by the imperious despot. Emancipation is as slow, and often more difficult, from the prepossessions of the multitude, as from the dogmas of priests or the mandates of sovereigns. No one can now read the *History of the Reformation* without seeing that, for nearly three centuries, it had been represented in a great measure under false colours by Protestant historians. They did not, they could not, exaggerate the blessings of the liberation, but they represented in an entirely fallacious light the merit of many of the liberators. The emancipation from superstition was the work of Heaven; but the actors in the deliverance were not all imbued with heavenly virtues. Here, as elsewhere, human passions and iniquity mingled with the current; rapacity largely influenced the actors; ambition disgraced the leaders in the movement; and an extrication of the human mind, which was destined to spread in the end

the seeds of freedom throughout the world, was impelled in the outset by the profligacy of passion or the cupidity of selfishness. It is the clearest proof of the salutary tendency of the Reformation, and the Divine influence which has protected it, that from such beginnings ultimate blessings have sprung.

53. His merits and defects as a historian.

Dr Lingard has taken the lead in the attempt to exhibit the other side of the question from that presented by the Protestant historians, and no man could have been found more fitted for the task. Acute, learned, and indefatigable, he possesses, at the same time, the caution and self-control which, in contests with the pen not less than the sword, are essential to lasting success. *Ars est celare artem* is his maxim; he is a partisan writer, but no one conceals his partialities more cautiously, or exhibits a greater appearance of candour in treating of the most delicate questions. He had too much tact not to be well aware that violence in language and intemperance in thought generally defeat their own object; and that, as future times always come to be divested of the passions of the present, no opinions can by possibility be durable but those which, founded in reason and supported by experience, are likely to command the assent of distant and unimpassioned generations. His prepossessions—and, like all sincere Roman Catholic writers, they are many—are all in favour of his own religion, and the sovereigns or statesmen who have supported it in the great contest with the Lutheran heresy; but his narrative wears no aspect of partisanship, and he trusts for impression rather to the views which, from the facts presented, will naturally occur to the reader's mind, than to any attempt vividly to force his own opinions upon him. His secret bias appears, not from what he tells, but from what he conceals; the best informed critic will not easily detect him in a false allegation, but the most superficial will have no difficulty in discovering much that is known and true, but adverse to his side, that is kept out of view. He has not moral courage, or

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confidence in his opinions, sufficient to state them boldly and manfully; or perhaps he has yielded to the maxims of his persuasion, and never attempts openly what can be accomplished covertly. He is not eloquent, has no poetic imagination, and but slight dramatic or pictorial powers; and therefore his history, in general estimation, will never rival the immortal narrative of Hume. But he is skilful, ingenious, sagacious, and indefatigable; his history will ever be the text-book of English story with all of his own persuasion; and even with the candid of the other it will always be esteemed, as containing the opposite side of the question, and disentangling historical truth from many errors with which the counter partialities of preceding historians had clogged it.

54. Tytler: his impartial character.

The influence of the increasing lights and information of the age, which absolutely required an enlarged impartiality in historians, is clearly evinced in the next great historical writer of this period, Tytler, whose labours have thrown so imperishable a light on Scottish history. Unlike his predecessors, who were contented with the meagre details of monkish annalists, or the fabulous compilations of imaginative historians, he went at once to the fountain-head, and founded his narrative mainly on the authentic correspondence preserved in the State-Paper Office. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to deduce from thence both an impartial estimate of character and a truthful narrative of events. As the success with which he has prosecuted this praiseworthy plan has been the principal cause of the durable and general reputation with all men of sense and information which his great work, the *History of Scotland*, has acquired, so it is the one which has, perhaps, most impeded its immediate popularity. When he went to the authentic records of private and confidential letters, he found much that had been either unknown to or concealed by preceding historians. Many a great reputation is lessened when the secret thoughts come to be revealed; not a few who were thought to

have been saints, prove to have been sinners. Tytler, in bringing forward the truth founded on authentic documents, has undergone the fate invariably reserved for those who make such an attempt: he has incurred the rancorous hostility of those whose minds, steeped in error, or inflamed by party, whether in religion or politics, feel the utmost antipathy for all who attempt to unhinge their settled opinions. He will only on that account, however, be the more esteemed by posterity; and his fame with future times will be founded on the very circumstances which have impeded his popularity with the present.

55. His merits and defects.

He possesses in a very high degree many of the qualities of a great historian. Indefatigable in industry, accurate in detail, trustworthy in spirit, he unites with these qualities—which are the foundation of history—the poetic temperament and fervent spirit, which are essential to the superstructure. His mind was not philosophical; he had few general views, and little turn for the widespread glance with which Robertson and Guizot have surveyed the maze of human affairs. His disposition was rather for biography than general history; he interested himself, like a novelist, more in individual event or character, than in the progress or transactions of nations. On that very account, however, he was peculiarly fitted for the history of Scotland, which is little more, in all its phases, than a narrative of the deeds of the kings, queens, and nobles by whom its destinies have been ruled. His powers of narrative and description are great; he had both the eye of a painter, the soul of a poet, and the refinement of a scholar in his composition. His *Scottish Worthies* is perhaps the most interesting series of short biographies in the English language; his death of Queen Mary, in his great history, one of the most moving historical pictures that ever was presented to the world. The defect of his work, and it is one into which antiquarians, and those who found their narrative on accurate research, are peculiarly liable to fall, is that it contains too many quotations from original

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documents, or letters, *in the text;* a practice which, however clearly it may evince the industry and accuracy of the writer, is injurious to the continued interest, and consequent popularity, of the work. The information founded on original letters, or documents, is of inestimable importance, and the light they throw on character often of the very highest value. But it is rarely that they contain expressions so important or characteristic as to call for a place in the text; and the author who transfers them, as is too much the practice now, to the body of his work in great numbers, inevitably destroys the symmetry of its composition, and mars the unity of effect which in history, not less than any other of the fine arts, is indispensable to the highest success.

56. Napier.

The next great historian who appeared in England at this period, General NAPIER, possesses merits and is marked by defects of a different description. As a describer of noble deeds and heart-stirring events, he is without a parallel in the English, or perhaps any other language. Himself a soldier, who had acted bravely and bled freely in the field, he possesses in a very high degree both the military ardour which prompts to glorious actions, and the scientific mind which qualifies him to judge of, and criticise, the conduct of others in military affairs. His great reputation has arisen chiefly from the fire and moving eloquence of his descriptions of battles; which are at once so true, so graphic, and so animated, that European literature, perhaps, cannot present their equal. But, to professional men, his *History of the Peninsular War* possesses a still higher merit; and both the young and the experienced soldier will study with equal profit and delight the just and scientific observations with which he has enriched his work, on the military conduct both of his own countrymen and of their enemies. His candour as a military critic appears in the generous praise he has so often bestowed on Napoleon and his generals; although, perhaps, the natural indignation

he felt at the exaggerated pretensions and vainglorious boasts of the Spaniards has led him sometimes not sufficiently to estimate the influence of their indomitable perseverance on the final issue of the contest. His great defect as an artist is, that he has not sufficiently studied the management of light and shade, and has brought a multitude of inconsiderable combats so prominently forward as to confuse the reader's recollection, and impair the unity of his composition. As a historian, the candid reader—amidst all his admiration for the genius of the writer—will have frequent cause to regret the unfounded severity of his judgments, especially in civil transactions, and the occasional vehemence of his language. He would have been a perfect historian if he had wielded the pen with the same calmness that he did the sword, and recollected that in civil, not less than military conflicts, the observation of General Foy is applicable—"Le soldat Anglais possède la qualité la plus precieuse dans la guerre—le calme dans la colère." CHAP. V.

57. Lord Mahon.

Lord MAHON has brought to the arduous task of continuing Hume's History through the eighteenth century, the taste of a scholar, the liberality of a gentleman, and the industry of an antiquarian. As he begins his narrative only with the Peace of Utrecht, the greater part of the period which he had to go over was pacific; and therefore his History of necessity became, in a great degree, for the most part a Parliamentary one. But he has great powers of description; and, where an opportunity occurred for their display, he has made use of them with very great effect. His account of the Rebellion in 1745, the death of Wolfe, and of the principal events of the American War, is by far the best that has yet appeared of those interesting episodes; and he has interspersed his narrative with agreeable and instructive disquisitions on letters, manners, and scientific progress, which add so much to the value of history, and are so necessary, especially in pacific periods, to enhance its interest. His

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position as a nobleman, and the heir of an ancient house, rendered illustrious in one of the brightest periods of English story, has given him great advantages in the account of the formation of cabinets, the contests for power, and the secret causes of the rise and fall of Administrations; and his characters both of statesmen and heroes are able, just, and discriminating. If these are not the most momentous or interesting topics for history, they are the most suitable for the period which his work embraced; for the eighteenth century was one of mental repose and social rest, midway between the religious contests of the seventeenth, and the political passions of the nineteenth centuries;—and Lord Mahon's disposition and acquirements peculiarly qualified him for the elucidation of its secret springs of action.

58. Macaulay's History.

If Lord Mahon has left a chasm between the termination of Hume's and the commencement of his own narrative, that important period of English history was not long of being adequately illustrated. Mr MACAULAY has brought to the task of developing that momentous epoch the same talents and acquirements which have rendered his essays so great an acquisition to English literature. Genius the most transcendant, eloquence the most captivating, graphic power the most brilliant, shine forth in all his pages, united to learning the most extensive, and research the most unwearied. It is this combination of the imaginative with the laborious qualities, of the flights of fancy with the solidity of information, which renders his works so remarkable, and in that respect unrivalled in modern literature. If their calmness of judgment and impartiality of statement were equal to their profusion of learning and brilliancy of style, they would be without a parallel in modern historical literature. His mind is not merely poetical but systematic, and where not influenced by the zeal of a partisan, no one can exhibit more of the wisdom of a statesman, or the far-seeing glance of a philosopher. Unfortunately, how-

ever, the ardour of his mind has sometimes disturbed its equanimity; his learning is greater than his impartiality, his power of description than his equity of judgment. He has given, so far as he has yet gone, the most brilliant and fascinating, but not the most trustworthy or impartial history in the English language. It is not by the allegations of anything which is erroneous or can be disproved by authentic evidence, so much as by keeping out of view what is equally true but adverse to the side which he has espoused, that this is done. He is more a brilliant barrister than an upright judge. Instances of this disposition appear in many parts of his writings. His style, always condensed and pregnant, is sometimes laboured; his ideas often succeed each other too rapidly; the mind of the reader can scarcely keep pace with the rapidity of thought in the writer. Filled to repletion with a succession of striking thoughts and brilliant images, the student of his History sometimes sighs for the repose, even the tedium, of ordinary narrative. The immortal episodes of Livy owe much of their charm to the simplicity of the narrative with which they are environed; the fascination of Scottish scenery is heightened by the long tracts of dusky moor which separate its sequestered glens and glassy lakes.

59. Miss Strickland.

If the reader of the splendid history of Macaulay sometimes regrets the want of the impartial charge of the judge in the brilliant oratory of the barrister, the student of Miss STRICKLAND meets with excellencies and deficiencies of a somewhat similar description. The mind of this highly-gifted lady fitted her in a peculiar manner to write the *History of the Queens of England;* and probably no man, be his abilities what they may, could have executed a work on that subject equally suitable and entertaining. She possesses all the zealous industry and indefatigable research which characterise Macaulay, and, like him, she has her prepossessions and dislikes. A veil is sometimes drawn over the weak points of the favourite

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Princesses or Houses who form the subject of her narrative. But it is all done in a noble spirit: the foundation of her judgment is always admiration of the gallant in conduct, the chivalrous in disposition; and though the intensity of this feeling has often biased her judgment, it does not diminish the respect due to her motives. The reader may sometimes be misled in the estimate of individual character by her captivating pen, but he is sure never to be so on the side, whether of virtue or vice, which is the fit subject of praise or condemnation. Her work is conceived in the true spirit of chivalry, and a brighter record does not exist of its elevating tendency than in her varied and animated pages. Add to this, her habits and objects of interest as a woman have led her to enrich it with a variety of incidents and details in regard to manners, customs, hospitalities, feasts, coronations, and dresses, which perhaps no man would have collected, but which nevertheless are invaluable as a record of the olden time, and as illustrating the moving diorama of her long and interesting narrative. What is principally to be regretted, in so very accomplished and fearless a writer, is that, with true womanly sympathy with misfortune, she espouses, in her history of Mary of Modena and Queen Anne, the cause of the Stuarts so strongly, and evinces such intense indignation against William III. and Marlborough, as not only renders her impartiality suspected, but weakens the effect of the original and important disclosures she has made in regard to that important period, with every unbiased mind. The style of her work is easy and flowing, often graphic and pictorial, at times rising into moving and dignified strains of eloquence. Its chief defect consists, not in what she has written, but in what she has inserted of the writings of others; but the undue loading of historical works with long quotations in the text, of original documents and letters, is the fault of the age in which she lives, and should not be visited on the head of any single writer, and least of all on that of

a lady who stands at the head of her whole sex, in all ages, in historical literature.

60. Mitford.

Any account of the literature of the British empire, in the first half of the nineteenth century, would be imperfect, if the merits of the rival historians of Greece are not displayed. Mr MITFORD is the first who brought to the arduous task of Grecian history the extensive research, accurate inquiry, and profound reflection which characterise the scholars of recent times. Instead of compiling, as former historians had done, a pleasing narrative from the romances of Xenophon, or the credulity of Herodotus, he, like Niebuhr in the elucidation of Roman story, sought every contemporary authority, every authentic document, every line of poetry, which could elucidate, correct, or confirm their charming episodes, and extracted from the whole an elaborate and consistent account of the complicated transactions of the Greek republics. It is, perhaps, the most difficult task in the world to make such an account interesting; for, with the exception of the magnificent periods of the Persian invasion, the Syracusan expedition, and Alexander's conquests, it is nothing but the annals of the internal divisions and wars of a cluster of republics, the transactions of which are at once so insignificant and complicated that, if there is anything more difficult than to make them intelligible, it is to render them interesting to the reader. The marvels of genius which were displayed in these diminutive states have done little to relieve the historian of this difficulty; for, unhappily, human annals are chiefly composed of the public transactions of nations, not the triumphs, however great, of philosophy or art. Nevertheless, Mitford has done much in this way; and his two volumes on the conquests of Alexander the Great combine the interest of the romance of Quintus Curtius with the authenticity and accuracy of Arrian. His great work was chiefly composed during, or shortly after, the French Revolution; and it was mainly intended to counteract

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the visionary ideas, in regard to the blessings of Grecian democracy, which had spread so far in the world from the magic of Athenian genius. With this view he has brought out a great many most important facts, concealed before amidst the splendours of Grecian eloquence, which the republican party would willingly have buried in oblivion, and which, as they tended to unhinge many settled opinions, excited the most violent indignation amongst them. Perhaps he would have done more wisely if, like Lingard, he had concealed his object, and left facts to speak for themselves, without disclosing too openly the end in view in their compilation. But the cause of truth has been essentially aided by his exertions; and the experiences of the working of democracy in our own times have been such as to forbid a doubt as to the accuracy of the facts he has stated, whatever hesitation may be felt as to the wisdom of the expressions in which they are sometimes conveyed.

61. Grote.

If Mitford, notwithstanding his industry and abilities, is sometimes open to the reproach of having too keenly asserted the conservative, it is fortunate for the cause of historic truth that another distinguished writer of equal talent has recently illustrated Grecian history on the opposite side. A decided liberal, perhaps even a republican in politics, Mr GROTE has laboured to counteract the influence of Mitford in Grecian history, and construct a history of Greece from authentic materials, which should illustrate the animating influence of democratic freedom upon the exertions of the human mind. In the prosecution of this attempt he has displayed an extent of learning, a variety of research, a power of combination, which are worthy of the very highest praise, and have secured for him a lasting place among the historians of modern Europe. If his voluminous work, like that of Mitford, is often uninteresting, and it is felt to be a heavy task to get through it, that must be ascribed rather to the nature and complication of the subject than

to any defect in the historian; and those only who have attempted the task can conceive the extraordinary difficulty of throwing a broad and steady light on such a multitude of minute transactions as Grecian story presents. A more serious, because better founded, charge arises against him from his adopting the Greek mode of spelling in the names of places and of the heathen deities, instead of the Roman, heretofore in use in modern Europe. The attempt is hopeless, and tends only to confuse the unlearned reader. Jupiter and Neptune, Venus and Mars, Vulcan and Diana, are too much naturalised amongst us to admit of their names being ever changed; they may be so when the works of Virgil and Ovid, of Horace and Cicero, of Milton and Racine, are forgotten—but not till then. It may appear strange to say that there is equal truth in the monarchical history of Greece by Mitford, and the republican by Grote, but, nevertheless, it is so. Both tell the truth, and nothing but the truth—but neither the whole truth. They each illustrate, truly and justly, the opposite working of the democratic principle on the greatness and sufferings of nations; but neither presents a picture of their *united* operations, which, nevertheless, was what really occurred, and occasioned the brilliant meteor of Grecian genius, with its simultaneous suffering and rapid fall.

62. Arnold.

If the political events and anxieties of the time have caused the history of Greece to be learned in a very different spirit, and with much greater intelligence, than in any former period of modern times, a similar effect has appeared in regard to the history of Rome; and the world has too much cause to lament the premature death which interrupted the work which was in progress, illustrative of this influence. ARNOLD possessed the chief qualities required to form a great historian. To profound scholarship, vast industry, and unwearied application, he united the rarer gifts of original genius, independent thought, an ardent disposition. Adopting from Niebuhr and the Ger-

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man scholars all that their prodigious labours had accumulated in regard to the early history of Rome and the adjoining states of the Italian peninsula, he arranged their discoveries in a more lucid order, and adorned them with the charms of a captivating eloquence. His mind was ardent in all things; patient, but yet imaginative—bold, but methodical—brilliant in conception, but laborious in execution. What genius had struck out, learning supported, industry filled up, and eloquence embellished. He had a strong bias on political subjects, and, like most men of an independent turn, inclined *at first* to the popular side; but he was essentially candid and trustworthy, and the philosophic student will nowhere find more important facts on the practical working of democracy than in his luminous pages. He had great graphic powers, a strong turn alike for geographical description, strategical operations, and tactical evolutions. His account of the campaigns of Hannibal—the best that exists in any language—proves that, like Livy, he was adequate to the history of the majestic series of Roman victories. A critical taste will probably condemn the strange style in which he has narrated the early and immortal legends of Rome, and regret that the charming simplicity of Livy was not imitated in translating his pages; but a generous mind will hesitate to condemn where there is so much to admire, and join in the general regret that the only man who has yet appeared in Britain capable of throwing over the rise and progress of the Roman Republic the same light which Gibbon has cast over the decline and fall of the Empire, should have been cut short in the very threshold of his career.

63. The new school of novelists.

If the historians of England, during the last half century, exhibit in a clear light the important influence of political convulsions on national literature, the working of the same causes is still more strikingly evinced in our writers of romance. Indeed, there the change is so great, and so striking, that there is nothing in the whole annals

of English literature to compare to it. If we consider the novelists who had attained great, and, in some respects, deserved reputation, before the time of Sir Walter Scott —Richardson, Mackenzie, Mrs Radcliffe, Mrs Charlotte Smith—the magnitude of the step made by that great writer appears prodigious. It was not merely the length of the stride which he made that constituted its importance; the great thing was, that it was made in the right direction. Preceding writers of novels had considerable talents, great command of the pathetic, brilliant powers of description. Fielding and Smollett had delighted the world with their wit, humour, and graphic powers. But the sentimental school were entirely deficient in the most essential of all requisites for works of imagination — a thorough acquaintance with human nature in all its grades; and the humorous was devoted almost exclusively to middle or low life, and destitute of those elevated and chivalrous feelings which constitute at once the greatest charm and chief utility of works of imagination. It was reserved for Scott to combine both, and exhibit, in his varied and fascinating pages, alternately the noble spirit of chivalry, the dignified feelings of heroism, the charms of beauty, and the simplicity and virtues, without the vulgarity, of humble life.

64. Miss Edgeworth.

Ere the wand of this mighty enchanter, however, had wrought an entire change in the lighter literature of the age, the reaction against the sentimental school had become very conspicuous; and what is remarkable, a female writer had led the way in the alteration. Miss EDGEWORTH possesses merits of a very high order; but they are of the solid and substantial, rather than the light and airy kind. Strongly impressed with the visionary and dreamy tendency of the romance writers who had immediately preceded her, she boldly struck out in the opposite direction, and delineated life, not in its romantic and poetical, but in its real and practical form. She aimed at portraying, not the sorrows of the heart, but the sad

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realities of life: "Out of Debt, out of Danger," was much more in her thoughts than "All for Love, or the World well Lost." She had a keen eye for the humorous, and has delineated Irish character with a skill which never was surpassed; but the chief merit of her compositions is her sterling good sense, sound judgment, and practical acquaintance with middle life which they exhibit. Her defects—since all have some, and the fair sex are not exempted from them—are the want of the noble and chivalrous sentiments which constitute the great characteristic of modern Europe, as contradistinguished from all the rest of the world, and the almost entire absence of any appeal to the feelings and influences of religion. There is no reason to suppose that she was sceptical or indifferent on this subject; indeed, those who enjoyed her friendship know it was very much the reverse; but still there is no allusion to it in her novels, and that has seriously impaired the value of her writings, and has already caused their popularity to decline. Neither the sensible, the practical, nor the humorous, ever can suffice alone for the gratification of the human mind; other feelings must be roused, other aspirations satisfied; and the author who discards the influences of love and devotion has voluntarily cast away the chief means by which the human heart, in every age, is to be affected, or lasting fame attained.

65. Mr James.

Another writer, still more voluminous than Miss Edgeworth, soon after began to pour forth a periodical stream of novels with a prodigality which has not yet ceased to astonish the world. If Mr JAMES'S works have not all equal merit, and frequent repetition of images and scenes is to be found in them, they are entirely exempt from many of the blemishes which disfigure some of those of his contemporaries which, in the outset, have acquired greater popularity. There is a constant appeal in his brilliant pages, not only to the pure and generous, but to the elevated and noble sentiments; he is imbued with the very soul of chivalry, and all his stories

turn on the final triumph of those who are influenced by such feelings over such as are swayed by selfish or base desires. He possesses great pictorial powers, and a remarkable facility of turning his graphic pen at will to the delineation of the most distant and opposite scenes, manners, and social customs. His best novels—*Attila, Philip Augustus, Mary of Burgundy,* and the *Robbers* —must ever hold a very high place in English literature. In his works may be discerned the varied capabilities of the HISTORICAL ROMANCE of which Sir Walter Scott was the great founder, and which has so immensely augmented both the interest and utility of works of imagination, by at once extending the sphere of their scenes, and rendering them the vehicles of information as well as amusement. Not a word or a thought which can give pain to the purest heart ever escapes from his pen; and the mind wearied with the cares, and grieved at the selfishness of the world, reverts with pleasure to his varied compositions, which carry it back, as it were, to former days, and portray, perhaps in too brilliant colours, the ideas and manners of the olden time. But, with these great and varied merits, he cannot be placed in the first rank of romance writers; he wants the chief qualities requisite for its attainment. He has no dramatic powers: his dialogue is seldom brilliant, often tedious, and totally deficient in the brevity and antithesis which is the very soul of conversational success. His mind is pictorial more than reflecting, his descriptions rather of external objects than internal feelings. It is in the last, however, that the greatest charm of romance is to be found: it is not so much by describing physical nature as by reopening the fountains of tenderness, which once have gushed forth in every bosom, that the wand of the intellectual magician, like that of Moses, refreshes the soul, wearied amidst the wilderness of life, and carries it back perhaps only for a few minutes to the brightest moments on which memory can dwell.

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66. Sir Edward B. Lytton.

If the romances of Mr James are deficient in the delineation of the secret feelings that dwell in the recesses of the heart, the same cannot be said of the next great novelist whose genius has adorned English literature. In the highest qualities required in this branch of composition, Sir EDWARD BULWER LYTTON stands pre-eminent, and entitled to a place beside Scott himself, at the very head of the prose writers of works of imagination in our country. Born of a noble family, the inheritor of ancestral halls of uncommon splendour and interest,* he has received from his Norman forefathers the qualities which rendered them noble. No man was ever more thoroughly imbued with the elevated thoughts, the chivalrous feelings, which are the true mark of patrician blood; and which, however they may be admired by others, never perhaps exist in such purity as in those who, like the Arab steeds of high descent, can trace their pedigree back through a long series of ancestors. In delineating the passion of love, and unfolding its secret feelings, as well in his own as the opposite sex, he is unrivalled in English literature; Madame de Stael herself has not portrayed it with greater truth or beauty. In that respect he is greatly superior to Scott, who cared little for sentiment, and when he did paint the tender feelings, did so from their external symptoms, and from the observation of others only. Bulwer would seem to have drawn his pictures from a much truer and wider source—his own experience. He describes so powerfully and so well because

* The dining-room at Knebworth in Hertfordshire, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's noble family mansion, originally built by a Norman follower of the Conqueror, is fifty-six feet long and thirty high, hung round with the armour which the family and their retainers wore at the battle of Bosworth, and ended by the gallery in which the minstrels poured forth their heart-stirring strains: in the state-room is the bed, hung round with velvet curtains, in which Queen Elizabeth slept in the year of the Armada: in the library, the oak table at which Cromwell, Pym, and Vane, concerted the Great Rebellion. The author had once the happiness of spending two days under Sir Edward's hospitable roof, with himself and his highly-valued friends Professor Aytoun and the late lamented Mr Robert Blackwood: he must be forgiven if he adds that it is seldom indeed in life that such society is enjoyed amidst such recollections.

he has felt so deeply. There is no portrait so faithful as that which is drawn by a great master of himself. *Rienzi* is one of the most perfect historical romances—*Godolphin* and *Ernest Maltravers* among the most interesting and charming novels in the English language. Nor is he only remarkable as a novel-writer—he is at the same time a successful poet and dramatist. He has inhaled the kindred spirit of Schiller in the translation of his ballads. His *Timon* is by far the most brilliant satire, his plays the most popular dramatic compositions, of the age in which he lives.

67. His merits as a poet and dramatic writer.

If some of his other works are not of equal merit, it is only the usual fate of genius to be more happy in some conceptions than in others. In all, the marks of deep reflection and profound thought are to be seen, as well as great observation of, and power in delineating character. A more serious defect is to be found in the occasional choice of his subject, and the charms with which his magic pencil has sometimes environed vice. The greatest admirer of his genius cannot but feel surprised that he should have chosen as the heroine of one of his novels a woman who commits three murders, including that of her own husband and son; or regret that one so capable of charming the world by pictures of romance in its most elevated form, should ever have exerted his powers on the description of low life, or charctaers and scenes of the most shocking depravity. It is true he never makes licentiousness in the end successful, and the last impression in his works, as well as innumerable exquisite reflections, are all on the side of virtue; but in intermediate stages it appears often so attractive that no final catastrophe can counteract the previous impression. Every one knows that this is no more than what occurs in real life; but that is just the reason why additional force should not be given to it by the charms of imagination. It is true, painting requires contrast, and the mixture of light and shade is requisite to bring out the forms and

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illustrate the beauty of nature; but the painter of the mind, not less than material objects, would do well to recollect the rule of Titian, that the greater part of every picture should be in mezzotinto, and a small portion only in deep shade.

68. Disraeli.

Disraeli, long known as a brilliant satirist and romance writer, before he was elevated to the lead of the House of Commons, is an author different from either Mr James or Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, but with merits of a very high description. He is not feudal and pictorial, like the first—nor profound and tender, like the last; he is more political and discursive than either. He has great powers of description, an admirable talent for dialogue, and remarkable force, as well as truth, in the delineation of character. His novels are constructed, so far as the story goes, on the true dramatic principles, and the interest sustained with true dramatic effect. His mind is essentially of a reflecting character; his novels are, in a great degree, pictures of public men or parties in political life. He has many strong opinions—perhaps some singular prepossessions—and his imaginative works are, in a great degree, the vehicle for their transmission. To any one who studies them with attention, it will not appear surprising that he should be even more eminent in public life than in the realms of imagination; that the brilliant author of *Coningsby* should be the dreaded debater in the House of Commons—of *Vivian Grey*, the able and lucid Chancellor of the Exchequer. His career affords a striking example of the truth of Dr Johnson's observation, that what is usually called particular genius, is nothing but strong natural parts accidentally turned into one direction; and that when nature has conferred powers of the highest description, chance or supreme direction alone determines what course their possessor is to follow.

69. Dickens.

The strong turn which romance and novel writing, in the first half of the nineteenth century, took to the delineation of high life, with its charms, its vices, and its follies,

naturally led to a reaction, and a school arose, the leaders of which, discarding all attempts at Patrician painting, aimed at the representation of the manners, customs, ideas, and habits of middle and low life. The field thus opened was immense, and great abilities were early turned to its cultivation. At the very head of this school, both in point of time and talents, must be placed Mr DICKENS, whose works early rose into great, it may be said, unexampled celebrity. That they possess very high merits, is obvious, from this circumstance: No one ever commands, even for a time, the suffrages of the multitude, without the possession, in some respects at least, of remarkable powers. Nor is it difficult to see what, in Mr Dickens' case, these powers are. To extraordinary talent for the delineation of the manners and ideas of middle life, and a thorough acquaintance with them in all their stages below the highest, he unites a feeling and sensitive heart, a warm interest in social happiness and improvement, and most remarkable powers for the pathetic. To this must be added, that he is free from the principal defects of the writers who have preceded him in the same line, and which have now banished their works from our drawing-rooms. Though treating of the same subjects and grades in society, he has none of the indelicacy of our older novelists. We see in him the talent of Fielding, without his indecency—the humour of Smollett, without his grossness. These brilliant qualities, joined to the novelty and extent of the field on which he entered, early secured for him a vast circulation and widespread reputation. It was founded on more than the merit, great as it was, of the author—selfish feelings in the readers combined with genius in the writer in working out his success. The great and the affluent rejoiced in secret at beholding the manners of the middle class so graphically drawn. To them it was a new world; it had the charm of foreign travelling. They said in their inmost hearts, "How different they are from us!" The middle class

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were equally charmed with the portrait; every one recognised in it the picture of his neighbour—none of himself.

70. Thackeray and the Dickons school.

A host of other writers have followed in the same school, which has become so considerable as to have assumed an important place in the literature of the nineteenth century. Many of these writers are distinguished by great talent and graphic powers, among whom Mr Thackeray stands conspicuous. The taste for compositions of that description has become so decided, that it has extended to our highest imaginative writers. It is not difficult to foresee, however, that it is not destined to be durable; and that, from the general reaction which will ensue, compositions in that style are, perhaps, likely to be sooner forgotten than their real merits deserve. Satirical or humorous works, founded on the ridicule of passing manners, however popular or diverting at the time, rarely attain any lasting celebrity. The reason is, that the follies which they ridicule, the vices which they lash, are, in general, only of ephemeral duration. Those only, as the works of Juvenal, Cervantes, Le Sage, or Molière, which dive deep into the inmost recesses of the soul, and reach failings universal in mankind, command the admiration of all ages. Profound insight into the human heart, condensed power of expression, are essential to success in such compositions; and they are given only to the greatest of mankind. Imagination is a winged deity; its flight, to be commanding, must ever be upward. Ridicule is valued only by those who know the persons ridiculed; elevation of thought is prized by all who feel generous sentiments, and they are the noble-hearted in all ages.

71. Miss Austin.

There are two writers of works of imagination, however, who belong to a different school, because their genius has led them to aim at different objects. Miss AUSTIN and Mrs NORTON both possess merits of a very high

order, and yet entirely different from the authors of the Dickens school. Miss Austin, whose career ended in 1817, aims chiefly at the delineation of the domestic life of England, which her sex, her turn of mind, and her opportunities of observation, enabled her to do with peculiar effect. There is nowhere to be seen in our literature so correct and faithful a delineation of the manners, motives, and ideas of the middle classes of English society, that great class which is every day rising into greater importance, and is equally removed from lords and ladies on the one hand, and assassins or desperadoes on the other. She does not aim at representing either the lofty in character, the heroic in action, or the pathetic in feeling; it is the average events and emotions of everyday life which she portrays; and that she has done with a tact, delicacy, and truth, which never were surpassed. Marivaux himself has not exceeded her in the delineation of the working of vanity in the female heart—Beaumarchais, in the truth with which she has portrayed the selfish impulses which, in general, actuate people of ordinary characters in this world. She is the Wilkie of novel-writing. CHAP. V.

72. Mrs Norton.

Mrs Norton aims at a much higher object, and has attained a distinguished place in romantic literature. Gifted with the true poetic genius, and imbued with that vein of romance which is the secret spring of everything that is noble and elevated in this world, she has, at the same time, advantages which have fallen to the lot of few of her sex, for the faithful picture of the very highest English society. Descended from the great Mr Sheridan, she has inherited not only his talents, but his comic vein, while she has blended with it the romantic feelings which give a higher tone to their direction, and the delicacy which her sex seldom fails to show in the delineation of the softer feelings. Thrown from her earliest years into the most elevated circles, and having

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enjoyed the friendship of nearly all the eminent men of the age, she is better qualified than perhaps any other living person could be, to exhibit, as in a mirror, at once their excellences, their ideas, and their follies. But her writings prove that the enjoyments of this elevated society, and the unbounded admiration which her personal charms and great powers of conversation have long secured for her, have not been sufficient to fill up the void of a refined and ardent mind; and that her life has been a long aspiration after an imagined felicity, which she has never yet attained. Melancholy is the prevailing tendency of her mind; and though we cannot but regret that one whose society never fails to confer pleasure, should have so often been disappointed in its search herself, we cannot but rejoice that circumstances should have thrown her genius into that which was perhaps its natural channel, and enriched our literature both in poetry and prose with so many gems of the pathetic, which are indelibly engraven on the memory of all who are acquainted with them.

73. Mr Warren.

Very different in style from this accomplished authoress, Mr WARREN has taken a lasting place among the imaginative writers of this period of English history. He possesses, in a remarkable manner, the tenderness of heart and vividness of feeling, as well as powers of description, which are essential to the delineation of the pathetic, and which, when existing in the degree in which he enjoys them, fill his pages with scenes which can never be forgotten. His *Diary of a Physician* and *Ten Thousand a-Year* are a proof of this; they are, and chiefly for this reason, among the most popular works of imagination that this age has produced. Mr Warren, like so many other romance writers of the age, has often filled his canvass with pictures of middle and humble life to an extent which those whose taste is fixed on the elevating and the lofty will not altogether approve. But

that is the fault of the age rather than the man. It is amply redeemed, even in the eyes of those who regard it as a blemish, by the gleams of genius which shine through the dark clouds of melancholy with which his conceptions are so often invested—by the exquisite pathetic scenes with which they abound—and the pure and ennobling objects to which his compositions, even when painting ordinary life, are uniformly directed.

74. Carlyle.

CARLYLE is the object of impassioned admiration, not only to a large class of readers, but to many whose taste and acquirements entitle their opinions to the very highest respect. Nature has impressed upon his mind the signet-mark of genius. A sure test of it is that there is perhaps no writer of the age who has made so many original and profound remarks, or ones which strike you so much when transplanted into the comparatively commonplace pages of ordinary writers. But it is to his detached and isolated thoughts that this high praise chiefly applies; as a whole, his ideas are not calculated to command equal respect, at least with the generality of men. He is essentially a "Hero-worshipper," and the defects as well as the merits of that disposition are strongly marked in his writings. He has made strenuous efforts to glorify several doubtful, and write down several celebrated, characters recorded in history; and that is always a perilous attempt;—for the voice of ages arising from the general opinion and experience of men is, in the ordinary case, founded in truth; and the author who attempts to gainsay it, runs the risk, when "he meant to commit murder, of only committing suicide." Mr Carlyle has great powers in the delineation of the terrible and the pathetic; numerous instances of both in his history of the French Revolution will immediately recur to the recollection of every reader. But his style, founded upon an unbounded admiration and undue imitation of the German idiom, appears often harsh and discordant

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to the reader; and this peculiarity will probably prevent his writings from ever acquiring the popularity of standard works with the great body of English readers.

75. Dr Croly.

No similar blemish is to be found in Dr CROLY, whose thoughts, full of genius and lofty views, are conveyed in the purest and most classical English idiom. The ardent admirer of Burke, he has adopted his views, shared his fervour, and, in a great measure, imitated his style. But he has largely inhaled also the spirit, and profited by the lessons of the age in which he lived: the contemporary and observer of the French Revolution and its consequences, he has portrayed both in a philosophic spirit, and with a poet's fire; and what Burke predicted from the contemplation of the Future, he has painted from the observation of the Present. His Life of that great man, written in a kindred spirit, is the best account of his mind and writings in our language: in many of his other writings there appear the style and thoughts of a prophet, not less than the pictures and colours of a historian. The ardent champion of Protestantism, he has met the zeal of the Romish Church with equal fervour, and been led sometimes, perhaps, with undue warmth into the defence of his own faith. It is only to be regretted that an author capable of such things should have devoted his talents so much to illustrating the ideas of others, and not inscribed his name on some great original work, at once a monument of his own genius and of the age in which he lived.

76. Hazlitt.

HAZLITT was prior in point of time to both these very eminent writers, and he differs materially from either. He was less political and historical in his disposition; his ideas were riveted on the realms of imagination, not on the transactions of men; it was on the world of thought, not the world of humanity, that his mind was fixed. Criticism, the drama, the theatre, poetry, the arts, alternately engaged his pen, and his ardent mind, and deep reflection, never failed to impress upon these subjects the marks

of original thought and just observation. In critical disquisitions on the leading characters and works of the drama, he is not surpassed in the whole range of English literature; and what in an especial manner commands admiration in their perusal, is the indication of refined taste and chastened reflection which they contain, and which are more conspicuous in detached passages than in any entire work. He appears greater when quoted than when read. Possibly, had his life been prolonged, it might have been otherwise, and some work emanated from his gifted pen which would have placed his fame on a durable foundation.

77. Bentham.

If a great work has been wanting to the fame of Hazlitt and Croly, the same may with still more justice be said of a very eminent man who has illustrated the age by his profound and original thoughts. BENTHAM has brought to the philosophy of law the vigour of an independent, and the views of a creative mind. He was not a practical lawyer, and therefore his views, how just and convincing soever, must often be essentially modified and most cautiously handled before they are introduced into practice; but there can be no doubt that they contain the germ of much useful legislation on the subjects they embrace. They are so because they contain the deductions of an acute and reflecting mind on the application of the principles of human nature, and especially the ruling principle of selfishness to the principal situations and trials of character which emerge in the course of legal conflict or judicial decision. In this respect his writings contain more original, and often just thought, than is to be found in any other writer. He was very indolent, and, notwithstanding the clearness and force of his understanding, had not the faculty of expressing his ideas in equally distinct or lucid language; hence his thoughts were often communicated to the world in a foreign language, to be collected by the friendly industry of Dumont, and are to be found rather scattered through

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a variety of works than contained in any one of superior condensation or excellence. He was a utilitarian in principle, an ultra-Liberal in politics—hence lofty views and generous feelings are not to be looked for in his writings; but that only renders the suggestions they contain the more worthy of consideration in a practical point of view, in a world where selfishness or ambition so largely influences the actions of the great majority of men.

78. Chalmers.

CHALMERS, though his name is attached to no work commensurate to the great fame he enjoyed during his life, has made a vast impression on the minds of his countrymen, and deservedly earned a high place in the bright assembly of Scottish Worthies. He was gifted with very great natural powers, which had been scattered rather than condensed by the style of education then generally given in his country. He was not very learned; his information was various rather than extensive on any one subject; and we shall look in vain in his writings for those stores of erudition, which, when brought forth by genius, and arranged by philosophy, form the only true foundation for lasting fame in the mental or social concerns of men. But Chalmers, notwithstanding, was a great man. Within the limits which nature or education had prescribed to him, he did great things. The fervour of his mind, the brilliancy of his genius, overcame every obstacle, supplied every deficiency, at least for the purposes of present gratification to his audience or his readers. His oratorical powers were very great—greater, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries. No one so entirely thrilled the hearts of his audience, or swept away every mind in one irresistible burst of common emotion. His judgment, however, was not so strong as his fancy; his opinions are not to be so implicitly relied on as his genius is to be admired. If his writings, however, often do not materially inform the understanding, or safely regulate the judgment, they never fail to charm the imagination,

and move the feelings by the fervent piety, benevolent spirit, and enlarged understanding which they evince, and the brilliant eloquence in which they are always couched.

79. Monkton Milnes and Aytoun.

There would be no end to the present chapter, if every writer of eminence in the British empire in the present or past age were to be separately noticed. But there are two who, albeit from youth not as yet at the zenith of their fame, have given such brilliant promise of future celebrity, that they cannot be passed over in silence. Mr MONKTON MILNES has presented to the world several volumes of poems abounding in such brilliant imagery, and containing such refined sentiments, that they have secured for him a very high place in the estimation of all to whom the beautiful or interesting in art or nature possess any charms. And Mr WILLIAM AYTOUN, albeit bred to different habits, and educated in the thorny pursuits of the law, has evinced early in life the very highest talents for lyric poetry, and enriched the literature of his country with a volume of ballads, which exceed the strains of Tyrtæus in patriotic spirit, while they rival the odes of Dryden in fire and pathos. So great, indeed, is their merit, and so varied the talents and powers of their accomplished author, that no hesitation need be felt in predicting for him, if his life is spared, the highest destinies in the realms of poetry, as well as the less inviting fields of political discussion.

80. L. E. L., Warburton, and the author of Eothen.

If the house of mourning, in real life, ever adjoins the house of joy, and the voice of gladness is ere long drowned in the wail of sorrow, the same vicissitude is not less conspicuous in literature. The cypress is ever mixed with the laurel in its verdant fields. If the brilliant author of EOTHEN has produced one of the most striking pictures of the East that ever was presented to the nations of the West, another author, whose pencil, like his, was "dipped in the orient hues of heaven," has been prematurely snatched from his admiring country. Mr ELLIOT WARBURTON, whose glowing descriptions of the

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East, rivalling those of Beckford himself, are so indelibly engraven on the national mind, has been prematurely snatched by a mournful catastrophe from the country whose literature he was so well qualified to adorn; and not many years before, a female authoress, whose lyre, as melancholy and not less melodious than that of Sappho, had so deeply moved the British heart, breathed her last on the sombre shores of Cape Coast Castle. But the poems of L. E. L., of surpassing sweetness and pathos, rivalling those of Mrs Norton herself in heart-rending sentiment, will long survive their unhappy author, and speak to the heart of generations to which her premature fate will be a lasting subject of commiseration.

81. The Fine Arts—Architecture.

The impulse given to the FINE ARTS in Great Britain, by the animation and excitement of the war, was not so great as might, perhaps, have been expected; and suggests a painful doubt whether there is not something in the climate of England, or the character and consequent institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race, which is inconsistent with eminence in those noble departments of genius. ARCHITECTURE was the one in which our deficiency, during the war, was most apparent—and in which the greatest efforts were made, on the return of peace, to repair that deficiency. The numerous travellers who crowded to the Continent for several years after the peace, all returned with the greatest admiration of the noble edifices recently erected in Paris, or which attested the magnificence of former ages in Rome, Florence, and Venice, and with a painful sense of the inferiority of England in that particular. Her cathedrals, and many of her country churches, were the finest in the world; and St Paul's is in the interior only second—in the exterior, superior—to the fane of the Vatican, the dome of St Peter's. But if the streets of London were considered, being entirely built of brick, and for the most part extremely narrow, they bore no proportion to the wealth or importance of the British metropolis. Vigorous efforts, however, were soon made to

supply the defects. Regent Street, opened up through one of the densest parts of London, soon exhibited a splendid and varied scene of architectural decoration and mercantile opulence; Regent's Park showed long lines of pillared scenery surmounting its glassy lake and umbrageous foliage; and Waterloo, Southwark, and London Bridges bestrode the floods of the Thames, with arches second to none in the world in magnificence and durability. Unhappily, however, the other buildings of the metropolis, with very few exceptions, were all constructed of brick, with plaster fronts; and the facility of adding decoration with that plastic material has introduced a taste for gorgeous display at variance with every principle of good taste, and which painfully contrasts with the perishable nature of the materials of which it is composed. The noble freestone, and commanding situation of Edinburgh, have led to the prevalence there of a chaster and severer style of architecture, and rendered it by far the finest city in the British dominions, and one of the most striking in Europe. But having ceased to be the seat of government, and consequently lost the concourse of the nobility, it has sunk into a provincial town, and can never again be adorned by those sumptuous edifices which are raised by the national resources, and gathered round the centre of the nation's power.

82. Sir Thomas Lawrence.

It cannot be said that the country of Sir Joshua Reynolds is destitute of the genius for painting; and yet this noble art has not, in the period when it might most confidently have been expected, risen to any distinguished eminence. There have been portrait-painters in abundance—some of very great merit; but placed beside the works of the great masters of the Flemish, Italian, and Spanish schools, theirs sink into insignificance. Valuable, often invaluable, to a single generation, from the fidelity of the likeness they have preserved, they cease to be considered when a new race succeeds to which that likeness was unknown. None of them will bear a comparison

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with the masterpieces of Vandyke or Rubens, of Titian or Velasquez. The details are unfinished, the still life is neglected, the attitude often stiff, the extremities ill drawn. It is easy to see that the whole effort of the painter has been thrown into the likeness of the countenance. The reason is, that the countenance only was an object of interest to the purchasers of the pictures; few of them had knowledge to understand, or taste to appreciate, anything else. The best pictures of Sir THOMAS LAWRENCE are no exceptions to these observations. The likeness is generally good, the countenance powerful, the light and shade well disposed, the expression often angelic; but the picture, on the whole, is always unfinished—the colouring, except on the face, raw and inharmonious. Many of his most lovely female portraits often resemble an angel peeping out of the clouds. His best pieces, when put beside the masterpieces of Vandyke or Titian, appear so inferior that an Englishman turns aside with mortification. His fame was great, the prices received for his paintings immense, during his life; but both have sensibly declined since his death, and his portraits have come to stand on their own merits as pieces of art, irrespective of the recognition of the likeness by the spectators.

83. Turner.

TURNER, in landscape-painting, has attained a reputation more likely to be durable; for in genius he is equal, in variety of conception superior, to Claude himself. No one can study the *Liber Studiorum* of the former master, and compare it with the *Liber Veritatis* of the latter, without perceiving that the palm of originality and variety of imagination must be awarded to the first. There is none of his pictures as perfect as one of Claude's; none over which the glow of an Italian sunset is thrown with such magic over every object in the piece—the sky, the sea, the trees. But there is greater variety in his effects; his drawing from nature has extended over a much wider surface; his fancy is more discursive—his conceptions wilder, and more dissimilar. He has aimed at and suc-

ceeded in awakening emotions of a far more varied kind than his great predecessor. Within his own limits, Claude is perfection; but those limits are narrow. Turner's embrace the whole earth, and all ages of history. It is to the power of his conceptions, however, and the vigour of his imagination, that this unqualified praise applies; in delicacy of finishing, harmony of colouring, and minuteness of detail, combined with generality of effect, he is inferior to Claude, as indeed every subsequent painter has been, and perhaps ever will be. The latter pictures of Turner, when he indulged in a new and more vivid style of colouring, in which bright orange and saffron predominate, can hardly be considered as his productions; they would be more aptly designated as the works of genius run mad. There is only one consolation in reflecting on this running riot of so much talent—and that is, that it has elicited the genius, and displayed the taste and vivid powers of description of his accomplished advocate, Mr Ruskin, who, in attempting to defend his extravagancies, has only caused his ingenuity to be the more admired, that it has obviously been exerted in an indefensible cause. His great and varied genius and taste appear equally conspicuous in his *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, one of the most profound and original works of the kind in the English language. CHAP. V.

84. Copley Fielding, Williams, Thomson.

COPLEY FIELDING cannot be said to be the equal of Turner in vigour of conception or variety of imagination; but in beauty of detail, and polish of finishing, he is sometimes his superior. Like Claude, his limits are narrow; but, like him, within them he is very perfect. He has two sets of pieces, and is essentially a mannerist in both; but in both a vivid eye for the beautiful in nature, and great powers of execution, are conspicuous. No one ever excelled him in the representation of storms at sea, or of

> ———"Ocean's mighty swing,
> When, heaving on the tempest's wing,
> It breaks upon the shore."

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And in the delineation of sunsets at land, of the misty heat of a forenoon in the Highlands, or of the wild sweep of open downs in England, he is equally perfect. These are his limits, however; he never passes them; if he attempts to do so, he only repeats himself. WILLIAMS has thrown over the exquisite remains of Grecian genius the glow of a southern sun, enhanced by the richness of northern fancy; and permanently implanted into our collections the image of the most perfect architectural ruins in the world; while THOMSON, endowed with greater powers, and a more masculine turn of thought, has disdained to leave his own country in the search of the sublime or beautiful, and found, in its spreading pines, and misty mountains, and glassy lakes, the elements which only awaited the hand of genius to be moulded into the expression of perfect beauty. Like all the painters of the day, however, he is deficient in finishing; his pictures appear rough sketches when put beside those of Poussin or Salvator, to whose conceptions his bear a very close analogy. Neither portrait nor landscape painting will ever approach perfection in this country till our artists learn that minuteness of finishing is perfectly consistent with generality of effect; that accuracy of drawing is essential to give reality to the conceptions of imagination; and that unity of impression is not to be attained without a copious sacrifice of lesser details to the one prevailing emotion intended to be awakened.

85. Grant, Pickersgill, Swinton.

It was long before any portrait-painters appeared in London upon whom the mantle of Sir Thomas Lawrence appeared to have descended; but at length two artists arose, whose talents seemed to indicate that the Fine Arts could take root in the mountains of Caledonia as well as on the slopes of the Apennines. Mr FRANCIS GRANT, albeit not originally bred to the art, and habituated at first to the most elegant and polished society, ere long showed that genius can overcome the want of early study, and that a thorough acquaintance with the most polished

society only makes an artist better acquainted with the aerial graces and nameless charms which enter so largely into the composition of the Cestus of Beauty. No British artist ever excelled him in the delineation of female elegance; it is easy to see that he is a gentleman who has not only felt its influence, but felt in what it consists, and learned how it is to be perpetuated to future times. His early passion for the chase also has stamped the character of his works in another respect. His horses are admirable, and particularly remarkable for the spirit and accuracy of drawing they display. PICKERSGILL'S portraits are often admirable, from the fidelity of the likeness and the brilliancy of the colouring; but there is generally a deficiency of shade in them, and, as in all modern pieces, a want of finishing of details. SWINTON is the rival of Grant, and in the same style; he represents female elegance so well, because, by living with it, he has learned in what it consists. Many of his portraits of the most lovely of our female nobility are beautiful pictures, as well as striking likenesses; but they are very unequal, and a want of drawing is sometimes conspicuous, even in his most careful productions. Nor is Scotland without her own honours in the Fine Arts, for RAEBURN was equal to any artist of his time in portrait-painting; and ALLAN has left many paintings, especially of Eastern and Circassian scenes, of very great excellence; while in Sir JOHN WATSON GORDON she may still boast an artist perhaps superior to any of his contemporaries in the delineation of masculine power of countenance.

86. Landseer.

There is one painter of the age, however, who stands at the very head of the department of the art to which his genius has been directed, and has elevated it to a height which never was attained in any foreign state. It may safely be said that, in the representation of animals, LANDSEER is unrivalled. In truth, he has opened an entire new mine of surpassing richness in this branch of art. Schneider had represented, with the utmost skill,

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the painful scenes of boar hunts, and, in vigour of design and power of execution, he never was surpassed; and Reinagle and Du Jardin had delineated the domestic life of animals with equal taste and fidelity. But Landseer has struck out an entirely new path; he has represented *the pathetic* in animals. He is not the painter of them when hunted, and either the enemies or the victims of man: he is one of themselves; he sympathises with their terrors, shares their griefs, is inspired by their affections. His representations of the fawn seeking to obtain nourishment from its dead mother, of the herd striking into the wilderness on the approach of the hunters, of the devoted fidelity of dogs, of the monarch of the glen starting up from his heathery lair, and other similar subjects, are not merely admirable as pieces of art, but unrivalled in the expression of pathos and sentiment. He is the painter of Nature, and has studied her not merely in her wildest scenes, but in her most hidden recesses and secret habits. England may well be proud of having given birth to such a man; and he affords evidence that, if painting in its highest branches has not hitherto flourished as might have been expected in so brilliant an era in this country, the fault lies in the direction of the national taste, not in want of genius in its artists.

87. Wilkie.

WILKIE'S name will be always associated with this period of English history; and, in many respects, he is equal, in his own style, to the greatest painters the world has ever produced. He did not aim at the expression of the pathetic in animals, like Landseer—nor the humorous in man, like Teniers—nor the vulgar in low life, like Ostade: he took counsel from his own genius, and struck out a new vein in the representation of mankind. He portrayed THE DOMESTIC in humble life—its joys, its interests, its amusements, its sorrows. He was the Burns of painting—inspired with his sentiment, penetrated with his ardour, gifted with his powers. In minuteness and delicacy of finishing, he was quite equal

to Teniers, and, at the same time, without his occasional coarseness; so that his paintings, even of the humblest scenes, may be looked on by the most delicate female without pain. His drawing is admirable—his colouring brilliant, and yet harmonious. The great defect of his style—and it is a very serious one—is, that he does not sufficiently mass his lights and shadows: admirable in detail, there is a want of generality in effect. The light on each figure is admirably done; but the light on the whole is too indiscriminately thrown. He has shaded well, according to Titian's simile, each individual grape; but he has forgot the shading of the whole bunch. By far too many of his figures are illuminated: he would have done well to have remembered the observations of Sir Joshua Reynolds, that, in Titian's painting, two-thirds is in shade, and only one-third in bright light.

If Landseer has struck out a new vein—the pathetic in animals, CHANTREY has equally illustrated himself by opening a fresh mine—the pathetic in sculpture. In this he is unrivalled—"above all Greek, above all Roman fame." The group of the Niobe family alone, in ancient sculpture, showed what powerful emotions might be awakened in that way; but Chantrey, in his monumental pieces, worked it out with deep feeling and admirable effect. Breaking off at once from the strange mixture of allegory and conceit with which the barbarous taste of former ages in England had deformed the glorious fane of Westminster, he boldly struck into a new line, and, with the materials of the Simple, aimed at the expression of the Pathetic. His success was prodigious and decisive; it raised him at once to the very head of modern art in this department. His Sleeping Children, in Lichfield Cathedral, which first gave him his colossal reputation, and several other monumental pieces in the same style, are unequalled in simplicity of thought and beauty of expression. Many of his busts—among which that of Sir Walter Scott may be cited as the most admirable—

88. Chantrey.

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are as perfect and characteristic likenesses as ever were made. If to these powers and chaste designs this great artist had united the knowledge of drawing and command of the figure which Phidias and the first masters of antiquity possessed, he would perhaps have made the greatest sculptor that ever existed. But there he was obviously deficient; and perhaps no modern artist, without the advantage of the Palestra, can ever hope to rival the artists of antiquity in that respect. His entire figures are generally stiff—sometimes out of drawing; the attitudes are often constrained, the contour unpleasing, the horses unnatural. His fame will rest on his sepulchral pieces and portraits, not on his entire figures or public monuments.

89. Flaxman.

FLAXMAN possessed a greater and more varied imagination than Chantrey, and more akin to the genius of ancient sculpture. He did not aim so much at the expression of one sentiment or feeling, as at the delineation of incident or event of a critical or interesting nature, by means of the chisel; and there his powers were of the very highest order. The Metopes of the Parthenon, the contests of the Athenians and Amazons, constantly floated before his imagination; he was imbued with the very soul of Homer. His designs in illustration of the *Iliad* are the finest series of the kind which modern Europe has produced. If English taste or spirit had been adequate to the undertaking of a national monument to commemorate the deliverance of Great Britain from Gallic invasion, he would have produced a frieze worthy of being placed beside that of Phidias himself. His conceptions were grand—his attitudes varied and striking, his drawing truthful and accurate. He was less perfect, however, with the chisel than the crayon: his execution was not equal to his conception; he could hardly work out the beauty which he had imagined. In single figures he often failed, and in still life was sometimes inanimate; it was the vehemence and heat of

battle which kindled his imagination and inspired it with the heroic spirit. His portraits of individuals, though often striking likenesses, were not equal to those of Chantrey; his power consisted in the representation of life in action, rather than character in repose.

90. Marochetti.

Albeit born in Italy, and bred in France, Baron MAROCHETTI may be reckoned among British artists, and is entitled to a very high place among the highest of them. He has become naturalised amongst us; his genius has adorned our chief cities; and the statues of Richard Cœur-de-Lion in London, and the Duke of Wellington in Glasgow, have given him an enduring claim to the gratitude of his acquired countrymen. His genius is of the very highest order; it is a combination of that of Chantrey and Flaxman. In the expression of character he is equal to the former, in the delineation of incident he rivals the latter. By combining a frieze in alto-relievo, in which the figures are in action, round the pedestal of his statues, with the figures in an attitude of repose on its summit, he has succeeded in exhibiting his powers in both these lines in the same monument. So European has his reputation become, that, shortly after finishing his noble statue of Victor Emmanuel at Turin, he was engaged, at the same time, in the monumental figure of Napoleon for his tomb in the Invalides at Paris, in the formation of the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington in Glasgow, and that of the Duke of Orleans at Algiers. His drawing is in general accurate; he is a perfect master of the anatomy of horses, and his grouping is bold and striking; but in working out the details of his figures, he is not equal to the recent sculptures of the German school; and the prize at the Great Exhibition in London, in 1851, was worthily awarded to Kist, for his inimitable representation of the combat of the Amazon and Lion.

In one art, nearly akin to sculpture, England at this period rose to the very highest eminence. If the drama

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is the efflorescence of epic poetry, the histrionic art is the efflorescence of sculpture.

> "But by the mighty actor brought,
> Creation's brightest fancies come;
> Verse ceases to be airy thought,
> And sculpture to be dumb."

91. Mrs Siddons.

In this noble and bewitching art, the family of the KEMBLES stands pre-eminent; and Mrs SIDDONS was the founder of the honours of the house. She was the Tragedy Queen personified. Endowed by nature with a commanding figure, a noble countenance, and stately air, with raven locks, a majestic carriage, and sonorous voice, she united all that the poets had prefigured of the lofty in character—the imposing in woman. She had nothing tender in her disposition—none of its expression in her countenance—none of the elements which awaken it, either in her character or person. She was made, not to be loved, but worshipped; she stepped forth, not amidst her adorers, but her subjects. She could at times—in Juliet, Desdemona, and Belvidera—awaken the very soul of tenderness, and melt every spectator by the most harrowing touches of the pathetic; but that only showed the variety of her powers—it did not bespeak the bent of her disposition. It was the majestic, the noble, the devoted, the generous, which suited her character; and in the expression of them she was unrivalled. In Queen Constance, Isabella, Mrs Haller, Lady Macbeth, and similar characters, her powers shone forth in their full lustre; and she produced an effect upon every class of spectators, which never has been, and probably never will again be, equalled on the English stage.

92. John Kemble.

JOHN KEMBLE, brother to Mrs Siddons, and the co-inheritor with her of the genius of the family, was cast in the same mould, and endowed with the same spirit; but he had not the same marvellous combination of physical advantages. His countenance had her Roman cast—his hair was of her raven hue; but he had not the same

stately air—the same majestic figure. Seen off the stage, his height seemed under the middle size; and latterly he had a considerable stoop from the shoulders. His voice, never powerful, was at times husky, and plaintive rather than melodious. But these disadvantages, which, in a person less mentally gifted, would have been serious, if not fatal, were overcome, and more than overcome, by the ardour of his mind, the energy of his disposition, the lofty conceptions which filled his soul. In these he was fully equal to his sister, more highly gifted though she was, so far as personal advantages are concerned. His mind was filled with grand ideas; a Roman magnanimity was the characteristic of his disposition. He had great powers for the pathetic; but it was not ordinary grief which he represented;—it was the Stranger mourning his faithless love—it was Cato preferring death to slavery—it was Brutus learning, on the eve of Philippi, the death of Porcia, which he represented with such admirable effect. He was learned, a great antiquarian, and studied the dress, armour, and costume of the olden time, with the most assiduous care. His air was magnificent when he walked the boards as Brutus or Coriolanus, in the exact costume of the conquering republic: the line of the poet involuntarily recurred to the mind—

"Thou last of all the Romans, fare thee well!"

93. Miss O'Neil.

If Kemble overcame many personal disadvantages by the lofty tone of his mind, an actress who rose in his declining years, yet often appeared on the boards with him, Miss O'NEIL, had every gift of nature to aid a tender and impassioned disposition in melting the hearts of the spectators. A finely chiselled Grecian countenance, dark glossy hair, a skin smooth as monumental marble, and beautiful figure, gave her every advantage which genius could covet for awakening emotion; but to these were added the very mental qualities which were fitted to bring them forth in full lustre. She was not majestic and

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queen-like, like Mrs Siddons—nor stately and imposing, like Kemble; she was neither the tragedy queen nor the impassioned sultana. The tender woman was her real character, and there she never was surpassed. She had not the winning playfulness which allures to love, nor the fascinating coquetry which confirms it; but none ever possessed, in a higher degree, the bewitching tenderness which affection, when once thoroughly awakened, evinces in its moments of unreserve—or the heart-rending pathos with which its crosses and sufferings in this world are portrayed. In the last scenes of Juliet, Belvidera, and Desdemona, nothing could exceed the delicacy, power, and pathos of her performance. She was too young for Queen Constance—too innocent for Lady Macbeth; but in Mrs Haller her powers, aided by her beauty, shone forth in the highest perfection; and when she appeared on the boards of Covent Garden in that character with John Kemble, whose older aspect and bent figure so well suited her deserted husband as the Stranger, a spectacle was exhibited such as no one ever saw before, as no one will ever see again, and which did not leave a dry eye in the whole audience.

94. Kean.

KEAN, although contemporary with Miss O'Neil, was an artist of an entirely different character. He had no advantages of figure or air; his stature was short—his voice far from powerful—his countenance, though very expressive, not handsome. But all these deficiencies were compensated, and more than compensated, by the fire and energy of his mind. "Sir, he is terribly in earnest," said John Kemble of him when he first appeared; and this was strictly true, and was the secret of his success. The vigour of his thoughts, the vehemence of his delineation of passion, bore down all opposition, and raised him to the very highest eminence in the histrionic art. He was not so commanding as Kemble in any one part, but he excelled in a greater number of parts: the former had more grandeur of conception—the latter, more variety of

execution. He was peculiarly admirable in the delineation of villany and dissimulation, or of the mental conflicts of irresolute character. None could excel him in the representation of Iago or Richard III.; few in the conflicting passions of Jaffier or Hamlet. He would have made a perfect Jaffier to Kemble's Pierre; and if Miss O'Neil had at the same time played Belvidera, future ages might perhaps hope to rival, but assuredly they never could excel, the spectacle.

95. Miss Helen Faucit.

If powers of the very highest order united to fascinating beauty, and the most lofty conceptions of the dignity and moral objects of her art, could have arrested the degradation of the stage, Miss HELEN FAUCIT would have done so. But this highly gifted actress arose in the decline of the drama, and even her genius was unequal to the task of supporting it in the days of corrupted taste. She is a combination of Mrs Siddons and Miss O'Neil; with the majestic air and lofty thoughts, but not the commanding figure of the former, and as great pathetic power, and not less winning grace, but without the regular features of the latter. Variety is her great characteristic, versatility her distinguishing feature. Like Garrick, she excels equally in tragedy or elegant comedy: it is hard to say whether her Rosalind is the more charming, or her Lady Teazle the more fascinating, or her Juliet the more heart-rending. Dark raven locks, a fine figure, and singularly expressive countenance, bestow on her all the advantages which, in addition to the highest mental gifts, beauty never ceases to confer on woman; and a disposition marked by deep feeling, alternately lively and serious, sportive and mournful, playful and contemplative, gives her that command of the expression of different emotions, and that versatility of power, which constitute her great and unequalled charm. She has the highest conception of the dignity and moral capabilities of her art, and by the uniform chasteness and delicacy of her performances does the utmost to uphold it in its native purity; but it is all in

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vain. She has appeared in the days of the decline of taste, and, notwithstanding her great genius and celebrity, is unable to arrest it. The drama here, as elsewhere, has been in a certain stage of society succeeded by the melodrama; the theatre by the amphitheatre. Covent Garden has become an Italian, Drury Lane an English, opera-house. Singing and dancing, stimulants to the senses, splendour for the eye, have come to supplant the expression of passion, the display of tenderness, the grandeur of character.

96. Decline of the drama in England, and its causes.

This progress has occurred so uniformly in rich and luxurious nations, that it may be considered as inevitable, and arising from some fixed and universal principle in our nature. Nor is it difficult to see what that principle is. It arises from the gradual rise, and ultimate ascendancy, of a middle class in society, the minds in which are not so cultivated as to enable them to enjoy intellectual or moral pleasures, while their senses are sufficiently excited to render them fully alive to the enjoyments of the physical. Disguise it as you will, that is the real principle. When that class, which is ever a vast majority of mankind, becomes in the progress of opulence so rich and powerful, that its patronage forms the main support of the theatre, the ruin of the drama is inevitable and at hand. This change was accelerated, and perhaps prematurely brought on in this country, by the well-meant and sincere but unfortunate prejudices of a large and respectable portion of society, which withdrew altogether from our theatres, from a natural feeling of indignation at the immorality of some of its dramas, and the license of many of its accessories. There can be no doubt it would be well if these abuses could be corrected; and it would also be well if corruption could be banished from literature, vice from the world. Unfortunately the one is not more likely to happen than the other. Both spring from the universal corruption of our nature, and will cease when we are no longer children of Adam, but not till then.

The only effect of this portion of society withdrawing from our theatres has been, that their direction has fallen into the hands of the unscrupulous. Their support of the profligate, and the licentious character of their representations, have in consequence been greatly increased. We cannot destroy the art of Æschylus, Shakspeare, and Schiller, but we may alter its character and degrade its direction; and the unhappy result of the respectable classes withdrawing from the theatre has been too often to convert what might be at least occasionally the school of virtue, into the academy of vice.

97. The exclusive system in society: its causes.

Society in the higher classes underwent a great change in England during the year subsequent to the peace, and from the same cause which induced the decline of the drama. During the twenty years that the war had lasted, great fortunes had been made in agriculture, the law, trade, and commerce; and numbers of persons had risen to affluence and distinction in society, many of whom had been ennobled, who were not equal in birth, manners, or refinement, to those among whom they were now introduced. The glorious victories and unparalleled successes of the army in the latter years of the contest had led to numerous chivalrous honours being bestowed on its veteran commanders, some of whom, however gallant or able in the field, were rather saddle than carpet knights, and better fitted to wrest standards from the enemy than to win smiles from ladies fair in drawing-rooms. From this intermixture of society, and extensive introduction of a new class into its highest circles, arose another species of aristocracy — that of fashion — self-elected, but universally bowed to, which deserves mention even in a work of general history, from the important political consequences by which it was followed. Beyond all question, the *Exclusive System* was one of the remote causes of the Reform Bill.

It was very natural, and not to be wondered at, that the ancient aristocracy, who saw their hereditary and

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98. Its great effect on society.

long-acknowledged domain invaded by a host of intruders, many of whom were better provided with wealth to dazzle than manners or accomplishments to adorn it, should endeavour to arrange themselves in an interior and more limited circle, to which the only passport should be the possession of some qualities which added to the lustre or enhanced the charms of society. It was like the garrison of a fortified town, driven from the external walls, taking refuge behind the ramparts of the citadel. The beauty, charms, and accomplishments of the ladies of high rank and distinction, who were at the head of this exclusive circle, soon rendered its attraction universal, their own influence irresistible. Mere wealth was wholly inadequate to procure admission to it; rank even the highest, if unaccompanied by other qualifications, as little: the carriages of duchesses were to be seen waiting at the doors of the ladies' patronesses of Almacks, where marchionesses and countesses presided over the distribution of the tickets. The highest fame and consideration in the other sex were equally unable to resist the ascendant of fashion—the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh bowed, perhaps not unwillingly, to its influence. Yet even here the changes which recent events had introduced into society were conspicuous; the ancient prerogatives of birth were often broken through from the influence of modern distinction, and genius obtained an entrance when hereditary rank was excluded. Literature was speedily influenced by this new power which had arisen in the metropolis, and a host of novels appeared, professing to paint the manners of the exclusives and the penetralia of that inner shrine, of which so many were the devout worshippers, but so few the initiated priesthood. Meanwhile its attractions were magnified, as is always the case, by the imaginations of those who were shut out from the magic circle; and discontent and jealousy spread widely through society from the injustice thought to have been committed upon many of

its members. The important political effects of this feeling will abundantly appear in the sequel of this history.

91. Increasing liberalism of the higher ranks.

During the fifteen years which immediately followed the peace, the tendency became very apparent in young men of rank to adopt Liberal opinions, and range themselves in politics in opposition to the side which their fathers had adopted. So far did this tendency spread, that although during the war fully two-thirds of the House of Peers had been of the Conservative party, before the Reform Bill was carried it had become doubtful whether they had a majority. This important change arose doubtless in part from the natural tendency to reaction in the human mind, against the strong bias to monarchical opinions which had been induced in Great Britain by the horrors of the Revolution in the neighbouring kingdom. Opinion had been bent so far one way, that now, in the next generation, it inclined equally far the other. But it was in a great degree also owing to the influence of the foreign travelling which at that period prevailed so widely among the young men of this country. Long shut out from it by the war, the youth of Great Britain rushed in crowds to the Continent on the return of peace; and, being in great part recently escaped from college, or emancipated from parental control, they were just at the age when new ideas most easily find an entrance into the mind, and foreign influences are most powerful. Wherever they went, except in Vienna, they found Liberal opinions in a large portion of the higher ranks in the ascendant, and the most agreeable houses and charming society deeply imbued with them. These influences, with young men of ardent minds and generous dispositions, often proved irresistible; the new opinions only appeared the more attractive because they were new; and the sons of many sturdy peers, whose fathers had spent their lives in combating the democratic principle, gave way to its sway under the influence of French liberalism or the smiles of Italian beauty.

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100. Influence in society of the great Whig houses.

This tendency in so many of the younger part of the English aristocracy, at this period, was much increased by the extraordinary attractions presented by the society in several of the leading Whig houses. Holland House, Devonshire House, Lansdowne House, Woburn Abbey, and several other mansions of the Whig nobility, both in the provinces and the metropolis, collected a circle and exhibited attractions such as never before had been seen in English society. Intimate, from their rank and their connections, with the highest aristocratic families, they did not, like the Exclusives, confine their attentions to their members alone. They sought out and encouraged talent in every department, whether at the bar, the senate, in literature, science, or art. They bestowed on the rising or eminent in their department the flattery which, of all others, is the most seductive to talent less favoured by birth or fortune—a momentary equality with those to whom, in both respects, she had been most propitious. It was very difficult for young men, whose genius had raised them much above the position in society in which they had been born, to resist the attraction of a society in which Lady Holland and Sir James Mackintosh, Macaulay and Landseer, Jeffrey and Chantrey, were to be met at dinner; where Moore sang his bewitching melodies with still more bewitching right honourables in the evening, and the lustre of the most splendid assemblies or balls closed the scene of enchantment. Incessant were the efforts made by the Whig party, in the interval between the close of the war and the passing of the Reform Bill, to recruit their ranks with the most rising young men, of whatever side, by their attractions; and to the success with which they were attended, the progressive rise in the strength of the Liberal party in both Houses of Parliament, during that period, is in no slight degree to be ascribed. There are Armidas in the political as well as the military world; and the charms of genius, the smiles of beauty, by withdrawing the most

stalwart knights from their own side in the conflict, have prolonged or decided many other contests besides those around the walls of Troy or the ramparts of Jerusalem.

101. Which was wanting on the Conservative side: causes of the difference.

The Tories at that period had no corresponding attraction on the other side to present; and to the want of this the decline in their numbers, and desertion of many of their adherents in Parliament, is in some degree to be ascribed. The same has long been observed in English society; for nearly a century, the principal houses where the aristocracy of rank and talent were united had been those of the great Whig nobility. The reverse has only begun to take place since the Tories were excluded from power by the effects of the Reform Bill, and they have been driven by necessity to the alliance with talent, from which their opponents had derived so much benefit. The reason is founded in the nature of things; and the relative position of the two parties will be found, in similar circumstances, to be of permanent influence. The Tories being the dominant party, which had been long in power, and rested on the support of the great bulk of the property in the kingdom, which at that period influenced the House of Commons through the nomination boroughs, they not only did not require the aid of genius, but they were averse to it. They dreaded the influence of a rival power, which they feared might one day wrest from them their exclusive domain. They desired the aid of talent, but it was of talent entirely subservient to their views and devoted to their purposes—that is, of talent emasculated, and rendered incapable of permanently directing or influencing mankind.

102. And advantage of the Whigs in this respect.

The Whigs had no such jealousy or apprehensions. Out of power, they had no fears of being compromised by the imprudence of their supporters; in a minority in Parliament, they were fain to obtain the aid of any power which could aid them in gaining a majority. Thence a long-continued alliance between the powers of intellect and the principles of liberalism, of which the effects will

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amply be unfolded in the sequel of this work. Both parties felt the benefit of a union into which both had been driven by necessity, and each was likely to experience the advantage. But the alliance was not destined to be perpetual; it ceased with the victory which their united strength had achieved. The revolution in France of 1830, in England of 1832, dissolved it in both countries. The reaction of the strength of mind against the despotism of numbers then began on both sides of the Channel; it was discovered that the tyranny of numbers is even more oppressive than that of a monarch or an aristocracy. The cause of humanity and freedom was lost, if the powers of thought had followed the general bent, and flattered the ruling multitude as much as its sycophantish followers then did, or courtiers had done kings in former days. But, in that crisis, Mind remained true to itself, and reasserted its original destiny as the leader of mankind. Intellect ranged itself under its real standard—that of the human race. Genius, long a stranger to the cause of order, resumed her place by its side; she gave to a suffering what she had refused to a ruling power. It is this reaction of independence against oppression—the power of mind against the tyranny of strength—the force of intellect against the domination of numbers, which steadies the march of human events, and renders the misfortunes of one age the means at once of instructing the wisdom, correcting the errors, and mitigating the sufferings of those which succeed it.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM THE COUP D'ETAT OF SEPTEMBER 5, 1816, TO THE CREATION OF PEERS IN 1819.

1816.

1. Effects of the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816.

THE *coup d'état* of 5th February 1816, which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and changed the electoral system, is generally considered as the commencement of constitutional government in France, because it altered the franchise, and remodelled the popular branch of the legislature, in conformity with the wish of the popular party, and gave them the means, by the annual retirement of a fifth of its members, and election of others in their stead, of permanently bringing the legislature into harmony with the majority of the electors. As such, it has received the most unqualified eulogium from the whole Liberal party of France. It is true, the number of electors, compared with the population, was small; it did not amount to 100,000, out of 30,000,000. But this was immaterial. It is the *class* from which the electors who return an assembly vested with supreme power which is the decisive circumstance. A *democratic oligarchy* of electors can return an assembly which will work out the purposes of Republicanism as effectually as the most numerous body of constituents: sixty thousand Liberals, intrusted with the election of the majority of the legislature, can mould the measures of its government to their will just as effectually as six millions. Nay, they are likely to do so more effectually, because, being a smaller

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body, they are more compact, more docile to the directions of their chiefs, and more likely to be swayed by personal ambition or class interests, than a larger and more heterogeneous multitude.

2. Democratic basis on which the elective franchise was founded.

The suffrage in France being founded on one basis only —viz., the payment of 300 francs direct taxes to Government—the direction of the legislature fell necessarily into the hands of a majority of that *single* class of society. This majority, it was known from the tax-office returns, was to be found in persons paying from 300 to 500 francs a-year of taxes (from £12 to £20,) and they formed, perhaps, the most dangerous class in the community, if lasting measures were looked to. They were not so likely to adopt violent measures, in the outset, as a body of electors embracing the inferior classes of society; but they were more likely to follow them out to the end: they were less hasty, but more persevering. The income of persons paying direct taxes to this amount was from £100 to £150 a-year; and this class was invested with the entire direction of the state. They formed sixty out of the eighty or ninety thousand electors in France. A legislature the majority of which was composed of persons elected by such a body of small proprietors, was not so likely to be threatening to property as to power; there was no danger of their not attending to their own interests, but great risk that they would be regardless of the interests of others. The risk was not that they would support measures subversive of property, but that they would pursue a system which would be dangerous to the throne, and gratify their own ambition by establishing a republican form of government, in which they might divide the offices and emoluments among themselves. This accordingly was the result which actually took place; and the history of France during the next year is nothing but that of a continual struggle of the Crown with the Legislature which, by a violent stretch of the royal prerogative, itself had called into existence.

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3. The elections of 1815, and measures taken to secure them.

Louis XVIII. had given a cordial assent to the ordinances of September 5, 1816.* He was more apprehensive at that period of the Ultra-Royalists than of the Democrats; he dreaded the Count d'Artois and the Pavillon Marsan more than either the Jacobins or the Napoleonists. Everything, however, depended on the elections: for, as the Government had now unreservedly thrown itself upon the Liberal party, and entirely broken with the Royalists, if a Jacobin Chamber was returned it might at once lead to the overthrow of the monarchy. The greatest pains, accordingly, were taken to secure returns which might meet the views of the Government; and the King, both in circulars to the prefects, and in verbal audiences given to the heads of the electoral colleges, did his utmost to impress his views upon them, and, by their means, upon the electors. Concord and unanimity was the prevailing idea in the royal mind; he thought that the passions of the Revolution might be expected to subside when its convulsions had ceased, as the waves of the ocean subside after the storm has ceased to blow. "France," said he, to one of the electoral presidents, M. Raviz, "has unhappily undergone too many convulsions; it has need of repose. To enjoy it, what is required is a body of representatives attached to my person, to the cause of legitimacy, and to the charter; but, above all, moderate and prudent. The department of the Gironde, to which you belong, has already given me many proofs of its attachment and fidelity: I expect fresh ones in the elections about to take place. Tell them that it is a good old man who only asks them to make his last days happy for the felicity of his children."[1]

[1] Cap. v. 2, 7.

The Royalists, sensible of the danger which impended

* "Un des momens les plus heureux de ma vie a été celui qui a suivi la visite de l'Empereur de Russie en 1816. Non seulement il était entré dans toutes mes pensées, mais il me les avait dites avant que j'eusse eu le temps de les émettre. Il avait hautement approuvé le système de gouvernement et la ligne de conduite que je suis, depuis que je me suis determiné à rendre l'ordonnance du 5 Septembre."—*MS. de Louis XVIII.*; CAPEFIGUE, iv. 369.

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4. Efforts of the Royalists and Liberals.

over the monarchy, and that everything depended on the result of the elections, made the greatest efforts to secure a majority in their favour. They formed at that period a very powerful body; and acting, as they did, under the directions of a central committee of direction in Paris, their efforts were the more likely to be attended with success. In the south and west of France they were all-powerful, both from the feeling of the people, which was there monarchical to excess, and from nearly the whole official appointments having fallen into their hands during the period when the Count d'Artois, on the suggestion of the local Royalist committees, filled them up with the most determined men of their party. Secret societies were formed, which powerfully contributed to aid the same cause, and which government in vain endeavoured to suppress. So strongly did general opinion, even in the towns, at this period run in favour of the Royalist party, that the Democratic party everywhere took refuge under the wings of the ministerialists; and the strange spectacle was exhibited of the Government functionaries generally supporting candidates who were avowedly banded together to overturn the throne! So true it is that the greatest and most durable popular revolutions receive their first impulse, in many cases, from the efforts of the executive. The reason is not apparent at first sight, but when once stated, its force becomes very apparent. The government for a time allies itself with the democrats, because, for a brief season, this relieves it of its opponents, and adjourns the inevitable conflict to a future time.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 89; Cap. v. 10, 12; Lam vi. 140, 141.

5. Result of the elections.

The ordinance of 5th September, which divided the electoral colleges into two parts—the colleges of arrondissement, and the colleges of department—gave great advantages to the ministerial party. It was difficult to suppose that the Government would not obtain one or two names in each list of candidates, and that they should not have sufficient influence to get their can-

didates nominated for the colleges of department; and this accordingly, in a great many instances, took place. Nevertheless, so strong was the Royalist feeling in the majority of the rural districts, and so well organised and ably conducted their system of opposition, that in a great many instances they succeeded in throwing out the ministerial candidate. Nearly the whole leaders of the Royalist party re-entered the Chamber by the result of the elections, many of whom the ministers would have gladly dispensed with; and even in Paris and the great towns, where the ministerial action was the most powerful and most strongly exerted, several Royalists were returned. If the Chamber had been retained at its former number of 394, the majority would still have been Royalist, and it was turned the other way only by the great reduction of its members to 260. So skilfully had this reduction been effected, and so well founded the local information on which it was rested, that the disfranchised places and classes of electors were for the most part those which were likely to return the most determined Royalists; and those on the Liberal side were, comparatively speaking, left untouched. The result was, that the ministerialists obtained a majority in the new Chamber, though not so considerable as they had expected. Those of the old Chamber re-elected were 174 : 86 were new members, and 115 of the former legislature were thrown out, either by being defeated at the poll, or from having not attained the legal age of 40 years. Among the latter was M. Decazes, whom the king in consequence determined to raise to the peerage.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 89, 90; Cap. v. 16, 17; Lam. vi. 140, 141.

6. Internal government after the *coup d'état* of 5th September.

After the *coup d'état* of 5th September, the cabinet was completely united. The greatest efforts were made to sustain the revenue; and, by incredible exertions, all the stipulated payments to the allied sovereigns and the public creditors were made good; but it was done by such sacrifices as demonstrated the extreme financial embarrassment of the country. The Five per Cents were at

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57 and 58; the exchequer bills were still negotiable, but at a very heavy discount. It was by means of loans, however, that the Treasury obligations could alone be made good, and the capitalists of Paris declared themselves unequal to the relief of the necessities of Government. In this extremity, recourse was had to foreign assistance; and, after great difficulties, a large loan was concluded with Messrs Hope and Baring, by which the immediate necessities of Government were relieved, though at a heavy rate of interest. The cabinet unanimously agreed on the necessity of maintaining the laws restraining the liberty of the press, and establishing the Prévôtal Courts; but instructions were sent to the presidents and prefects to diminish the prosecutions, and lessen the severity of punishments. At the same time, a more liberal system was established in the army. The Duke de Feltre received instructions to be more indulgent in the granting of commissions: several were bestowed on the relatives of Liberal leaders; and the half-pay officers, recently the objects of so much jealousy, were cautiously readmitted to the ranks. The princes of the blood vied with each other in endeavours to conciliate this important branch of the public service; and frequent reviews, and periodical visits to the barracks and hospitals of the troops, revealed their anxious desire to conciliate the affections of the men. A general order from the minister at war directed that each legion in succession should be called to the service of the capital; while the utmost pains were bestowed on the composition, both in officers and men, of the Guards. Everything indicated that the Government was preparing for the time when the allied troops, which occupied the frontier fortresses, were to be withdrawn, and the Government was to be left to rest alone on the loyalty of the people, and fidelity of the army.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 90, 91; Cap. v. 23, 24.

But in the midst of these useful and honourable labours, a new difficulty arose, which was the more hard to guard against that it arose not from the act of man, but

the direct dispensation of the Almighty. The summer and autumn of 1816, beyond all precedent cold and rainy in all the northern parts of Europe, were in an especial manner unpropitious in France. Nearly incessant rains during the whole of July, August, and September, entirely flooded the low grounds adjoining the rivers, and almost destroyed the crops on their banks; and, even in dry situations, the harvest was essentially injured by the long-continued wet. But for the potato crop, which fortunately in that year was very abundant, famine with all its horrors would have been superadded to the other ills of France. As it was, prices rose rapidly; and the holders of grain, anticipating a still greater advance of prices, kept up their stocks, and supplies in very insufficient quantities were brought to market. M. Lainé, upon whom, as minister of the interior, the duty of facing this dreadful calamity principally fell, did his utmost to assuage the public distress, and granaries were established in the most distressed parts of the kingdom, where corn was sold by Government to the most destitute of the people at a reduced price. But, in spite of everything that could be done, the suffering was extreme: prices rose to more than double their average level, and in many parts of the kingdom numbers perished of actual want. In these distressing circumstances the beneficence of the king and the royal family shone forth with the brightest lustre: their names were to be seen at the head of all subscriptions in every part of the country; and such was their unwearied benevolence that it might have softened down many asperities, and extinguished many animosities, if, in a country heated by the fervour of a revolution, anything could have this effect but the gratification of its passions.[1]

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[1] Cap. v. 25, 26; Lac. ii. 95, 96.

The Chamber met on the 5th October, and the opening speech of the king was deeply tinged by the disastrous circumstances in which the country was placed. "Painfully affected," said he, "by the privations which

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8. Opening of the Chambers. Oct. 5.

the people are suffering in consequence of the inclemency of the season, the king feels still greater regret at being unable to hold out any prospect of an alleviation of the public burdens. He feels that the first necessity of the people is economy, and he has endeavoured to introduce it into every branch of the public service. My family and myself will make the same sacrifices as last year; and to enable me to conduct the government, I rely on your attachment to my person and to our common country." He concluded by expressing his firm determination to uphold the charter, and never permit the smallest infringement of its fundamental provisions. "My ordinance of 5th September 1816 says it sufficiently."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 6, 1816.

9. State of parties in the Chamber of Deputies.

When the Chamber was constituted and proceeded to business, the vast change made in the representation, effected by the ordinance of 5th September, was at once apparent. The Royalists, who composed so large a majority in the former Chamber, were now reduced to a minority of eighty members, who, however, were formidable, as all similarly constituted bodies are in a deliberative assembly, from their unanimity of opinion, their perfect discipline, and docile obedience to the voice of their chief. Having lost the command of the Chamber, and the direction of the Government, they had recourse to the people, and on every occasion advanced the opinions and supported the measures which were most likely to insure their popularity, even with the opponents of their general system of government. Their leaders in the Assembly were M. de Villèle and M. de Corbière, and none could be more skilful in the lead of such an opposition; but it was not there that their real strength was to be found. The real strength of the party was the press; its effective leaders the great writers. M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Frioce, powerfully supported their side by the united powers of genius and eloquence;[2] and so powerful are these weapons, and so overjoyed the people to see them ever ranged on their side against the

[2] Cap. v. 34.

Government, that they very soon acquired great popularity, and an influence in the Assembly altogether disproportioned to their numerical strength.

10. Centre and Left.

The Centre, as it is called in French parliamentary language, was the most numerous and important body in the Assembly, because, by its inclining to the side of Ministers or the Opposition, it at once determined the measures of government and the fate of administration. It was divided into the Centre Droit and the Centre Gauche, according as its members inclined to the extreme royalist or democratic opinions; but, in general, it supported the measures of Government, partly from patriotic feelings, partly from an instinctive dread of any decisive measures which might be attended with important changes. M. Lainé was the most distinguished man of this party; and to insure its support, the chief members of Administration, among whom may be reckoned MM. Pasquier and Bignon, besides M. Lainé himself, were taken from it. The Centre Gauche was chiefly distinguished by M. Camille Jourdan, and M. de Courvoisier, whose abilities and eloquence caused them always to be listened to in the Assembly, though their practical acquaintance with business was not such as to cause their being taken into the Administration. In the extreme Left, which mustered about sixty votes, M. LAFITTE, a great banker in Paris, who afterwards became celebrated, and M. Royer d'Argenson, were the acknowledged leaders; but such was now the strange confusion of parties in the Assembly, that they were much more frequently acting in support of Ministers than in alliance with the Royalist opposition. The different parties came to a trial of strength on the choice of a president. MM. de Serres and Pasquier, who were supported by the Ministers and Centre, had respectively 112 and 102 votes; while the Royalist candidate, M. de Corbière, had only 76.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 36, 43, 45.

The first important legislative measure of the session was an act brought forward by Ministers to legalise the

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preceding election, and obtain the sanction of all the branches of the legislature to the royal ordinance of 5th September 1816. There was an obvious absurdity in an assembly, elected by a royal ordinance, proceeding, as its first act, to pass a law *legalising its own appointment*, and declaring it to be the law in future; but so accustomed were the French to *coups d'état* that they saw nothing incongruous in this proceeding—and perhaps, in the circumstances, when a stretch on the part of the Crown had been committed, there was no other way of getting back to legal measures. To support the ministerial measures, returns were obtained from the different departments of the number of persons entitled to the franchise under the ordinance of 5th September, and they amounted to 90,878, paying 300 francs of direct taxes; and 16,052, paying 1000 francs yearly. It was evident, therefore, that though the suffrage was very limited in point of numbers, yet the majority of that number was decidedly democratic; for out of the whole 90,000, no less than 60,000 were persons paying from 300 to 500 francs of direct taxes yearly, (£12 to £20,) which corresponds to income of from 2500 to 4000 francs, (from £100 to £160;) being, perhaps, the most democratic portion of the community. The ministerial project was, that every Frenchman aged thirty years, and paying 300 francs yearly of direct taxes, should be entitled to the suffrage; that the prefect was to prepare the electoral lists, and decide appeals against his judgment in his council, the courts of law determining such as depended on legal questions. Every department was to have one electoral college, which was to meet in the chief place of its bounds: it was to sit ten days to receive the votes, and to be presided over by a chairman appointed by the king; and if more than 600 electors required to vote at any college, it was to be divided into two or more sections. The debates on this project began on the 26th December, and elicited arguments of the highest historical importance.[1]

11. Law of elections of 5th February 1817.

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 26 and 27, 1816; Cap. v. 66, 68.

On the part of the Government it was urged by M. Royer Collard, M. de Serres, and M. Camille Jourdan: "The ruling principle of this project is to bring the electoral law into harmony, as nearly as possible, with the charter: unless we adhere to that landmark, we have no chance of avoiding being lost in a sea of speculation and innovation. Now, the charter leaves no doubt on the matter; it expressly declares that the electoral right shall be bestowed on every Frenchman paying 300 francs of direct taxes; that the elections shall be direct, and by one degree only. The double election—first by arrondissement, and then by department—is infinitely more complicated, and exposed to the action of corruption and intrigue. It is preposterous to suppose that a law which confines the suffrage to 90,000 out of 30,000,000 of inhabitants, is too democratic. At the same time, the electors by department will be sufficiently numerous to render bribery or undue influence impossible. In every point of view, therefore, the project is both safe and expedient—protective to liberty, and yet not endangering to monarchy.

12. Argument of the ministers in support of the measure.

"Had the charter stopped short with laying down certain vague principles for the elections, some difficulty might have been experienced in the details of any measure intended to carry it into effect; but the charter has relieved us of this difficulty—for it has pronounced on all questions that can arise in their fullest extent. It has declared that there shall be deputies by department, and neither more nor less; that every Frenchman paying 300 francs a-year, of direct taxes, shall be admitted to the franchise. These are precisely the bases of the proposed law. The Elective Chamber is intended to represent the nation, its opinions, and its wants; and for that very reason, all those who fulfil the prescribed conditions are *ipso facto* electors. Nothing is said of primary elections, for this plain reason, that they are not mentioned in the charter. It has wisely closed that field of discord, so

13. Continued.

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fatally ensanguined during so many years. The projected law, then, is the complement of the charter: it carries into execution, and brings out in detail, the principles which it has announced. It is its principle, its life, its movement: it should influence all our destinies. If a wider field were opened for our discussion—if we were not chained to the charter—much might, perhaps, be advanced in favour of a double degree of election, and the admission of an inferior number. The only danger of the proposed system is, that it reposes on too limited a base—that it does not sufficiently secure the interests of the masses. But to object to it on the ground of its not being sufficiently protective of the monarchy is, of all unfounded objections, the most untenable."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 1, and 2, 1817; Cap. v. 69, 71.

14. Answer by the Royalists.

To these arguments, which sufficiently demonstrated that the Centre was enlisted on the side of the ministerial measure, it was replied on the part of the Royalists, by MM. Villèle, Decazes, and de Castelbajac: "It is an entire mistake to suppose that the circumstance of the electoral suffrage being confined to persons paying 300 francs of direct taxes is a sufficient security for the monarchy. The elections will be determined by the persons paying from 300 to 500 francs of direct taxes annually, (£12 to £20,) and they are the most democratic portion of the community. The great proprietors will have no influence; the immense body of the peasant proprietors and working classes as little. Is this a proper representation of a country at once agricultural and commercial; rich in great names and historical recollections—richer still in modern energy and glory? Such a law, instead of being imposed upon us by the charter, is only fit to destroy the institutions and the guarantees which it has given us. The charter has not intrusted the exclusive nomination of the legislature to a majority of electors paying from 300 to 500 francs of direct taxes, and yet that is the effect of this law. It virtually confines the suffrage to one class of society; and as it is

necessarily the most numerous, it becomes master of the state, and may let in anarchy when it pleases. To obviate such dangers, it is necessary to establish an electoral system more extensive than that which is proposed. The king might, without danger, and in policy should, permit the citizens to group themselves around such interests as they have in common. Thus there should be established under the monarchy, councils of secondary administration, corporations, chambers of commerce, legal bodies, and fraternities of men of letters, and of all sorts. All these bodies should have representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, and not merely a single class of society.

15. Continued.

" Five-and-twenty years of revolution have influenced our destinies too powerfully not to render innovation repugnant when it is not absolutely necessary. We have gone on very well hitherto with the elections by double degrees; we owe to it the Chamber of 1814, which, on the return of our legitimate monarchs, showed itself so favourable to the sentiments of France; to it the Chamber of 1815, now the object of such undeserved calumny. The prefects, who have succeeded by their influence in removing as candidates the members of 1815, are the worst enemies of the monarchy. Party in a monarchy is necessarily adverse to the king; no absurdity can be so great as is implied in the words, 'the *Royalist Party.*' What! under the government of a king, can there be a royalist party? It is by such denominations that the way is prepared for revolution. We are called '*Ultra* Royalists:' do the Liberals hope by these words to efface the bloodshed, the services rendered, the heroic devotion? The ideas of monarchy, and of the influence of families, are inseparable; and every electoral law which does not rest upon these ideas will speedily become a weapon in the hands of the factious for the overthrow of the monarchy.[1] All that we contend for is, to avoid the operation of a law which would deliver over the Chamber of Deputies, and with it the entire government of France,

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 4 and 10, 1817; Cap. v. 71, 73, 77; Lac. ii. 137.

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16. Concluded.

to a class of Frenchmen from whom, we contend, the electors should not be exclusively chosen.

"The proposed law is, in truth, more dangerous than the wildest conceptions of the Constituent Assembly. It receives no support from the charter. The charter merely says that 'the French, aged thirty years, and paying 300 francs of direct contributions, *shall concur* in the election of the deputies;' the present law says that *they alone* shall name them. The whole question lies there: the charter says these persons shall form one class of the electors; the law says they shall constitute the *sole class*. The pretended worshippers of the charter, therefore, have reserved for themselves the privilege of altering and modifying it according to their interest or inclination, or their insatiable thirst for popularity. The unity of the College of Electors adds another scourge to that of the unity of the direct representation. We shall have armies of ten or twelve thousand electors assemble in a single great city for their votes—armies only a little less numerous than those with which Gustavus Adolphus shook the Austrian throne. By removing the higher college, and reducing everything to a single college, you will overthrow the strongest barrier which Napoleon had constructed against the revolutionary spirit. Can the monarchy dispense with the support of the great proprietors? and how is it to be exercised in the midst of a crowd of uniform electors, paying 300 francs each, and enjoying, at an average, not 4000 francs a-year each? If the great proprietors are not permitted to vote in a college apart by themselves, they will be virtually disfranchised, and everything governed by a mob of small proprietors. What can be the consequence of this but new advances, fresh spoliations, and the ultimate overthrow of the monarchy?"[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 19 and 21, 1817; Cap. vi. 71, 73; Lac. ii. 143, 144.

Various amendments were proposed in the Chamber, and the law became the subject of warm and able discussions in the public press, and in a host of pamphlets on

either side. M. de Serres, one of the ablest men on the Royalist side, proposed an amendment, the object of which was, when there was only one member for a department, to establish a separate college for the urban and the rural electors. The discussion continued extremely animated, both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the public journals, during the whole of January; and the king every day became more infatuated in favour of his system of a uniform franchise, founded on the payment of 300 francs. As the majority of the Chamber of Deputies were known to be decisively in favour of the ministerial measure, without any amendment, M. Decazes took advantage of this delay to secure a majority in the Chamber of Peers. The king warmly seconded him in this attempt: he spoke constantly in favour of the uniform suffrage; and when an opposition of opinion appeared, he scrupled not to exert all his private influence, and even to make use of entreaties, to secure even a single vote. At length, by these means, and the most unscrupulous exertions of the whole influence of the Crown, the measure was adopted in both Houses, but by a larger majority in the Commons than the Peers. The majority in the former was 32—there being 132 votes for the measure, and 100 against it; in the latter it was only 18, the numbers being 95 to 77.[1]

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17. It is passed. Feb. 5, 1817.

1 Moniteur, Feb. 10, 1817; Cap. v. 79, 83; Lac. ii. 144, 150.

On reviewing this debate and decision of the legislature, which, like all other decisions involving a great change in the electoral system, was decisive of the fate of the monarchy, one thing must strike every one as very remarkable. This is the opinion which was so generally expressed by the ministerial party, that no possible danger could be apprehended from the proposed change, because the number of electors would, under it, be so small in proportion to the whole population—not more than 100,000 out of 30,000,000. They forgot that it is not on the number of electors, but on the disposition and feelings of their majority, that everything depends. A

18. Reflections on this law.

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country may be as effectually revolutionised by 100,000 electors as by 10,000,000, sometimes more effectually, provided only that the majority of the 100,000 are of the democratic party, and invested with sufficient power to work out their designs. A convention of 1200 men overturned monarchy, extinguished the church, and divided property in France. 3,000,000 of electors placed Napoleon, 6,000,000 Louis Napoleon, on the imperial throne. The peril of the electoral law, in a manner forced upon France by the Crown, consisted in this, that it invested with supreme power a majority of electors drawn from a body of all others the most democratic—little proprietors—and virtually disfranchised the great proprietors, the men of cultivated education, and the labouring classes of the community. It is remarkable that this decisive law, fraught with the fate of the monarchy, originated with the king's ministers, was forced through the Commons by their influence, and through the Peers by the personal solicitation and efforts of the king himself.*

19. Laws on personal freedom and the liberty of the press.

The next important measures of the session were those relating to individual freedom and the liberty of the press. The violent restrictions on these which had been obtained from the Chamber of 1815, had been introduced by M. Decazes, and carried through by the Royalist majority, then in close alliance with him, and they all expired at the end of the session, being limited to that period. Now, however, the Royalists, being in opposition, felt these restrictions oppressive, and by a natural consequence became desirous of their abolition. The press was the principal engine by which they hoped to succeed

* "La victoire paraissait incertaine, et les Ministres étaient menacés d'une défaite éclatante si le Roi, qui entrait dans leurs vœux avec ardeur, n'appuyait son influence personnelle de l'ascendant de son amitié sur de nobles Pairs qui faisaient partie de sa cour. Après avoir formé son humble cour de Mittau et Hartwell, ce fut le 30 Janvier 1817 que la Chambre des Pairs vota sur l'ensemblée de la loi. Il fut adopté à la majorité de 95 voir contre 77. La soumission plutôt que la conviction donnait une majorité qui devait céder au premier choc, dès que deux épreuves peu favorables à l'espoir des Ministres ramèneraient ce débat."—LACRETELLE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, ii. 150.

in shaking the Liberal party now in possession of power, and therefore they were desirous of securing its freedom: it was the chief enemy which the Liberals had to dread, therefore they were desirous of continuing its restrictions. Such a transposition of parties on a particular question is well known in the history of England, and, however strange in appearance, it arises from a very obvious cause, and is not likely ever to cease. It springs from the desire for power being stronger than the influence of principle, and individual ambition supplanting public consistency.

20. Projects of laws regarding the liberty of the press and personal freedom.

The ministerial project concerning the liberty of the press was short and simple. It was, "that the censorship of the press was to be continued till January 1, 1818." The proposal was based on the alleged necessity of the law, which was curious, as it was now to be applied against the very party for whose support it had originally been introduced. The proposed law on the liberty of the person was not so stringent as that of 1815, but still sufficiently dangerous to freedom. It was to this effect, that every person charged with a conspiracy or machination against the person of the king, or the security of the state, might be summarily arrested without the necessity of being immediately brought to trial. No extraordinary arrest could be made but on a warrant signed by the President of the Privy Council, and by one of the Secretaries of State. The jailor was to send an intimation of the name of the person imprisoned, with the charge against him, to the Procureur du Roi, by whom he was to be interrogated, and the charge and declaration transmitted to the Minister of Justice. It was almost identical with the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in England, and was to continue only to the 1st January 1818. This law underwent a most animated discussion in both Chambers, and was not passed into a law without the most violent opposition.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 109, 112; Lac. ii. 151, 152.

On the part of the Opposition, it was contended by

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21. Argument against the law on the liberty of the press by the Opposition.

M. de Villèle, M. Castelbajac, and M. de Labourdonnaye: "We are told that the stringent laws of 1815 have restored public tranquillity: if so, where is the necessity for still recurring to exceptional laws? In 1815 the French army was disbanded, the courts of justice disorganised, the heads of departments changed, the most violent and terrible political and external crisis just surmounted. These were the reasons assigned, and with justice, for the suspension of individual liberty at that time; but now the same measures are attempted to be justified by a state of things exactly the reverse—by the happy re-establishment of the influence of the Government in all branches of the administration. We have nothing to add to the picture of general improvement drawn by the partisans of Government except the corollary naturally flowing from these—'the exceptional laws should cease.' What is our present position? The charter guarantees to us individual freedom and the liberty of the press, and we have neither the one nor the other. Has France any reason to apprehend a fresh revolution?—is royalty of new in peril? If it is so, let the king be invested with unlimited power. But if, thanks to Providence, France is peaceful, why not terminate the exceptional laws justifiable only in periods of anarchy?

22. Concluded.

"All is favourable—all is well, exclaim the supporters of Government: the elections are free—the cries, 'Down with the nobles,' 'Down with the priests,' are no longer heard under the peaceful reign of the Bourbons; the deputies of the departments will, under the new electoral law, be chosen from the most estimable, the most esteemed, the most independent of their several districts; the bases of public instruction are to be love of God and fidelity to the king. The word legitimacy may well be very differently defined, if you adopt this project, from what it was lately by a member of the Government, when he said, 'Legitimacy is order—order is moderation.' You cannot deny, indeed you yourselves boast, that the Jacobins are

reduced to a dozen or two of individuals whom every one laughs at, and five or six insane fanatics;—where then is the necessity, where the expedience of continuing, under these favourable circumstances, which the Government are themselves the first to proclaim, those exceptional laws, the fatal bequest of disastrous periods, which are alike subversive of public freedom and of all rational attachment to the throne?"[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 15, 17, and 18, 1817; Cap. v. 110, 114.

23. Answer of the ministerialists.

On the other hand, it was contended by M. Decazes, M. de Serres, and M. de Courvoisier, on the part of the Administration: "Anterior to the return of Napoleon on the 20th March, the respect for individual freedom was carried the length of absurdity. A law similar to that of 29th October 1815 would have disconcerted the conspirators, and prevented all the ruinous consequences which have resulted from their success. This consideration alone is sufficient to engage us to support the project which has been brought forward by the Ministry. Laws of exception are made for extraordinary circumstances; and can it with reason be maintained that there are no extraordinary circumstances at this time? I see Frenchmen rejected by their country, and have they no interest to revive troubles and overturn the existing order of things? I see 150,000 allied soldiers in possession of our fortresses—is that not an extraordinary circumstance? In the interior there are a vast number of discontented persons, officers out of the service, employés without occupation—is it not for the public interest to deprive them of the means of creating fresh disturbances?

24. Concluded.

"The king measured with a judicious and discriminating eye the state of France when he published the ordinance of 5th September last. His words and deeds on that occasion alike afford fresh guarantees for liberty, security, and property. If he dissolved by a somewhat violent act the former Chamber, it was because, it must be said, the vehement exasperation of the great majority in it threatened the French with the destruction of

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their property and liberties. The Ministry are not to be deterred by declamations about a dictatorship; they know their position as consuls of the state, and they are not afraid of the Tarpeian rock. The circumstances are critical: distress generally prevails from the badness of the last harvest; the minds of the people are soured by misfortune; agitators are on the watch to convert the general discontent into measures of sedition and rebellion. Is this a time to relax the precautions taken to insure public tranquillity in circumstances, in truth, less alarming? The king relies on the love of his people; the people on the love of their king." The Chamber, by a large majority, supported the two measures of Government, suspending the liberty of individuals and that of the public press: in the former case by a majority of 43, the numbers being 130 to 87; in the latter by one of 41, the numbers being 128 to 89. In the Peers, in like manner, they passed by considerable majorities.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan 17 and 18, 1817; Cap. v. 114, 121.

25. Extreme scarcity, and measures of Government in consequence.

A more difficult task, however, remained behind, than that of contending with a powerful minority in parliament, and that was, making head against the distress which, from the extreme deficiency of the last harvest, had now come to press upon every part of France. Bread had risen in Paris to twenty-four sous for a loaf of four pounds, which was about 2½d. a-pound—a frightful state of things, as it was nearly triple the usual price. Disturbances in consequence were general, both there and in every part of France; and although they did not, except at Lyons, assume a political character, yet they were very alarming, and called for the utmost vigilance on the part of Government and those intrusted with the administration. The carts of farmers bringing grain to market were, in many places, seized by the peasantry, and their contents distributed among famishing multitudes; and many granaries were broken open and openly pillaged. As a natural consequence, less grain was brought to market, and

less imported and stored in the warehouses, which augmented the general distress. The riots were particularly formidable at Chateau-Thierry, Chatillon-sur-Seine, and in the department of Puys de Dôme. These excesses were vigorously repressed by the Government, but not without bloodshed in many places—a distressing state of things, and which more than anything else justified the stringent laws introduced by the Ministers, to prevent the disaffected from taking advantage of the general distress to excite disturbances against the Government. A large vote of credit was passed by the Chambers to give Government the means of relieving the public distress; large purchases of grain were made in the Crimea, both by Government and private individuals; and a bounty was offered, on the importation of grain, of 5 francs a quarter. By these means, so plentiful a supply was obtained from Odessa and the fertile plains of Poland and the Ukraine, that in the spring of 1817 the price rapidly fell, and, before summer, was below its ordinary level.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 27, and Feb. 14, 1817; Cap. vi. 122, 131.

26. More liberal system in the army.

A more liberal, and withal judicious, system was at the same time adopted in the army. The public necessities, and the enormous weight of the contributions made to the Allies, rendered considerable reduction of expense necessary in that department; but so judicious were the measures of the Duke de Feltre that, simultaneously with these reductions of expenditure, he was able to make a considerable increase in the effective strength of the army. A fifth squadron was added to each regiment of cavalry, and the strength of the legions considerably augmented. The repugnance to the old officers of the Imperial army, so generally felt in the first years of the Restoration, was rapidly giving way; and numerous officers on half-pay were every day readmitted into the ranks from the lists of half-pay, who at once increased the strength of the army and diminished the resources of the discontented parties in the state. At length the general rule was

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adopted, that all the officers on half-pay who had not been replaced in the ranks should be replaced in the last squadron and battalion formed. By this means the expense of the half-pay was diminished at the very time that the ranks of the army were recruited by experienced officers; and it was mainly by the adoption of this judicious system that the diminished expense of the army was accompanied by an increase of its numerical strength.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 138, 142.

27. Concordat with Rome.

Difficulties had arisen between the court of France and the papal see, on the subject of eternal discord between the Pope and the temporal princes—the extent of the interference of the former in ecclesiastical appointments. To obviate them, and negotiate a concordat, M. de Blacas, who had negotiated the marriage of the Duke de Berri with the Princess Caroline of Naples, was sent to Rome in the beginning of 1817. But, though not destitute of abilities, M. de Blacas was no match in negotiation for the Cardinal Gonzalvi, and the other skilful diplomatists who at that period conducted the foreign affairs of the court of Rome. His pious zeal led him to make concessions unauthorised by the Chambers, unsuitable to the age, and for the support of which no possible means remained of providing funds in the revolutionised realm of France. M. Gonzalvi skilfully represented to M. de Blacas, that Napoleon's former concordat in 1801, which had done so much to establish the independence of the Church of France, should be annulled, as a concession on the part of the papal see to the revolutionary spirit justified only by necessity. To this M. de Blacas consented; and the effect of this was to revive, in full force, the concordat of Francis I., and annul all the concessions made by the Romish see since 1789. Among the rest, it revived a claim for the territory of Avignon, one of the first conquests of the Revolution from the Church; and this M. de Blacas agreed to take into consideration, or pay an indemnity. But a much more

serious inconvenience resulted from this injudicious abandonment of the concordat of 1801, and that was the revival of the numerous bishoprics and other ecclesiastical benefices which at that remote period covered the soil of France, and were richly endowed from its territorial possessions; but for the support of which no funds whatever now existed but from a vote of the Chambers, who it was easy to see would not consent, in the present distressed state of the finances, to any addition, even for these pious purposes, to the public burdens. To render the risks of this concession still greater, by the concordat of Francis I., now revived, the sanction of the papal court was requisite for any appointment to a monastery, prebendary, or bishopric, and the right of excommunication of whole districts for notable offences was recognised. It was easy to see how these powers would accord with the feelings of revolutionised France in the nineteenth century.[1]

[1] Concordat, July 16, 1817; Archiv. Dip. v. 627, 629, 631; Bulletin, Nov. 24, 1817.

28. Extreme difficulty regarding the finances.

The main difficulty of the year, however, in France at this period lay in the finances, the embarrassments of which were only equalled by the pressing necessity of effecting as speedily as possible some adjustment of them. In truth, the difficulties in this department were such that they might fairly be considered as insurmountable; and they would have proved so, had not the allied sovereigns and their ministers met them in a liberal spirit, and abated in their demands founded on the treaty of 20th November 1815, in order to facilitate the re-establishment of the king's government in France, and relieve it of the most pressing dangers with which it was surrounded. On the one hand were the allied sovereigns, armed with the severe clauses of the treaty of 1815, in possession of all the frontier fortresses, held by 150,000 of their troops, commanded by the Duke of Wellington, all of whom were paid, clothed, and fed at the expense of France. On the other hand was the realm of France, worn out by a war of twenty years'

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duration, scarcely able to meet its own engagements, and yet burdened with the payment, in a few years, of £61,000,000 of indemnities to the allied sovereigns or their subjects! The strongest head reeled, the most intrepid spirit quailed, under such a combination of difficulties; and yet, till they were overcome, no stable government could be erected in France, or the least prospect be afforded of a dynasty being firmly seated on the throne. The difficulties, great as they were, with the sums due to the governments under the treaty, yet yielded to those arising from the rapacity and exorbitant demands of the persons and bodies entitled to indemnity by its provisions, which proved to be so prodigious that there appeared no possibility of their ever being liquidated.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 152, 153; Lac. ii. 155, 156.

29. Efforts of the Emperor Alexander and the Duke of Wellington to obviate these difficulties.

Fortunately for France and the tranquillity of Europe, the mixed commission, to whom the adjustment of these claims was referred, was presided over by a man whose capacity, great in military, was not less conspicuous in civil affairs, and whose moderation and sense of justice, as well as good sense, were equal to his genius. M. Dudon was the nominal president of the mixed commission; but the Duke of Wellington was the person to whom all difficult points were referred, and he was its real head. The Duke de Richelieu, finding the demands for indemnity, especially on the part of the lesser German princes, so exorbitant, addressed a long memorial to his old patron and friend, the Emperor Alexander, on the subject; and he returned a noble answer, and a letter addressed to the Duke of Wellington, which deserves a place in history, as investing with fresh laurels the brow of conquest.* Instructions in the same equitable spirit

* Placé comme vous êtes, M. le Maréchal, à la tête des forces militaires de l'Alliance Européenne, vous avez contribué plus d'une fois, par la sagesse et la modération qui vous distinguent, à concilier les plus graves interêts: Je me suis constamment adressé à vous dans toutes les circonstances qui peuvent particulièrement influer sur l'affermissement de l'état heureusement rétabli en France par vos glorieux exploits: maintenant que la question de créance particulière à la charge de la France prend un caractère critique et décisif, à raison des difficultés que présente l'exécution littérale du traité du 8-20

were addressed by the Russian government to their ambassador at Paris, which distinctly recognised the truth of the statement of the Duke de Richelieu, that such was the magnitude of the private indemnities demanded of France under the treaty, that it was wholly impossible for that country to make them good, and pointed to some equitable adjustment which might be within the bounds of possibility, and lead to an eventual shortening of the period of the occupation of its territory.[1]* In consequence of this interposition, the presidency of the commission for liquidating the demands of private creditors was taken from M. Dudon, and bestowed on M. Mounier,

[1] Convention, Feb. 10, 1818; Archiv. Dip. v. 767; Cap. v. 162, 177; Martens, Sup. vii. 93.

Novembre 1815, je n'ai pas cru devoir laisser ignorer mon opinion aux monarques mes alliés, sur le mode d'envisager cet engagement onéreux, de manière à en prévenir l'infraction et à le rendre exécutable. Les assertions du gouvernement Français vous sont connues, M. le Maréchal; mon Ministre à Paris reçoit l'ordre de vous communiquer le mémoire qui a été tracé sous mes yeux relativement à cette question importante. Je vous invite à porter toute votre attention sur l'enchaînement des motifs de droit et de convenance politiques qui se trouvent consignés, dans ce travail, à l'appui du principe d'accommodement présent, pour résoudre les complications inhérentes à l'acquittement des créances particulières, qui furent imposées à la France, alors qu'il n'était pas facile de prévoir leur énorme développement. Vous appuierez, M. le Maréchal, l'ensemble des considérations supérieures qui plaident à l'appui d'un système de conciliation équitable. Vous répandrez toute la lumière d'un esprit juste, la chaleur d'une âme élevée à la hauteur des circonstances, sur une question de laquelle dépendent peut-être le repos de la France, et l'inviolabilité des engagements les plus sacrés. C'est la modération et la bonne foi qui ont été de nos jours le mobile d'une force bienfaisante et réparatrice, et c'est à celui qui en a proposé et secondé le triomphe à faire entendre dans tous les momens critiques le langage de cette même modération et de cette même bonne foi. Dans cette conviction s'il me restait encore un vœu à énoncer, ce serait de vous déférer, par l'assentiment unanime de mes alliés, la direction principale des négociations qui pourraient s'ouvrir à Paris, sur la question des créances particulières, et sur le mode le plus équitable de la décider d'un commun accord. Recevez, &c. ALEXANDRE."

—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, v. 207, 209.

* "Toutes les puissances sentent le besoin d'arriver à un résultat sans détruire le texte des conventions arrêtées. Le gouvernement Français ne conteste pas la dette qu'il à contractée en signant le traité du 20 Nov. Il en a déja acquitté jusqu' à concurrence de 200 millions; le total des réclamations qui subsistent encore s'élève à plus d'un milliard. Quelque diminution que cette somme puisse éprouver, il est impossible au gouvernement Français de l'acquitter; d'où résulte la question, 'Les principes du droit public, n'autorisent-ils pas le gouvernement de sa Majesté très chrétienne à proposer aux puissances alliées de modifier essentiellement ce traité?'"—*Instructions au Ministre Russe à Paris*, 1812. CAPEFIGUE, v. 209.

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who co-operated cordially with the Duke of Wellington on the subject. The latter general was appointed president of the diplomatic and finance committee charged with the same affair; and the result of their labours was a convention concluded, in February 1818, by which the burdens undertaken by France, by the treaty of November 1815, were sensibly abated, and a prospect was opened of the ultimate evacuation of its territory.

30. Convention of 11th February 1818, for the diminution of the army of occupation.

By this convention it was provided—1. That the strength of the army of occupation should be diminished by 30,000 men; that is, by a fifth of each corps of that army. 2. That this reduction should be carried into effect on the 1st April next ensuing. 3. That from that date the 200,000 rations which the French government were bound to furnish daily for the support of the troops should be reduced to 160,000, without, however, any reduction being made in the 60,000 rations furnished daily for the horse. In communicating this convention, the ambassadors of the allied powers observed—"In communicating so signal a proof of the regard entertained by their august masters towards his most Christian Majesty, the ambassadors are, at the same time, desirous of declaring to his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu the sense they entertain of how much the principles of the ministry over which he presides have contributed to establish that mutual confidence and good understanding which, directed by justice, and a regard to existing treaties, has yet succeeded in arranging such delicate interests, and affording the prospect of a speedy and satisfactory definitive arrangement." The ease afforded to France by this arrangement was considerable, but it was rendered doubly valuable by the prospect which it afforded of a final and entire deliverance of the territory.[1] Such as it was, it was entirely to be ascribed to the magnanimous disposition of the Emperor Alexander, and the wisdom, moderation, and generosity with which his views were met and carried out by the Duke of Wellington and Count Pozzo di

[1] See the Convention—Martens, Sup. vii. 93; Cap. v. 175, 177.

Borgo, to whom the French historians themselves entirely ascribed the relief thus obtained for their country.*

All the moderation and generosity of the allied sovereigns and their ministers, and all the wisdom of the Duke of Wellington, would have failed in obtaining the desired result, had the efforts of the French financiers not contributed, at the same time, to such regularity in the discharge of their engagements as enabled the Allies to meet their wishes without injuring the just claims of their own subjects. Never was a more difficult task undertaken by man, for, to meet the immense engagements under which France lay by the Treaty of 1815, there did not appear to be any available resources whatever. The utmost limits of taxation had been reached during the years 1815 and 1816; and experience had proved that any attempt to increase the amount levied on the country would fail by the imposts becoming unproductive. The sum to be raised in the year 1817 by loan, to meet the unavoidable expenses, amounted to 250,000,000 francs, or £10,000,000 sterling; and when the capitalists of Paris were applied to on the subject, they unanimously declared the impossibility, at any rate of interest, of their advancing so large a sum. Diminution of expenditure seemed impossible, for that had been carried to the utmost practicable length in the two preceding years, and any farther reductions would both increase the public discontent and render France altogether defenceless in regard to foreign powers. In this extremity the Duke de Richelieu applied to the capitalists of London and Amsterdam, and he was fortunate enough to obtain a loan from them of the required sum, though at a most exorbitant rate of

31. The Budget of 1817.

* "Je ne saurais trop rendre témoignage à la magnanime influence de l'Empereur Alexandre dans toute cette négociation. Le Czar se montra généreux envers la France comme il avait été lors du traité du mois de Novembre 1815. Je le dirai également de l'action du Comte Pozzo di Borgo, sur les notes addressées à M. de Nesselrode, par un rapport personellement soumis à l'Empereur de Russie sur la situation et des opinions en France; enfin les sentiments personnels du Duc de Wellington contribuèrent au grand résultat obtenu."—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, v. 177.

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interest. Not less than 9,090,000 francs of rentes were impledged for 100,000,000 of francs advanced, which was upwards of 9 per cent, in addition to which the creditors were allowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent commission; and the first term of payment was postponed to 31st March 1817. They contracted also for a second loan of 100,000,000 francs, at 58 francs advanced for 5 francs interest. These terms were so high that they gave rise to warm and able debates in both Chambers, in the course of which the financial and oratorical abilities of M. de Vellèle shone forth with the highest lustre. But the answer of ministers, that the terms of the loan, however to be regretted, were unavoidable, as the requisite sum could not be got on any other terms, was justly deemed decisive; and the budget containing these loans passed both Chambers by very large majorities.[1] *

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 2 and 29, 1817; Cap. v. 155, 182; Lac. ii. 154, 160.

A measure fraught with very important results, and which in its ultimate consequences was one of the causes of the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of

* The Budget of 1817 was as follows:—

Receipts.	Francs.
Land tax,	358,141,667
Stamps,	154,170,000
Posts,	12,475,000
Lottery,	6,230,800
Salt tax,	86,376,000
Indirect taxes,	101,575,000
Salt mines of the state,	2,574,000
Miscellaneous,	741,000
Woods,	16,819,200
Arrears of do.,	8,843,800
Surrendered by King and Royal Family,	5,000,000
Deducted from salaries,	12,399,000
Loans,	345,065,000
Do.,	7,024,033
	1,118,532,502
To meet arrears of former years,	84,997,796
Revenue of 1817,	1,033,535,706 (or £41,340,000)

Expenditure.	Francs.
National Debt,	120,660,000
Sinking Fund,	40,000,000
Annuities,	12,400,000
Pensions — military, civil, and ecclesiastical,	44,434,964
King, and Civil List,	34,000,000
Peers Deputies,	2,630,000
Justice,	18,285,000
Foreign Affairs,	55,300,000
Departmental expenses,	28,727,000
Bounties on grain imported,	22,200,000
Purchases of grain,	2,500,000
English indemnities,	5,700,000
Cadastre,	10,152,032
Army,	157,000,000
Do. of occupation,	23,560,605
Navy,	173,000,000
Police,	44,000,000
Cautionry engagements,	1,000,000
Interest on do.,	9,000,000
Negotiating,	22,709,000
Fifth contribution to Allies,	140,000,000
Arrears of former contributions,	23,000,000
Miscellaneous to Allies,	20,494,144
	1,036,810,583 (or £41,470,000)

—*Archives Diplomatiques*, v. 301, 304.

Bourbon, was brought forward in this session of parliament, relative to bequests to the Church. Already, even before it was risen from its ruins, the aspiring disposition of the Romish Church had become apparent, and it was evident, from the measures which its clergy brought forward, that they aimed at nothing less than the re-establishment of its ancient hierarchy and splendour. Louis was by no means inclined to favour these pretensions. He felt warmly towards the clergy, but still more so towards the crown, and he was by no means disposed to sacrifice any of its rights to the ambition of a rival establishment. The bill on the subject, which was brought forward by M. Lainé, provided that "every ecclesiastical establishment *legally authorised* might accept, but *with the sanction of the king*, all the goods movable and immovable which might be conveyed to it by donation *inter vivos*, or by bequest after death. The great object of this enactment was to reconstitute the clergy on the footing of separate proprietors, and put an end to the humiliating state of dependence in which they were now placed, on annual votes of the Chambers for a precarious and miserable subsistence. Vehement debates took place also on what was substantially the same question—a proposal by the Minister of Finance to alienate a portion of the woods yet belonging to the clergy to meet the exigencies of the state. The debates on this subject were of the highest importance, for they relate to one of the greatest wounds inflicted on society by the Revolution, and are of lasting interest to all future generations of man.[1]

32. Law regarding bequests to the Church.

[1] Cap. v. 185, 186.

On the part of the clergy it was contended by MM. Lainé, Bonald, and Villèle: "There is no footing on which the clergy can be established in a respectable and useful manner but that of being separate proprietors. The proposal to alienate a portion of their woods, for the necessities of the state, is brought forward by the same party who resist the re-acquisition of pro-

33. Arguments for a proprietary clergy.

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perty by the church, from the munificence or bequests of individuals. Both are founded on the same basis—a dread of a beneficed and independent clergy, the greatest blessing which it is possible for society to receive, but on that very account the object of a superstitious dread on the part of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. They dreaded the independence of the clergy, because it tended to establish in society an interest and influence which might rival their own. Yet how is it possible in any other way to render the clergy either independent, useful, or respectable? Since the woods of the clergy have escaped the hammer of atheism, the hatchet of cupidity, what right have we now in these days to wrest them from the clergy, or rather from religion itself? It is a mere mockery to say you propose to increase the vote for the clergy by 4,000,000, (£160,000)—a sum equal to the annual value of the woods sold. What comparison is there between a revenue for ever derived from independent funds and a precarious annual vote from a democratic Assembly? Deep indeed have been the wounds religion has received in recent times; but was it ever anticipated that the most cruel blow should be struck in the name of a descendant of St Louis?

34. Continued.

"We tolerate religion now as we do a returned emigrant, on the condition that he is to make no claim to restitution. We tolerate the clergy on condition that they are never to become independent, and that they are to grow mercenary. Every year a vote of the Chamber is to determine the salaries of the clergy: it depends on whether or not they please the majority of the members whether their condition is to be comfortable or destitute. Is this a fit condition for the teachers of the people, the ministers of our holy religion, to be kept in? We are apparently awaiting the election of a thoroughly democratic Assembly, the worthy inheritors of the Constituent, which shall confiscate the whole remaining property of the church, and withdraw the miserable pittance which

they have allowed instead of its once magnificent endowments.

"A proprietary clergy, the grand object of terror to the philosophers of the eighteenth century, seems to be equally the object of dread to the statesmen of the nineteenth. They lay their plans with more skill, disguise their motives with more address, embody their measures in a less revolting form; but their object is the same. That object is to render the clergy entirely destitute of property, and dependant for their subsistence on the votes of the Chamber. Nevertheless, it is to our proprietary clergy that we owe the greatest blessings we possess—the fertility of our fields, and the example of a vigilant and paternal administration. Is it to favour agriculture, that great branch of industry, the interests of which are incessantly invoked and incessantly betrayed, that this measure is adopted? It would seem that our rulers take a pleasure in consummating its ruin, by furnishing fresh fuel to the flame which, ever since the Revolution, has never ceased to consume it—that is, the infinite subdivision of properties. Now that levelling fury is carried to such a length that it is desired to sacrifice to it the woods which the Revolution itself, in the midst of its furies and its extravagances, has left untouched. Despite the universal complaints on the state of our fields, supported by a thousand reasons, by a thousand facts, our present enlightened friends of agriculture propose to level with the ground those ancient forests which adorn our hills, shelter our plains, and constitute the sole fuel of our people. It has been reserved for an age boasting its intelligence and its wisdom to accomplish the prediction of Sully, that France would one day perish for want of woods. Pagan superstition has for useful purposes clothed these woods with superstitious reverence, to save them from the cupidity of the spoiler;[1] but we, who pay so little respect to the laws of the living God, we insult alike the wisdom of the ancients and the foresight of our

[1] Moniteur, March 7 and 10, 1817; Lac. ii. 163, 165.

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ancestors, in order to lay the foundation of a sinking fund, destined to afford food for speculation on compound interest, the worthy bequest of an age of revolutions."

36. Answer of the ministerialists.

"On the other hand, it was contended by M. Camille Jourdan, M. Courvoisier, and the Keeper of the Seals: "There is an essential difference between the property of an incorporation, and the property of an individual which descends to his heirs. The jurisprudence of every country has recognised this distinction; and it is founded on the obvious consideration that the heirs of an individual are known and designed by law, and therefore there is an obvious injustice done to them if they are deprived of their inheritance; but no man can say who are to be the successors of an incorporation, and therefore no one can say he is injured by its property being applied to the service of the state. The pretensions now openly put forth by the clergy, and sought to be embodied in these enactments, clearly reveal the ambition of that aspiring body; and their determination, at all hazards, to regain that opulence and political power which they once possessed, and so much abused. Such an attempt, made in this age, is a greater absurdity than the worst extravagances of the Revolution; it is more calculated to inflict a wound on religion itself than the efforts of its worst enemies. For what object is the sacrifice of these woods, of which so much is said, required? Is it not to liberate our soil from the presence of the stranger, to emancipate our citadels from his hands? Is it to withhold such a blessing from France that so great an effort is now made to prevent any part of the woods of the church from being alienated for their redemption?

37. Concluded.

"What signify, in so grave a discussion, and when such weighty interests are at stake, the frivolous lamentations of our adversaries on the hardship of being deprived of the many recreations afforded by our forests; on beholding the trees fall which have sheltered our infancy, on their loss as depriving us of splendid appanages? Their

hearts appear to have contracted for those noble trees a sort of chivalrous enthusiasm—one of them has even gone so far as to enter into a pathetic dialogue. The oak which enclosed the soul of Clorinda did not draw more tears from Tancredi, when prepared to strike it, than our menaced forests have caused to fall from the eyes of M. Piet, in the course of the speech which evinced that singular species of sensibility. To answer all that, is to say that it would be very allowable and very agreeable to abandon ourselves to all these fantasies, for trees, for gardens, for palaces, if our fortune would admit of it; but that when bankruptcy threatens us, the best direction which even the most poetical imagination can take—the best measure which this most chivalrous sensibility can adopt—is to endeavour to pay our debts not only by abandoning all useless superfluities, but even by retrenching some of our most cherished long-established necessities."[1]

[1] Monite March 7, 1817; Lac. ii. 164, 167; Cap. v. 180, 187.

38. Result of the debate.

Upon this debate the Chamber, by a large majority, supported both the propositions of Government—that is, they admitted legal donations or bequests of property to the church, provided they were sanctioned by the king; and they voted the alienation of woods belonging to the church to the extent of 20,000,000 francs, (£800,000.) As an increased grant of 4,000,000 francs (£160,000) was voted to the clergy, there was no injury done to the church in the mean time; but the debates, nevertheless, are valuable, as bearing on a great question of state principle of lasting interest to mankind, and illustrating the indomitable firmness, strong vitality, and aspiring disposition of that church which had, to all appearance, been entirely crushed by the events of the Revolution.[2]

[2] Cap. v. 187, 194; Lac. ii. 167.

39. Modification of the Ministry. May 17, 1801.

As the Chamber of Deputies was now decidedly Liberal, and the majority of the Ministry of the same way of thinking, Government felt the necessity of making it entirely so, and rooting out of the Cabinet the last remains of that Royalist party, of which, in the first instance, it

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had been almost entirely composed. The first change was made in the Ministry of Marine, in which M. Dubouchaze was supplanted by Marshal Gouvion de St Cyr, whose great abilities, as well as popularity with the Imperial veterans, seemed to point him out as the proper person to carry into execution the great changes in the composition of the army which were in contemplation. The appointment of St Cyr to the ministry of marine, accordingly, was only temporary; and ere long a royal ordinance appeared, appointing Gouvion St Cyr to the ministry at war and Count MOLÉ to that of the marine. This was an important change; for both the dismissed ministers belonged to the Royalist party, and the Duke de Feltre was one of their ablest and staunchest supporters. All the pure Royalists were now rooted out of the Cabinet; its composition had become entirely Liberal or Doctrinaire, and in complete accordance with the majority of the Chamber of Deputies. Of its whole original members, the Duke de Richelieu, MM. Decazes and Corvetto, alone remained in it; and they, either from necessity or conviction, had embraced in their full extent the Liberal doctrines. Things were advancing swiftly in their natural course. For good or for evil, the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816 was producing its unavoidable fruits — it was either to prove the salvation or the ruin of the monarchy.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 193, 198.

40. Biography and character of Count Molé.

Count MOLÉ, who was now for the first time admitted into the Cabinet, was one of the most remarkable men of the Restoration. He enjoyed, in a very high degree, the confidence of the Duke de Richelieu; and his administrative talents fully justified his predilection. Endowed by nature with a firm and energetic mind, he had been early thrown into the school of Napoleon; but even the ascendant of that great man had not been able to modify the strong mould and distinctive marks of his character. He was better fitted to direct than to obey—to communicate than to receive impressions. No one in his grade

possessed in a higher degree the confidence of Napoleon; and in the evening conversations in which the Emperor took such delight, and in which the talents of Cambacérès, Monge, Portalis, and M. de Fontanes, shone forth with so much lustre, he bore a most distinguished part. Had he possessed, with these brilliant qualities, perseverance and patience equal to his energy and determination, he would have been a first-rate statesman. But the defect of his character was a want, not of resolution, but of endurance; he was easily disconcerted, and frequently led to abandon the most important objects, and even retire into private life, rather than exert the resolute perseverance which so often, by wrestling with difficulties, overcomes them.[1]

[1] Biog. Univ. Sup., *voce* Molé. lxxiv. 161; Cap. v. 198, 199.

41. Gouvion St Cyr.

Marshal GOUVION DE ST CYR was one of those celebrated characters of the Empire whose name it is impossible to hear without a thrill of emotion. No one acquainted with the annals of those memorable years need be told of his achievements. On the Rhine and the Moselle, in Catalonia and Saxony, he was equally distinguished; and the military works he has left on those campaigns are not the least valuable of the monuments which remain of the astonishing talent and energy with which they were conducted. He was a decided Liberal in politics, and therefore eminently qualified to carry through the great task to which he was destined by the Government—that of remodelling and popularising the army. This had now become in a manner a matter of necessity; for, as there was now a fair prospect of the allied troops being withdrawn from the frontier fortresses, the Government would be left to its own resources, and could not expect either to maintain its existence or independence but by the support of its own subjects. St Cyr was a soldier of the Revolution; and he never got over the strong impression in favour of public freedom then made on his mind. But he was an honest and upright man; he was attached, like so many others, to

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the popular party, because he, in truth, believed it to be the only true foundation of constitutional freedom or social happiness. In command he was a strict disciplinarian, as persons of these principles generally are, and rigid in exacting the discharge of their duties by the officers; but he was beloved by the private men, for whose interests and comforts he was always ready to exert himself. His appointment to the important situation of War Minister was therefore a very important step, and regarded as such by both parties. The Napoleonists and Democrats hailed it as an indication of the disposition of the Court to throw itself in sincerity and good faith on the nation, and, casting away foreign influence, to resume its proper place in the scale of European politics; the Royalists regarded it as a step which would probably be irrevocable in the overturning of the monarchy. The Count d'Artois said that, since the king was determined to destroy himself, he might do so, and that he would look out for his own interests.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 199, 201; Biog. Univ. *voce* St Cyr, Sup. lxxiv. 191.

42. The elections of 1817.

The elections of 1817 for the fifth of the Chamber, who by lot vacated their seats, and were replaced by new members, were conducted peaceably, and without any external tumult; but their importance was not on that account less generally felt, and it was already foreseen by both parties, that, in its ultimate results, the new electoral law would prove decisive of the fate of the monarchy. Eight new deputies were to be returned for Paris; they were all elected from the Liberal ranks, and more than a half were democrats, hostile even to the present Liberal government. MM. Lafitte, Delessert, Roy, and Casimir Perier, were among the returned; not one Royalist was among the number. Upon the whole, although, as usual in such cases, the results were various, and success apparently nearly balanced, yet the Royalists sensibly lost ground, and the extreme Republicans gained it. Government might congratulate themselves upon the defeat of the three known leaders of the republicans,

MM. Lafayette, Manuel, and Benjamin Constant; but they experienced a bitter alloy in seeing three extreme Liberals, Dupont de l'Eure, Chauvelin, and Beguin, admitted to the legislature. The Royalists, who were generally defeated, loudly declaimed against an electoral law which excluded from the king's service his most faithful servants, and predicted the ruin of the monarchy from its effects. The Doctrinaires, who had introduced that law, began in secret to dread its effects, but still in public defended it, and flattered themselves that, though in power, and exposed to the obloquy of office, they would be able to contend successfully in the elections with their democratic rivals.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 183, 184; Cap. v. 214, 225.

43. State of public opinion.

The circumstances of the country, however, were such that the democratic party, however much in reality inclined to overturn the monarchy and revert to a republican form of government, were constrained to be circumspect in their measures. Notwithstanding the embarrassments of the Treasury, and the enormous weekly contributions which were paid to the allied powers, the country generally was rapidly increasing in prosperity. The wretched harvest of 1816 had been succeeded by one in 1817 which, although still below an average, was greatly better than that which had preceded it; and the blessed effects of peace and tranquillity appeared in a general, and, for so short a time, surprising revival of industry and increase of opulence. Paris, especially, had already attained an unprecedented degree of prosperity. Strangers arrived from all quarters to visit its monuments, its theatres, its galleries; its pleasures attracted the young, its historical interest and objects of art the middle-aged and reflecting. Those who had visited it in 1814 or 1815 and returned again in 1818—among whom the author may include himself—were astonished at the unmistakable marks of prosperity which were to be seen on all sides. Splendid streets had arisen or were in progress in many quarters; the Boulevards, the

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gardens of the Tuileries, the Champs Elysées, breathed, even on ordinary occasions, the air of happiness and joy; the streets were filled with elegant equipages; while the increasing brilliancy of the shops, and variety and beauty of the dresses of the women, proved that the bourgeois class shared in their full proportion of the general affluence and prosperity which the continuance of peace and the immense concourse of strangers had brought upon the metropolis. Among these strangers, the Russians and the English were particularly remarkable for the eagerness after works of art which they exhibited, and the immense sums which they spent. These sums, indeed, were so great as much to exceed the heavy weekly payments which the French were still compelled to make to the commissioners of the allied powers; and, like the Greeks of old, they might console themselves with the reflection that they had established a more desirable ascendant than that of conquest over the minds of their conquerors; and that, if they paid tribute to the rude barbarians of the North, they received a homage more lasting and flattering in the influence of their acknowledged superiority in taste and art.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 226, 227.

44. State of public opinion, and of the press.

In presence of so much material prosperity, and with the happy prospect of soon obtaining a definitive liquidation of their debts, and evacuation of their territory by the allied powers, the Liberal party did not venture openly to attack the government of the Bourbons. Too many real interests had flourished, too much undoubted prosperity prevailed, to admit of this being done at the moment, with any prospect of success. But they were not, on that account, the less determined nor the less able and energetic in the policy which they pursued. They prepared the ground for future operations by every means which prudence could suggest, or talent carry into effect. The press was the great engine of which they made use to agitate the public mind, and disseminate those alarms, or inculcate those principles, which might, at some future

period, lead to the overthrow of the monarchy. Declamations against the ambition of priests and the intrigues of the Jesuits; alarms insidiously spread as to the resumption of the church property and the dispossessing of the holders of national domains; eloquent eulogies on the glories of the Empire, and the boundless career of fame and fortune then open to every Frenchman, formed the staple of their compositions. By a skilful use of these topics, and no small ability in the handling of them, they succeeded in attracting to their standard the large bourgeois class, who, in towns especially, are for the most part envious of Government, and desirous of humbling it; and it soon appeared that, on every successive election, the great majority of this class would vote for the Liberal candidate.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 229, 231; Lac. ii. 183, 184.

45. The Orleanists.

The partisans of the Orleans family still formed a considerable party, which was held firmly together by the skill and riches of their chief, and the chances of eventually succeeding to the throne, which were evidently open to him in the divided state of the public mind. The immense estates of the family had, with perhaps imprudent generosity, been restored to them by Louis; he hoped to attach them by this act of liberality; but, although acts of kindness may sometimes conciliate an enemy, they seldom have any other effect but that of augmenting the alienation of a rival. It is the mortification to self-love which arises from being indebted to one whom it is desired to supplant which has this effect. The Duke of Orleans, however—who was gifted with uncommon penetration and powers of mind, and whose eventful career had made him acquainted with the secret designs of all the parties in the state—was fully aware of the difficulties of his position, and the still greater embarrassments he would encounter if he were to succeed to the throne. "I am too much a Bourbon," said he, "for the one, and not enough for the other,"—a very just observation, on which his future eventful career

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affords a striking commentary. Thus the different parties arrayed against the Government were held to their respective banners rather by a vague hope for the future than any definite projects for the present; and the only point on which they were all united, and to which their immediate endeavours tended, was that of resisting the measures, and augmenting to the utmost of their power the unpopularity, of the Bourbons.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 231, 236.

46. Measures of the session: the law of recruiting.

The general result of the elections had been so decidedly Liberal, that Ministers felt the necessity of both conciliating the Chambers and disarming their opponents by bringing forward measures in the interest, and likely to secure the suffrages, of the majority. The first and most important of these was the law of recruiting for the supply and future establishment of the army. This had now become a matter of necessity, for the negotiations with the allied powers left no room for doubt that the evacuation of the territory would take place at an earlier period than was originally contemplated, and the present strength of the army was not such as to enable the Government to stand alone, or maintain its position as an independent power. On the other hand, there were no small difficulties in the way of augmenting it. The rallying cry of the Bourbons, when they returned to France in 1814, had been,—"*Plus de Conscription!*" and it was the extreme unpopularity of that mode of filling the ranks which had been the chief cause of the reluctance of the people to support Napoleon in the later years of the war which had occasioned his fall. The army had been recruited hitherto, since the peace, by voluntary enlistment; but that method brought a great number of loose characters about the royal standards, and it was very doubtful whether it would prove adequate to the support of the extended force which would become necessary upon the withdrawal of the allied forces. On the other hand, the conscription brought forth the very flower of the entire population; but it ran the risk of becoming

unpopular, it involved a breach of the royal word, and it could not, it was well known, be re-established without that progressive rise of privates to the rank of officers which was the great alleviation of its bitterness to the people, and was so direct an expression of the desires of the Revolution. This filling up of commissions from the ranks of the soldiers might be extremely agreeable to them, and so far obviate the objections to this mode of recruiting the army; but it involved the sacrifice of the most important part of the royal prerogative, and it might ultimately place the armed force in the hands of those upon whom, in a crisis, no reliance could be placed.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 240, 242; Lac. ii. 185; Lam. vi. 152.

47. The law of recruiting proposed by Government.

In a question surrounded by so many difficulties, the Government adopted the course usually followed in such cases; they brought in a measure in harmony with the inclination of the majority of the legislature. M. Gouvion St Cyr, in a very able report, unfolded both the principles and the details of the proposed project. "All modes of recruiting," said he, "reduce themselves to two —voluntary enrolment and compulsory service; the latter will not be called into operation unless the first shall prove insufficient. The complement of the legions is fixed at 150,000 men; the number required yearly is 40,000. The proposed regulations are to be divided into three heads: those concerning the levying, the legionary veterans, and the promotion. The first are mainly founded on the old laws of the conscription—softened, however, in every particular in which it was practicable. The regulations concerning the legionary veterans are based on the principle that, in a free state, every man is bound to render service to maintain the independence of his country. Those regarding promotion, on the principle that, as a compensation for the sacrifices thus imposed upon the people, a regular and invariable system of promotion should be established in the army; that, beginning from the ranks, it should ascend to the highest grades;[2]

[2] Rapport de M. Gouvion St Cyr, Moniteur, Jan. 14 and 17, 1818; Cap. v. 276, 277.

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that the regulations on this subject should have the fixity of laws, and the recompenses should be as widespread as the services, so that the common soldier might have the prospect of arriving at any rank, any employment, without any limit, or any other title but his talents or his services."

48. Argument in support of the project by Ministers.

A law fraught with such momentous, and it might be irreparable consequences, called forth, as well it might, animated debates in both Chambers. On the one hand, it was contended on the part of Ministers, by MM. Courvoisier and Royer Collard: "The proposed law differs from the conscription in the most essential particular, for it fixes the *maximum* of the levy, whereas the main grievance of Napoleon's system consisted in this, that nothing was fixed absolutely; no amount of sacrifices secured the country against fresh demands. Under the monarchy, although voluntary recruiting was as much as possible encouraged, government never lost hold of the important right of forced enrolment. The militia was constantly raised by levy; in remoter times the Ban and Arrière Ban were called forth. Forced levies were repeatedly had recourse to during the long and disastrous wars of Louis XIV. Look at England, that model of representative government—does it not make use, in cases of necessity, of compulsory service? What else is the press, which mans the fleet which has given her the empire of the waves? Look around you in Europe, and you will see armies everywhere maintained by forced enrolments, which latterly have been pushed to a length that apparently knows no limits. Is it fitting for us, surrounded by so many powerful neighbours, decorated with so much glory, the object of such inextinguishable animosities, to rely for our defence only on the shadow of an army? Are we prepared to descend from the summits of military fame, to the condition and the reputation of a second-rate power? We have still within ourselves the elements of a military force capable of securing for ever

the independence of our country—shall we let them wither away for want of employment? Our misfortunes have not deprived us of the right to be proud, but they have imposed upon us the duty of being vigilant. Cast your eyes on our frontiers, on the garrisons of our citadels, and say if this is the time to slumber at our posts? We are accused of betraying the royal authority when, if we acted otherwise, we should be betraying the independence of our country; and the king, by surrendering that of his prerogative, has given a noble example of what the duty of his situation requires, the love of his people can effect.

49. Continued.

"The reserve of veterans which it is proposed to establish, under the name of 'legionary veterans,' is a measure at once called for by necessity, and justified by every noble and honourable feeling. We have to consider, in approaching this subject, if we shall again call to the defence of the country the soldiers who have created its glory, or if we shall for ever stigmatise them as dangerous to its repose. Such a declaration would be at once rigorous and unjust, for our soldiers were admirable in the day of battle, and indefatigable ardour animated and heroic patience sustained them; never have they ceased to feel that they owed their life to the safety of France; and when they retired from their standards they were still prepared to offer to them immense treasures of force and bravery. Is it fitting that France should renounce the privilege of demanding them? Is it fitting she should cease to pride herself on those whom Europe is never weary of admiring? No! the thing is impossible; our safety is not placed in the oblivion of such services, in the distrust of such courage, in the abandonment of so secure a rampart. Empires are not founded on distrust. The king knows it; the king wishes that there should not exist in France a single national force which does not belong to him, a single generous sentiment of which he has not made the conquest. Our soldiers have

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50. Concluded.

expiated much, for they have suffered much; breathes there the man who would still repel them?

"We must say to those whom the phantom of the old army terrifies, that their prejudices are unjust, their alarms without foundation, and that in this, as in so many other cases, the dread of imaginary perils may induce real danger. After a crisis such as we are emerging from, for evils such as we have endured there is but one remedy—and that is oblivion. It is oblivion alone which can heal the wounds of a state so long and violently agitated. Whoever refuses to sacrifice to oblivion prepares new tempests. What Frenchman has not need of oblivion, if not for himself, at least for his family, his brothers, his children? Error has been in all camps, within all walls, without all walls, under all banners. Our country has often seen rebels in both armies. All of us have faults more or less grave to expiate; and the king has given the best proof that he knows how to reign by his knowing how to forgive!"[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 14 and 29, 1818; Ann. Hist. i. 54, 69; Cap. v. 279, 284; Lac. ii. 189, 192.

51. Argument on the other side by the Royalists.

The last words, pronounced in a most emphatic manner by the Minister at War, produced a prodigious impression both in the Chamber and over France. They spoke too strongly to the most powerful passions of the people not to excite a universal enthusiasm. They penetrated alike the camps, the towns, and the cottages; already the words were heard in the streets, "the Grand Army still exists." But the Royalists were not discouraged; and, without directly running counter to these noble and popular sentiments, they rested their opposition to the proposed measure chiefly on its tendency to despoil the Crown of the most important part of its prerogative, that of appointing officers to the army, and to establish an armed force, which could not be relied on under all circumstances, to support its authority. "The proposed law," said MM. de Villèle, de Chateaubriand, and Salaberry, "will renew what was most odious and oppressive under the Imperial regime—the forced levying of men by

the conscription. Such a measure is repugnant to every idea of a tempered constitution or real freedom; it is unknown in England, where compulsory enrolment is known only in time of war, and then only for the militia, which cannot be sent out of the country but with its own consent. Other kings have known how to conquer provinces, resist formidable leagues, with the aid of voluntary enrolment; are we less powerful than they? The conscription is the scourge of every country, but, above all, of an agricultural one; for what can replace the robust arms which are torn from the plough? It leaves, as in the last years of the Empire, none to conduct cultivation but widows and orphans. Why make such a display of hostile intentions at this time? Is it desired to awaken the jealousy of the sovereigns, to make them call to mind the exploits of the Grand Army, and dream of a second Waterloo? Is legitimacy so very firmly established, that it can with safety be abandoned to those who have so recently shown themselves its bitterest enemies? On the other hand, why oblige the veterans to come forth from their retreats, and persecute them by a compulsory service, under a government which there is too much reason to fear they are for ever severed from in their hearts?

52. Continued.

"'Promotion, promotion!' These are the magic words which are presented as the soul of the new law, as the secret destined to procure for us the restoration of our perilous glory. Promotion indeed! Is it already forgotten that frenzy was substituted for the noble sentiment of patriotism in the young *élèves* of Napoleon, and that to it are entirely to be ascribed the disasters of the Hundred Days? How is it proposed to regulate this promotion? Why, by despoiling the king of what is the very essence of the royal prerogative—the appointment of officers to the armed force! The charter expressly secures this important power to the king; and now the authors of the ordinance of 5th September, who were so loud in their assertion of the principle that not an iota

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of the charter should be changed, openly violate it, in order to secure the suffrages of a party the sworn enemies of legitimacy, and in order to humiliate the rural noblesse, who are the best supporters of the throne!

53. Concluded.

"It is not the law as a military institution which we are to consider. Possibly, in that view, it may be open to very few objections. It is its spirit, its tendency, that we are to consider. Its tendency in this view is perfectly plain—it is anti-monarchical. All its clauses are conceived in this spirit, that the impulsion and the movement shall no longer proceed from the throne. Under the monarchy, on the same principle, and for the same reason, that all judicial appointments and authority flowed from the throne, so the army, essentially obedient, recognised no other but the sovereign. It was his name, and his alone, which it bore on its arms, on its standards. The proposed law alters this entirely, for it takes the nomination and promotion of officers from the king; it violates the charter, which expressly recognises that privilege as residing in him: the formation of veteran legions is nothing but a decisive concession to those who have never ceased, and will never cease, to aim at the overthrow of the monarchy and the charter. There exists a flagrant conspiracy against both. The *coup-d'état* of September 5 has rendered it omnipotent in civil matters, the present law will do the same with military. There was wanting to the Genius of Evil nothing but an army; when he has obtained one, he will seat himself on the ruins of a throne, at the foot of which fidelity and honour will fall in vain, too late recalled, too late appreciated." [1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 15, 1818; Ann. Hist. i. 70, 72; Cap. v. 278, 279; Lac. ii. 188, 190.

54. The bill is passed into a law.

Various amendments were proposed, and some carried, in both Chambers: but they related only to matters of detail, which were worked out with extreme care. The principle of the law was too strongly intrenched in the feelings and opinions of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies to be shaken; and although a majority of the Peers were inclined to the other side, the influence of

Ministers, and the personal solicitations of the King, obtained for it success. On the final division, the law passed the Deputies by a majority of 55—the numbers being 147 to 92. In the Peers, the majority was less considerable—the numbers being 96 to 74. Thus passed this bill, which has ever since continued the charter of the French army, and has been successively adopted by all the governments which have succeeded to its direction. Its consequences were great—it may be said decisive—on the future fate of France and of Europe. It is remarkable that this important change in the composition of the French army—fraught, as the event proved, with such momentous consequences—was carried through in presence of the European ambassadors, and with their armies still occupying the French citadels; and there was as much truth as eloquence in the last speech of the Minister at War on the subject—"It is a spectacle unique in the history of the world to behold a free and national government discussing its military system in presence of the armies of Europe, still encamped on its territory."[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. i. 101; Moniteur, Feb. 5, and Mar. 9, 1818.

55. Law regarding the liberty of the press.

This was the great and decisive measure of the session. When this important victory was gained by the popular party, the lesser successes followed as a matter of course. The principal remaining struggle took place on the law proposed by Government in regard to the liberty of the press. The provisions of the bill on this subject, brought forward by M. Pasquier, the Keeper of the Seals, were these: The author of every writing published in France was to be primarily responsible for its contents; if the author was unknown, the publisher; and minute regulations were laid down for the seizure of works of an inflammatory tendency, and leading to revolt; and no journals or periodical works were to appear, without the sanction of the censorship, before the 1st January 1821. This certainly was very far from being the liberty of the press, but still it was a step towards it, and indicated an intention on the part of Government, at no distant period,

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to remove all restrictions on it. The project, however, excited a great division in the Chamber; and a portion of the Centre, headed by Camille Jourdan, voted against it. This was an ominous symptom, and so the event proved. The bill was so altered by successive amendments—carried some against, some by the Government—that, in the end, neither party was very anxious for its passing into a law; and the result was, that after having passed the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 34—the numbers being 131 to 97—it was thrown out by the Peers by a majority of 43—the numbers being 102 to 59. This result was obtained by the Royalists having to a man united with the extreme Left to throw out the bill;—a strange coalition at first sight, but natural in reality, when two parties—the most at variance on other points—are excluded from power, and both look to freedom of discussion as the only means of regaining it.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. i. 41, 53; Cap. v. 267, 270.

56. Expiry of the laws against personal freedom and the Prévôtal Courts.

The laws restrictive of individual liberty, and establishing the odious prévôtal courts, expired at the end of this year, to which period alone they stood extended, without either renewal or observation. In fact, they had become a dead letter; only four arrests had been under their authority in the course of the year. Thus the cause of freedom was sensibly advancing in France with the cessation of treason and sedition. Government no longer felt the necessity of exceptional laws, and were too happy to let them expire; the public feeling at once reprobated and rendered unnecessary their continuance. A great truth, interesting to all, and especially free nations, may be gathered from this circumstance—and that is, that the cause of real freedom never is promoted by sedition or revolt. A change of government may result, and often has resulted, from the success of such attempts; but the cause of liberty has never failed to suffer from them. If the treason is successful, none dare call it treason; its leaders are elevated to high stations, and liberty is in every mouth; but meanwhile the substance is lost, and the new

government is both more powerful and oppressive than the old. If it is unsuccessful, the old government is only rendered the more powerful and vindictive, from the failure of an attempt to shake its authority. Freedom cannot be won by rude violence, though a change of masters for the worse may: it is the result only of continued tranquillity and peace, and perishes in the first burst of civil dissension.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 195, 196; Cap. v. 269, 270.

57. Failure of the law for establishing the new concordat.

A more serious difficulty awaited ministers in the establishment, in the realm of France, of the concordat lately concluded with the court of Rome. This could only be done by the consent of the Chambers, because, as the Church had been despoiled of all its inheritance by the Revolution, the new sees and establishments proposed could only be endowed from the funds of the state. It was no easy matter, with a Chamber the majority of which was decidedly Liberal, to obtain such a grant; and yet, without it, the concordat would remain a dead letter. The Duke de Richelieu, to meet the difficulties, brought in a moderate bill, the purport of which was, that, in conformity with the concordat of Leo X. and Francis I., now again become the law of France, there should be seven new archbishoprics, and one hundred and thirty-five new episcopal sees established in France, the funds for the support of which should be taken from the public exchequer; that no bull or brief of the Pope should be published in France till it had received the sanction of the king; and that those concerning the Church in general, the interest of the state, or which modified its existing institutions, should be submitted to the Chambers. It was not likely that a bill which went, on the one hand, to impose so considerable a burden on the public funds, and, on the other, abridged in such important particulars the authority of the Church of Rome, would meet with the support either of a Liberal chamber, or of the Papal Government.[2] It experienced, accordingly, great opposition; and after being anxiously discussed in committee, and

[2] Cap. v. 272, 275; Ann. Hist. i. 8, 17.

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vehemently by the public press, it was withdrawn by ministers, and the matter referred again to the Duke de Richelieu, for farther negotiation with the Court of Rome.

58. The Budget.

The most important matter which remained for consideration was the BUDGET, and the greatest interests were wound up with it. On the success of the Ministry's measures of finance it depended whether France could make good its still onerous engagements to the Allies, and thereby effect an arrangement which might lead to the evacuation of the territory. This was a matter of the very highest importance, upon which the king's heart was most anxiously set, and upon the success of which the stability of his government might be considered as in a great degree dependant. Much consideration was requisite before a subject so surrounded with difficulties could be adequately handled, and the resources of France, equally with the capital of its monied men, were alike unequal to making good the engagements. But happily the CREDIT of its government stood high, and the honourable punctuality with which it had discharged its obligations, since the Restoration, had gone far to remove the effects of the confiscation of so large a part of its public debt during the Revolution. M. Corvetto, the Finance Minister, estimated the ordinary receipts at 767,778,000 francs (£30,710,000); and the expenditure was 993,244,022 francs (£39,700,000);—so that the deficit to be provided for by loan was no less than 225,465,000 francs, or £9,018,000. As the French capitalists were wholly unequal to the raising a sum so large, especially after the great loans of the three preceding years, recourse was again had to foreign aid, and Messrs Baring and Hope furnished the requisite assistance. The loan was obtained on more favourable terms than that of the preceding year, the Five per Cents being taken at 67 instead of 58, as in 1817; no less than 16,000,000 francs of rentes were inscribed on the *Grand Livre* for the interest of this loan;[1] the loan, with the

[1] Ann. Hist. i. 195, 197; Cap. v. 285, 286; Moniteur, Dec. 17, 1817.

extra charges of commission, &c., was contracted for at nearly 10 per cent; and it must always be regarded as a most honourable circumstance for the French government and nation, that they discharged such enormous obligations with exactness and fidelity.*

59. Conclusion of an arrangement regarding the indemnities.

This great difficulty having been surmounted, negotiations began in good earnest for the evacuation of the French territory. The great obstacle was the enormous amount of the indemnities claimed by governments or individuals for exactions made from them during the war, which had swelled to 1,600,000,000 francs, or £64,000,000. At length, however, by the indefatigable efforts of the commissioners, aided by the liberal and just views of the Duke of Wellington, who was at their head, the claims were so far adjusted that the interest of the new debt, to be created for this purpose, was fixed at 12,400,000 francs, or £482,000, a very small sum compared with

* The Budget of 1818 stood thus :—

I. INCOME.

	Francs.
Land tax,	259,054,937
Personal tax, patents, windows,	98,433,663
Registers and woods,	162,200,000
Customs,	80,000,000
Indirect taxes,	120,000,000
Ports,	12,000,000
Lottery and salt-mines,	14,000,000
Given up by Royal Family,	3,000,000
Receipts by police,	5,900,000
Retained from salaries,	13,200,000
Total income,	767,778,600
Total expenditure,	993,244,022
Difference to be provided for by loan,	225,465,422
(or about £9,018,000)	

II. EXPENDITURE.

Ordinary.	Francs.
Interest of National Debt,	140,782,000
Sinking Fund,	40,000,000
Annuities,	12,800,000
Pensions of all sorts,	65,908,000
Civil list,	34,000,000
Clergy,	22,000,000
Poors,	2,000,000
Deputies,	680,000
Various Ministries,	291,913,000
Departmental expenses,	31,976,000
Cautionry engagements,	8,000,000
Negotiation,	18,000,000
Cadastre,	3,000,000
Non valeurs,	9,916,000
	680,975,000
Extraordinary.	
Fifth war-contribution,	140,000,000
Cost and pay of allied troops,	154,800,000
Arrears of do.	11,468,422
Miscellaneous,	6,000,000
	312,268,421
Total	993,224,022

—*Annuaire Historique*, i. 196, 197, and *Moniteur*, 16th Dec. 1817.

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what had been anticipated. "France," said the Duke de Richelieu, in announcing the conclusion of this arrangement to the Chamber of Peers, "should now reap the reward of her courageous resignation. Holding in her hands the treaties of which she has performed the most onerous conditions, she will not appeal in vain to Europe for the execution, in her turn, of such as are favourable to her. The treaty of 20th November 1815 bears this clause: 'The military occupation of France may terminate at the end of three years!' That term approaches, and every French heart quivers at the thought of seeing on the soil of our country no other banner but that of France. The sovereigns are about to assemble, to deliberate on this great question. This assembly will not be one of the congresses of kings which history has often recounted as of sinister omen: that august reunion will open under noble auspices. Justice will preside over it—the august rulers of nations will yield to the wish of the king—to that wish which, after the example of its august family, entire France has pronounced with a unanimous voice. The most perfect tranquillity reigns in France—our institutions are developed and strengthened—the charter, thrown open to all parties, receives them, not to become their prey, but that they may be cherished and lost in its bosom. If, for a moment, they have seemed to revive, the wise firmness of the king has immediately disarmed them; and the experience of that has proved for us, as for all, Europe, an evident demonstration of their impotence. Last year a cruel calamity, the most likely of any to agitate a people, made itself severely felt. If, in the midst of so many difficulties, the legitimate monarchy has displayed so much strength, what has it to apprehend for the future; and what alarm can Europe feel at the prospect of France, free under the beneficent sceptre of its sovereigns?" As a corollary to these cheering expressions, he proposed the inscription on the Grand Livre,—in other words, the creation of stock—to the extent of

12,400,000 francs, to meet the demands of private parties, and 24,000,000 francs of rentes yearly, (£960,000,) to form a fund of credit wherewith to meet the demands of the foreign powers. Overjoyed at the prospect of obtaining a liberation of their territory by such sacrifices, these grants were agreed to without a dissenting voice in both houses.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 297, 298; Ann. Hist. i. 172, 176.

60. Aix-la-Chapelle and its concourse of illustrious foreigners.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, where it was determined that the Congress charged with such weighty matters of consideration should sit, is an old town in the German part of the Low Countries, long celebrated for its antiquities, and the memorable events of which it has been the theatre. Charlemagne fixed upon it as the capital of his extensive dominions, which, like those which a thousand years afterwards were under the influence of Napoleon, extended far into Germany on the right bank of the Rhine. It contains the tomb of that illustrious man, and many objects of antiquarian interest; but, having ceased to be a metropolis when his mighty dominion fell to pieces, it had rapidly sunk from its ancient splendour, and for several centuries had been chiefly supported by the concourse of strangers, who assembled annually to drink its celebrated waters. Now, however, it received a passing but brilliant illustration from the momentous Congress which assembled within its walls, and on whose decisions the fate, not only of France, but of Europe, in a great measure depended. To those who reflect on the vicissitudes of time, and the mighty changes produced by the course of events, it will not appear the least remarkable coincidence of that memorable era, that the sovereigns charged with the consideration of when the French territory should be liberated from its thraldom, assembled after the lapse of a thousand years in the capital city of their former conqueror, and in the close vicinity of his tomb; and that a leading power in the conferences was that formed by the descendants of the heroic Witikind,[2] who had struggled as long and perseveringly against the first

[2] Cap. v. 362, 363.

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Charlemagne as his descendants had done against the second.

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61. Ambassadors there, and instructions of Louis to the Duke de Richelieu. Sept. 20.

The concourse of strangers soon began in Aix-la-Chapelle. Prince Metternich arrived on the 20th September, and soon after M. Capo d'Istria, Prince Lieven, and Pozzo di Borgo, and Nesselrode; on the part of Russia, General Chernicheff, Count Woronzoff, General Jomini, and several others. Prince Hardenberg, Baron Bernstorff, and Baron Alexander de Humboldt, appeared on behalf of Prussia; Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr Canning, on that of Great Britain. Finally, Messrs Hope, Baring, and Rothschild, were there as private individuals, but possessing more weight than many sovereigns, from being alone possessed of the capital requisite to carry into effect the vast financial operations which were in contemplation. The Duke de Richelieu attended on the part of France; he took an affectionate leave of Louis XVIII., whose last words to him on setting out were: "M. de Richelieu, make every sacrifice to obtain the evacuation of the territory; it is the first condition of our independence: no flag but our own should wave in France. Express to my Allies how difficult my government will be so long as it can be reproached with the calamities of the country, and the occupation of the territory; and yet you know, M. de Richelieu, it was not I, but Buonaparte, who brought the Allies upon us. These are my whole instructions. Repeat to the Emperor Alexander that he has it in his power to render a greater service to my house than he has done in 1814 or 1815; after having restored legitimacy, it remains for him to reap the glory of having restored the national independence. Obtain the best conditions possible; but, at any sacrifice, get quit of the stranger."[1]

[1] Cap. v. 366, 367.

The King of Prussia, within whose territories Aix-la-Chapelle is situated, arrived on the 26th September, to receive his august allies, the Emperors of Russia and

Austria, who arrived on the 28th. As the congress was expected to be short, there was not the same brilliant concourse of strangers which had met at Vienna in 1814; but still enough to throw an air of splendour over the august assembly. The Princess Lieven and Lady Castlereagh shone pre-eminent among the female diplomatists —not the least important personages in a congress of that description—and received all the illustrious persons who were assembled on the occasion. The splendid diamonds of the latter were the object of general admiration. Madame Catalani appeared there with the magnificent diamond brooch which had been given her by the Emperor Alexander; and the chief beauties of the opera at Paris added the influence of their charms to the gaiety of the scene. Nor were there wanting some who aimed at attracting the notice of the Emperor Alexander by falling in with his peculiar and superstitious feelings; and Mademoiselle Lenormand, in the dress and with the pretensions of a sibyl, endeavoured, though without the same success, to play the part which Madame Krudener had done in bringing about the Holy Alliance.[1]

62. Brilliant concourse of strangers at Aix-la-Chapelle.

[1] Cap. v. 365.

The Emperor Alexander gave several audiences to M. de Richelieu, with whom he conversed in the most unreserved manner on the affairs of France. "Your nation," said he, "is brave and loyal; it has supported its misfortunes with a patience which is heroic. Do you think, M. de Richelieu, that it is prepared for the evacuation: do you consider the government sufficiently established? Tell me the simple truth; you know I am the friend and admirer of your nation, and I wish nothing but your word on the subject." "Never," replied the Duke de Richelieu, "was nation more worthy and better prepared to receive the great act which the magnanimity of your Majesty is preparing for it. Your Majesty has seen with what fidelity it has discharged all its engagements; and I will answer for the results of its political system."

63. Conversation of Alexander with Richelieu.

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"My dear Richelieu," rejoined the Emperor, "you are loyalty itself. I do not fear the development in France of liberal institutions; I am liberal myself—very liberal. I should even wish that your king should perform some act which should conciliate the holders of the national domains; but I fear the Jacobins—I hate them: beware of throwing yourself into their arms. Europe will have nothing more to do with Jacobinism. There is but one Holy Alliance of kings, founded on morality and Christianity, which can save the social order. We should set the first example." "You may rely on the King of France doing all in his power to extinguish Jacobinism; and the law of elections has produced satisfactory results." "I know it," replied the Emperor; "but let us await the next returns. In the name of Heaven, M. de Richelieu, let us save the social order. Prussia is very urgent for money; Austria, too, is very needy; I, for my own part, should have no objections to receive the sums due to me for indemnities as King of Poland. Come to an understanding with M. Baring; it is there that the key to all the arrangements we desire is to be found." [1]

[1] Cap. v. 369, 370.

64. Conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Sept. 30.

When sentiments of this sort were entertained by the principal parties at the Congress, it was not difficult to come to an understanding. The preliminaries were arranged on the 1st October, and a courier, the moment the signatures were attached, was despatched to the King of France to announce the happy result. The conditions were—1. That the troops should retire from the strong places which they occupied on the territory of France, on or before the 30th November, which were to be immediately occupied by the French troops. 2. That the sums required for the pay, clothing, and maintenance of the troops, as regulated by the convention of December 1, 1817, should be paid down to the 30th November. 3. That, in consideration of this evacuation before the five years, to which it might have extended, had expired, France should pay to the Allies the sum of 265,000,000

francs, (£10,600,000,) of which 100,000,000 were to be made good in inscriptions in the Grand Livre, dated 22d September 1818, and taken at the current rate of 5th October. 4. The remaining 165,000,000 were to be settled by drafts on the houses of Hope and Baring, in nine monthly payments of equal amount each, the drafts to be delivered to the commissioners of the allied powers by the agents of the French treasury at the time of the final evacuation of the territory.[1]

1 Treaty, Oct. 9, 1818 Moniteur, Oct. 10, 1818; Ann. Hist. i. 432, 433; Cap. v. 372, 373.

65. Secret treaty with the Allies.

Having accomplished this great object of the deliverance of the territory, the next object of the Duke de Richelieu was to obtain the admission of France into the European confederacy, by whom it had so long been an object of secret dread or open hostility. He addressed himself to this effect to the ministers of the allied powers, and the request was favourably received; but it was deemed better that the first diplomatic advance should come from the powers themselves. In consequence, a note signed by the ministers of the four great powers was addressed to the Duke de Richelieu, in which they stated that their sovereigns, after having maturely and anxiously weighed the state of France, and the chances of stability in its existing institutions, had come to a unanimous opinion that they had the happiness of thinking that the order of things established by the restoration of the Bourbon line, and the wisdom of his Most Christian Majesty, was now firmly rooted; that the French government had discharged its obligations with the most scrupulous fidelity; and, in consequence, the allied powers had determined to make the occupation of the territory cease on the 30th November. Animated by these sentiments, they indulged the hope that his most Christian Majesty would permit them to unite their counsels and efforts with his for the attainment of these objects; and they invite him to take part in their deliberations, present or future, for the maintenance of peace, and the mutual guarantee of the rights of nations.[2]

Ann. Hist. i. 434, 435; Cap. v. 377, 378.

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This was a most important step, as it tended at once to readmit France into the European alliance—a matter of nearly as great importance to the stability of its government as the evacuation. M. de Richelieu, in the name of Louis XVIII., hastened to answer. "His Majesty the King of France has received with the most lively satisfaction this fresh proof of the confidence and friendship of the sovereigns who have taken part in the deliberations of Aix-la-Chapelle. In casting his regards on the past, and being convinced that at no other period no other nation could have discharged with equal fidelity the engagements France has contracted, the King has felt that this new species of glory was to be ascribed to the force of the institutions which rule it; and he perceives with joy that the consolidation of these institutions is regarded as not less advantageous to the repose of Europe than essential to its prosperity. Convinced that his first duty is to perpetuate, by every means in his power, the peace now happily established among the nations, that the intimate union of their governments is the surest pledge of its durability, and that France cannot remain a stranger to a system the force of which arises from an entire unity of principles and actions, his Majesty has received with cordiality the proposition made to him, and has, in consequence, authorised the undersigned to take part in all the deliberations of the ministers and plenipotentiaries, in the view of maintaining the treaties and guaranteeing the mutual rights which they have established."[1]

66. Answer of Louis XVIII.

[1] Reponse de M. de Richelieu, Nov. 12, 1818; Ann. Hist. i. 435; Cap. v. 379, 380.

It soon appeared that the accession of France to the European alliance was not to be a mere formality. In a few days after a secret protocol was signed by the ministers of all the *five* powers, which bore—"1. That the sovereigns are determined never to deviate, neither in their mutual relations nor in those which unite them to other states, from the principles which have hitherto united them, and which form a bond of Christian fraternity

67. Secret Protocol. Nov. 15, 1818.

which the sovereigns have formed among each other. 2. That that union, which is only the more close and durable that it is founded on no separate interests or momentary combination, can have no other object but the maintenance of the treaties, and the support of the rights established by them. 3. That France, associated with the other powers by the restoration of a government at once legitimate and constitutional, engages henceforth to concur in the maintenance and support of a system which has given peace to Europe, and can alone secure its duration. 4. That if, to attain these ends, the powers which have concurred in the present act should deem it necessary to establish particular reunions, either among the sovereigns themselves or their ministers, to treat of subjects in which they have a common interest, the time and place of such assemblages shall be previously arranged by diplomatic communication; and in the event of such reunions having for their object the condition of other states in Europe, they shall not take place except in pursuance of a formal invitation to those by whom those states are directed, and under an express reservation of their right to participate in it directly, or by their plenipotentiaries."[1]

[1] Protocol, Nov. 15, 1818; Ann. Hist. i. 436; Cap. v. 382, 383.

68. Secret military Protocol.

This protocol was followed by another, which was of a more practical nature, and went directly to regulate the military arrangements which were to be adopted in the event of a fresh revolutionary outbreak in France. The ministers of the *four* great powers accordingly—on the urgent solicitation of the lesser states in Germany, who were more immediately threatened on such an event—met secretly, without the concurrence of France or the Duke de Richelieu. At this conference it was agreed—"1. That all the engagements stipulated by the Quadruple Alliance of 20th Nov. 1815,[2] are reserved in their full force and effect with reference to the '*fœderis et belli casus*,' as it was foreseen and provided for by that treaty. 2. That for the *casus fœderis*, such as was provided for

[2] *Ante*, c. iii. § 49.

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in the second paragraph of the said treaty, the high contracting parties to the present protocol, in pursuance of their existing engagements, agree to concert, in such an event, in particular reunions, either among the monarchs in person, or the four cabinets, on the most effectual means of arresting the fatal effects of a *new revolutionary overthrow with which France may be threatened;* recollecting always, that the progress of the evils which have so long desolated Europe has only been arrested by the intimacy of the union, and the purity of the sentiments which unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world."[1]

[1] Protocol, Nov. 19, 1818; Cap. v. 386, 387.

69. Military arrangements.

In pursuance of this agreement, it was provided that the *corps d'armée*, stipulated by the treaty of Chaumont, should simultaneously enter upon the campaign the day when the allied powers declared that the *casus fœderis* had arisen. The British corps was to assemble at "Brussels, the Prussian at Cologne, the Austrian at Stuttgardt, the Russian, after the lapse of three months, on account of its great distance, at Mayence. The Duke of Wellington, who had been specially directed by the government of Great Britain, and that of the Netherlands, to overlook and report upon the fortifications of the Low Countries, has declared that he can certify that the quantity of works executed has been immense; and that a powerful defensive attitude would be taken in the next year, should circumstances demand it. The plenipotentiaries of the other powers have, in like manner, declared that they can give satisfactory assurances on the progress of the defensive preparations on the other countries adjoining the French frontier. In these circumstances, the plenipotentiaries of the four powers have considered the best means of providing for the garrisoning of these fortresses, in the event of a war breaking out and hostilities commencing in the Low Countries. These fortresses have not been constructed for the defence of any single country, but for the general protection of Europe; and there are several in the second line which require to be occupied on

the Dutch frontier. It has, therefore, been agreed to recommend to his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, in the event of the *casus fœderis* being declared, that the fortresses of Ostend, Nieuport, Ipres, and those on the Scheldt, with the exception of the citadels of Antwerp and Tournay, should be occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and the citadels of Huy, Namur, and Dinant, as well as the strong places of Charleroi, Marienburg, and Philippeville, by those of his Prussian Majesty."[1]

[1] Secret Protocol, Nov. 20, 1818; Cap. v. 387, 389.

It was not surprising that, amidst all this seeming cordiality with the French nation, the allied powers took these precautionary measures against a possible revolution in its government; for, in truth, they were inspired with very serious alarms on the subject. Although the new electoral law had been only two years in operation, the results obtained from the two-fifths of the Chamber which had been returned under it, were sufficient to inspire the most serious apprehensions that, when the whole Assembly was remodelled after the same fashion, the majority would be decidedly hostile to the Bourbon dynasty. A very able memoir had been drawn up by the Royalists at Paris, and secretly transmitted to the sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the Liberal policy of M. Decazes was violently arraigned, the certain overthrow of the monarchy predicted from its continuance, and the only remedy suggested in an entire change of men and measures.[2]* Without giving complete credit to these prognostications, which were evidently the offspring of vehemently excited and deeply chagrined party feelings, the allied

70. Secret Royalist Memoir presented to the Allied Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle.

[2] Cap. v. 348, 353; Lac. ii. 229, 230.

* "La révolution étend jusqu'aux dernières classes de la nation qu'elle agite partout avec violence, les principes destructeurs de notre monarchie proposés à la tribune par les ministres du Roi; et l'on ne veut pour exemple que le discours du Ministre de la Guerre sur la loi du recrutement, et celui du Ministre de la Police sur la liberté de la presse; des écrits audacieux sapent tous les fondemens de l'ordre social, et les lois répressives ne font obstacle qu'aux écrivains qui soutiennent la monarchie et la légitimité; les jugements des tribunaux sont livrés aux diatribes les plus violentes; tous les liens de l'état social sont relâchés; le Gouvernement ne paraît marcher que par l'impulsion d'un pouvoir qui n'existe plus, et par la présence des forces étrangères; enfin,

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sovereigns saw that there was sufficient foundation for some of them to render it advisable to make arrangements for an eventual renewal of the war.

71. Evacuation of the French territory by the Allies. Nov. 30.

But whatever might be the apprehensions which the Allies in secret entertained in regard to the stability of the existing order of things in France, there was no want, so far as external appearances went, of the most entire confidence and cordiality between them. The allied sovereigns, and the Emperor Alexander in particular, considered it a point of honour to carry into execution all the arrangements for the evacuation of the territory, with the same scrupulous good faith and exactness with which the French government had discharged all the onerous engagements undertaken by it under the treaty of 20th November 1815. On the day stipulated, the 30th November 1818, the fortresses occupied by the Allies were everywhere evacuated by their troops, and handed over to the French corps under the Duke d'Angoulême, which were at the gates to occupy them. With speechless delight the French troops defiled through the gates of their ancient strongholds, reoccupied the well-known quarters, and beheld, amidst thunders of artillery, the national standard again hoisted on their walls. The most scrupulous good faith and exactitude prevailed in all the arrangements, and the utmost courtesy and politeness between the officers of the retiring and the entering armies. As the allied troops had, in general, conducted themselves exceedingly well, under the firm and judicious direction of the Duke of Wellington, and had spent large sums of money in the cities which they occupied, their

tout se prépare à faire la guerre à l'Europe. Par quels moyens peut-on empêcher que la France, et par elle l'Europe entière, ne viennent encore la proie des révolutionnaires? Changer le système du gouvernement par le changement complet du Ministère qui le dirige. Le changement complet du Ministère est le seul moyen salutaire, le seul véritablement efficace, et en même temps qu'il est le seul loyal et admissible pour empêcher que la France ne redevienne encore un foyer de révolution, qui ne tarderait pas à embrasser l'Europe entière." —*Mémoire Secret Présenté aux Souverains à Aix-la-Chapelle; par M. le Baron Vermeuil.* CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, v. 348, 353.

withdrawal was a matter of regret to many; but to the majority, whatever regard they entertained for them individually, it was a subject of unspeakable delight to see the foreign colours lowered, and the national ones again hoisted on their citadels. The Duke of Wellington, previous to the breaking up of the army of occupation, issued a touching valedictory address to the noble army, composed of so many nations, whom he had commanded for three years; and retired with cheerfulness into the comparative obscurity of English life, from the proudest situation, "above all Greek, above all Roman fame," ever held by an uncrowned military commander.[1] *

[1] Cap. v. 407, 409; Lac. ii. 243, 245; Ann. Hist. i. 437.

72. Noble conduct of the Duke of Wellington on this occasion.

Justice requires that the course of the narrative should for a moment be suspended, to reflect on the conduct of the Duke of Wellington on this occasion. As commander-in-chief of the allied army of occupation, his appointments were immense; his expenses were all paid; and he held a situation which, in point of dignity and importance, any conqueror might envy, and which far exceeded that enjoyed by any sovereign prince. He was at the head of the united armies of Europe, and he held in fetters the realm of Napoleon. Nevertheless, so far was he from

* "Le Field-Maréchal Duc de Wellington ne peut prendre congé des troupes qu'il a eu l'honneur de commander, sans leur exprimer sa gratitude pour la bonne conduite qui les a fait distinguer pendant le temps qu'elles ont été sous ses ordres. Il y a près de trois ans que les souverains alliés ont confié au Field-Maréchal le commandement en chef de cette partie de leurs forces que les circonstances avaient rendu nécessaire de laisser en France. Si les mesures que leurs MM. avaient commandées ont été exécutées à leur satisfaction, le résultat doit être entièrement attribué à la conduite prudente et eclairée tenue dans les circonstances par leurs excellences les Généraux en chef, au bon exemple qu'ils ont donné aux autres Généraux et officiers leurs subordonnés, aussi bien qu'aux efforts de ceux-ci pour les seconder, et enfin à l'excellente discipline qui a été constamment observée dans les contingences. C'est avec regret qu'il a vu arriver le moment où la dislocation de cette armée allait mettre fin à ses rapports publics et privés avec les commandants et autres officiers des divers corps. Le Field-Maréchal ne peut assez exprimer combien ces rapports lui étaient agréables; il prie les Gouverneurs en chef de recevoir et de transmettre aux troupes qui sont sous leurs ordres, l'assurance qu'il ne cessera jamais de prendre le plus vif intérêt à ce qui les concerne, et que le souvenir des trois années durant lesquelles il a été à leur tête, lui sera toujours cher."—G. Murray, le Général en chef de l'Etat Major de l'Armée Alliée."—*Annales Historiques*, i. 437, 438.

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endeavouring to prolong a situation of so much dignity and emolument to himself, that his whole efforts were directed to its abridgment; from first to last, he did everything in his power to induce the Allies to shorten the stay of the army of occupation; and at last succeeded, very much by his personal efforts, in lessening it by two years. His situation as commander-in-chief, and, still more, his vast personal reputation, rendered him in a manner the final arbiter in the many disputed points which arose between the French and the Allies regarding the pecuniary indemnities; and in that capacity his decisions were not only regulated by the strictest justice, and the most assiduous attention to the rights of the parties, but they were so liberal and indulgent towards the vanquished and unfortunate, that they have extorted the praise even of the French historians, the most envious of his great reputation.* In this conduct we discern another trait of that singleness of heart and disinterestedness of disposition which formed the leading features of that great man's character; and a memorable proof how completely a mind, actuated only, and on

* "On n'a point en général rendu assez de justice au Duc de Wellington, pour la manière large et loyale dont il protégea les intérêts de la France dans toutes les négociations avec l'étranger. Je ne parle pas d'abord de l'immense service rendu par S. S. dans la fixation des créances étrangères. Le Duc de Wellington se montra arbitre désintéressé, et la postérité doit reconnaitre, à l'honneur de M. de Richelieu, qu'il sortit pauvre d'une position où l'oubli de quelques devoirs austères de la conscience aurait pu créer pour lui la plus colossale des fortunes. Le Duc de Wellington fut très-favorable à la France dans tout ce qui touchait l'évacuation du territoire. Sa position de Généralissime de l'armée de l'occupation donnait un grand poids à son avis sur cette question; il fut chaque fois consulté, et chaque fois également il répondait par des paroles élevées qui faisaient honneur à son caractère. Le Duc de Wellington, par la cessation de l'occupation armée, avait à perdre une grande position en France, celle de Généralissime des Alliés, ce qui le faisait en quelque sorte membre du Gouvernement; il avait à sacrifier un traitement immense; de plus, le noble Lord connaissait l'opinion de Lord Castlereagh, et d'une grande partie des membres de l'aristocratie Anglaise, sur la nécessité de l'occupation armée. Tous ces intérêts ne l'arrêtèrent point; il fut d'avis que cette mesure de précdution devait cesser, car la France avait non seulement accompli les paiemens stipulés, mais son Gouvernement semblait offrir le caractère d'ordre, et de durée: cette opinion fut très-puissante dans le congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle."—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, v. 354, 357.

every occasion, by a sense of duty, can rise superior to the most powerful influence and greatest temptations of this world. The author has a melancholy pleasure in recording this tribute to the greatest man of the age, now no more; and when there remains only to his country the pride of his deeds and the example of his virtues.*

73. Attempted assassination of the Duke of Wellington. Feb. 11, 1818.

It was while engaged in these great and beneficent deeds, which came with such peculiar grace and lustre from the conqueror of Waterloo, that the hand of an assassin had all but cut short his career. On the 11th February, when the Duke was at Paris, actively engaged in endeavouring to reduce the enormous pecuniary indemnities claimed from the French, and the diminution of which was indispensable to any arrangement which might shorten the period of the occupation of their territory, an attempt was made to assassinate him. At one in the morning, as he was stepping out of his carriage at the door of his hotel, a pistol was suddenly discharged at him, though happily it missed the object. The assassin, who was seen by the servant behind the carriage, glided off in the obscurity, and escaped in the dark; but a man of the name of Cantillon, and another of the name of Marenit, both old soldiers, were afterwards arrested, and brought to trial. But the evidence was deemed insufficient, and they were both acquitted. The calm attitude of Wellington was not in the slightest degree affected by this circumstance; he continued his diplomatic labours as if nothing had occurred; and felt only great gratification from the marked interest which the attempt excited over all Europe. Although the jury did not deem the evidence against Cantillon sufficient, yet there can be no doubt of his guilt;[1] for Napoleon, in his testament made not long afterwards, left him a legacy of 10,000 francs, (£400,) expressly in consequence of his having attempted to

[1] Lac. ii. 238; Moniteur, Feb. 13, 1818; Antommarchi's Derniers Moments de Napoléon.

* Written on 18th September 1852, the day after the intelligence of the Duke of Wellington's death was received in Scotland.

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murder the Duke of Wellington—a step as characteristic of the revengeful nature of his Italian disposition, as the noble conduct of the Duke, in striving at the very time to alleviate the burdens of France, was of his more elevated character.* The contrast between the two was the more remarkable, that the Duke had, during the advance to Paris after the battle of Waterloo, strenuously resisted, and succeeded in averting a proposal of Blucher's, that, if taken, Napoleon should be instantly executed as a pirate, the enemy of mankind.[1]

[1] Muffling, Feldzug von 1815. App. No. 2. Gneisenau to Wellington.

74. Visit of Alexander to Louis XVIII. at Paris. Dec. 2.

After the conclusion of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Emperor Alexander adopted the resolution of paying a visit as a private individual to Louis XVIII. at Paris. He arrived accordingly, and remained but one day; and the King has told us, in an elegant memoir, given entire in Lamartine's *History of the Restoration*, that that day was the happiest of his life. The French monarch had felt the utmost solicitude for the evacuation of the territory, which he justly regarded as the great work, and only secure inauguration of his reign; and when it was finally arranged, he said to the Duke de Richelieu—"I have lived enough; I have seen the day when no standard but that of France waves over the French citadels." The joy which he felt at this great deliverance heightened the satisfaction he experienced at receiving the monarch whom he, with reason, regarded as his chief deliverer. Alexander opened his mind to him without reserve. "Your Majesty," said he, "has conducted your affairs with great

* "Je lègue 10,000 francs au sous officier Cantillon, qui a essuyé un procès comme prévenu d'avoir voulu assassiner Lord Wellington, ce dont il a été déclaré innocent. Cantillon avait autant le droit d'assassiner cet oligarque que celui-ci de m'envoyer périr sur le rocher de St Hélène. Wellington, qui a proposé cet attentat, cherchait à le justifier sur l'intérêt de la Grande Bretagne. Cantillon, si vraiment il eut assassiné le Lord, se serait couvert et aurait été justifié par les mêmes motifs, l'intérêt de la France de se défaire d'un Général qui d'ailleurs avait violé la capitulation de Paris, et par là s'était rendu responsable du sang du martyr Ney, Labedoyère, &c., et du crime d'avoir dépouillé les Musées contre le texte des Traités."—Art. 5, *Codicil au Testament de Napoléon*, April 24, 1820.—ANTOMMARCHI, *Derniers Moments de Napoléon*, ii. 233.

wisdom. I approve of your ordinance of 5th September. It had become indispensable to get quit of a Chamber which dragged you back. See what I have done for Poland! Shall I be deceived in my fond desire to reconcile the two great principles of Peace and Liberty. The fermentation in Germany is alarming, but it is owing to the imprudent attempts of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to recede from the promises they have made to their people. Let us have no Revolutionists or Jacobins, but Christian freedom." He was made acquainted with M. Decazes, whom he commended in the highest terms to the king. The Grand-Duke Constantine arrived after the departure of the Czar, and was entirely absorbed with military ideas. At one of the reviews he had presented to him a private in the 1st regiment of grenadiers-à-cheval who had wounded him in single combat during the war in Russia. He paid him the highest compliments, and offered to take him into his service—an offer which the grenadier had the patriotism and the good sense to decline.[1] *

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[1] Cap. v. 463, 467; Lam. vi. 163, 192.

75. Elections of 1818.

The approach of the annual renewal of a fifth of the Chamber of Deputies threw France, as usual, into an agony of excitement, and awakened on all sides the most violent passions. It was worse than annual parliaments would be in the ordinary state of the British constitu-

* "Un des moments les plus heureux de ma vie a été celui qui a suivi la visite de l'Empereur de Russie. Sans parler de la grace extrême qu'il a mise à venir me voir, et à retracer ainsi, mais bien mollement, ce que la plus basse flatterie fit faire au Duc de la Feuillade a l'égard de Louis XIV., il était difficile de ne pas être satisfait de son entretien. Non seulement il était entré dans toutes mes pensées, mais il les avait dites avant que j'eusse eu le temps de les émettre. Il avait hautement approuvé le système de gouvernement, et la ligne de conduite que je suis, depuis que je me suis determiné à rendre l'ordonnance du 5 Sept. 1816. (Je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer que c'était le moment des élections de Paris, et que l'Empereur partit persuadé que Benjamin Constant seroit elu.) Enfin, ce Prince m'avait fait l'éloge de mes ministres, et particulièrement du Comte Decazes, pour lequel je ne crains point d'avoir une amitié fondée sur les qualités à la fois les plus solides et les plus aimables, et sur un attachement, dont il faut être l'objet pour en sentir tout le prix."—*Mémoires de Louis XVIII.*, Dec. 1818. LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vi. 163.

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tion; for the parties were so nearly balanced that it was generally felt that a few votes either way would cast the balance decisively in favour of one or other party. Thus the whole efforts of party, the whole declamations of the journals, the whole anxieties of the people, were concentrated on the limited number of elections in which the struggle was to be maintained. As the contest drew near, the weakness of the Royalist party, and the progressive growth of the Liberal, became manifest. One journal only, the *Conservateur*, supported the white flag, while dozens poured forth daily declamations on the popular side. Few of the Royalists presented themselves as candidates for the vacant seats; when they did so, it was as martyrs rather than with the step of conquerors. So completely were they depressed, that the contest scarce anywhere took place between them and the Ministerialists; it lay between the latter and the extreme Democrats, and in most cases terminated to the advantage of the latter. M. Lafayette was returned for la Sarthe; M. Manuel, a popular leader, for la Vendée; and M. Benjamin Constant, after having run the Ministerial candidate very hard in Paris, was returned as another deputy for la Sarthe. As these districts were known to be Royalist, these returns spread great dismay in the Tuileries, and first suggested a serious doubt as to whether the new electoral law rendered the returns a true index of general opinion. It was evident it did not, for it threw them entirely into the hands of *one single class, the small proprietors*, who supported the Revolution, because they had been enriched by its spoils. The Royalists did not disguise their satisfaction at these results, and the verification of all their predictions. "We foretold it all," they exclaimed; "one or two more of the annual renewals, and a convention all complete will emerge from the new electoral law." Even the Government shared in some degree these apprehensions.[1] "I see with pain," said the Duke de Richelieu,

[1] Lac. ii. 246, 253; Cap. vi. 1, 21; Duke de Richelieu to M. Decazes, Dec. 17, 1818. Ibid.

"that the law of elections is excluding all the Royalists from the Chamber. I fear we have gone too far to the other side; I would rather have Royalist exaltation than Jacobinism. In the name of Heaven, look out for a remedy. I see with terror the men of the Hundred Days returning; they have destroyed our position in Europe: for God's sake let us avoid revolutions."

76. Financial crisis. Dec. 1818.

The difficulties of Government were much augmented in the close of the year by a severe monetary crisis, the natural result of the great financial arrangements concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the immense sums which the contractors for the loans borrowed by the French Government had to raise to make good their engagements. The unavoidable effect of these circumstances was grievously aggravated at this period by the known determination of the English Government, in the next session of Parliament, to put a period to the paper credit, and resort to the system of cash payments. As this restricted credit and limited accommodation took place in both countries, at the very time when the aid of paper currency was most required, the consequence was a general run upon the Bank of France for cash, and an immediate and most serious contraction of its discounts. A severe monetary crisis, with all its alarming consequences, quickly followed; and so great did the pressure soon become, that the funds at Paris fell 10 per cent, and, in the middle of November, credit was almost annihilated in that capital. In this extremity the Duke de Richelieu, on the advice of Messrs Hope and Baring, made a proposal to the allied powers to prolong to eighteen months the heavy payments which were to be made in nine months, according to the convention of 9th October preceding. The ministers of the allied powers at Aix-la-Chapelle had several conferences on this subject, and it was no easy matter to come to an understanding, for they themselves, especially Prussia and Austria, were nearly as much pressed for money as the

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Bank of France. At length an arrangement, drawn up by Prince Metternich, was agreed to, by which the period of payment was prolonged to eighteen months, 5 per cent interest being stipulated for the postponed season, and a certain proportion of the payments were to be received in bills drawn upon places out of France. By this means, aided by the strenuous efforts of the Government and Bank of France, the crisis was surmounted, without any suspension of payments; but it had been so severe, and required such exertions to meet it, that it broke down the health of the able finance minister, M. Corvetto, who solicited and obtained leave to retire. He was succeeded by M. Roy, who had been one of the Chamber of Deputies during the Hundred Days, and who augmented the already preponderating influence of the Liberal party in the Cabinet.[1]

[1] Convention, Nov. 19, 1818; Ann. Hist. i. 438, 439; Cap. vi. 22, 33; Lac. ii. 246, 247.

77. Difficulties of the Duke de Richelieu. Dec. 10, 1818.

The known result of the last elections, and the certain majority which it was foreseen the Liberals would have in the Chamber of Deputies, rendered the situation of the Duke de Richelieu very difficult. He had given a somewhat reluctant consent to the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816, which shook the confidence the Royalists had hitherto reposed in him; and now he was threatened with a hostile majority in the Chamber of Deputies, composed of the very persons whom that measure had brought into the legislature. Threatened thus with a hostile vote in the Lower House, Richelieu had no resource but to strengthen himself in the Upper; and at his instigation, a party composing a majority of the Peers was formed, prepared to stand by the king in any emergency that might occur. At the same time, court conferences were held with M. de Villèle, M. Molé, and the other Royalist chiefs, who promised a frank and loyal adhesion, provided only the Electoral Law was changed; but that was insisted on as an indispensable preliminary to any arrangement. M. de Richelieu was not averse to such a modification; and it was agreed, in the preparatory scrutiny of votes,

to ascertain how the numbers of the Centre and Right united together in the Chamber of Deputies would stand. As, however, it was felt that a crisis was approaching, and that it would require all the influence and address of the Duke de Richelieu and his ministry to surmount it, the opening of the session was postponed to the 10th December, in order to give time for any arrangements which might be found necessary to meet it.[1]

[1] Lac. ii. 254, 257; Cap. vi. 34, 39.

78. Divisions in the Cabinet, and break-up of the Ministry. Dec. 12.

As usual in such cases, the approaching conflict in the Legislature was preceded by a division in the Cabinet. Some of the ministers, among whom were the Duke de Richelieu, MM. Lainé, Molé, and Pasquier, were inclined to go into the terms proposed by the Royalists, and modify the Electoral Law; but the majority, headed by M. Decazes and Marshal Gouvion St Cyr, deemed any change of policy unnecessary and hazardous, and decided otherwise. The opening speech of the king at the commencement of the session, on December 10th, which committed neither party, was agreed to without a division in the Cabinet; but two days afterwards, various conflicts took place there between the two parties, and it soon became evident that their united operation was no longer to be relied on. When the king, who had hitherto been in a great measure ignorant of those ministerial divisions, perceived to what a length they had gone, and that a separation had become unavoidable, he prepared, though with great regret at losing M. Decazes, to support the premier, to whom his entire confidence had been given, whose ideas on every subject entirely coincided with his own, and whose wisdom had guided him in safety through the perilous period of the occupation of the territory. The anxiety which he felt at the prospect of a break-up of the Cabinet, however, brought on a fit of the gout, which for some days prevented him from attending the state councils; and he was in the very worst crisis of the malady, when a meeting was held to consider whether any modification should be introduced into the Electoral Law.

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The votes in the Chamber for the president had shown a majority of 101 to 91, formed by the Centre Right and Right against the Liberals of all shades. Encouraged by this favourable result, the Duke de Richelieu supported the proposed modification; but at the close of the conference, the king rose and said—"Let us plant our standard on the ordonnance of the 5th September: let us continue to follow the line we have hitherto followed; but let us at the same time extend a hand to the right as well as the left, and say with Cæsar, 'He who is not with me is against me.'" The majority was of the same opinion, and the Cabinet council broke up without having come to any formal determination on the subject; but though the king hoped the division was healed, it had in reality become incurable, and next day he was thunderstruck by receiving letters of resignation from the Duke de Richelieu,* MM. Lainé, Molé, and Pasquier, which were soon followed by one from M. Decazes,[1] who felt he could no

[1] Mémoire de Louis XVIII.; Lam. vi. 175, 182; Cap. vi. 45, 55; Lac. ii. 255, 257.

* "Votre Majesté peut imaginer dans quelle pénible situation m'a laissé l'entretien d'hier, et tout ce que j'ai souffert en voyant le chagrin que je causais à votre Majesté. Je connais trop bien mon insuffisance dans des circonstances aussi difficiles, et pour un genre d'affaires auquel il est impossible d'être moins propre que je ne le suis, pour que je ne répète pas, Sire, ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire hier. Ma mission à été finie au moment où les grandes affaires avec les étrangers ont été terminées; celles de l'intérieur aussi bien que la conduite des Chambres me sont tout a fait étrangères, et je n'y ai ni aptitude ni capacité. Il est de mon devoir de dire à votre Majesté dans toute la sincerité de mon cœur, qu'en me retenant elle fait le plus grand tort à ses affaires et au pays, et que ce sentiment qu'elle avait la bonté d'appeler hier modestie, n'est que le résultat d'une connaissance plus approfondie de moi-même: penser autrement ne serait pour moi qu'une misérable présomption. Votre Majesté sait si j'estime et aime M. Decazes: mes sentimens sont et seront toujours les mêmes. Mais d'un côté, outragé sans raison par un parti dont les imprudences ont causé tant de maux, il lui est impossible de se rapprocher de lui; de l'autre, il est poussé vers un côté dont les doctrines nous menacent davantage, tant qu'il ne sera pas fixé. Hors de France par des fonctions éminentes, tous les hommes opposés au Ministère le considèrent comme le but de leurs espérances, et il deviendra, malgré lui sans doute, un obstacle à la consolidation du Gouvernement. Je crois ce sacrifice nécessaire si je dois rester au Gouvernement. L'ambassade de Naples ou de Petersbourg, et un départ annoncé et executé dans une semaine, tels sont, suivant moi, les préliminaires indispensables, je ne dis pas au succès, mais à la marche de l'administration. Après avoir exprimé ma pensée, souffrez, Sire, que je me jette encore aux pieds de votre Majesté, pour lui demander avec les plus vives instances de m'accorder ma liberté."—*Duc de Richelieu au Roi Louis XVIII.*, Dec. 23, 1818. LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vi. 183, 185.

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longer remain in a cabinet from which so many of his old colleagues had seceded.

Had a thunderbolt fallen on the king, he could not have been thrown into greater consternation than he was by the receipt of these resignations. It equalled that experienced on the return of Napoleon, for then the kingdom only was lost; but now, though the kingdom remained, the only means of governing it had disappeared. Richelieu had made it a condition of his retaining office, that M. Decazes should be sent on a foreign embassy to St Petersburg or Naples—a stipulation which sufficiently revealed the real cause of the break-up of the ministry. At the earnest request of the king, however, and moved by the delicate situation of Madame Decazes, who was in her fourth month of pregnancy, he agreed so far to modify his demands as to remain at the head of the ministry if Decazes were removed only to Italy. He endeavoured to form a ministry resting on the Centre Right and Right of the Chamber, and from which M. Decazes was to be excluded; but all his proposed arrangements proved ineffectual. The Electoral Law proved an invincible barrier to any united administration. Finding he could not form a ministry, M. de Richelieu simply resigned; and the king, driven thus to throw himself without reserve into the arms of the Liberals, sent, by the advice of the Duke de Richelieu, for M. Decazes accordingly, and by his advice a ministry purely Liberal was formed after the following manner: General Dessoles—a Liberal, but who had done great service to the Bourbons at the Restoration—was President of the Council and Premier; M. de Serres, Keeper of the Seals; Decazes, Minister of the Interior; Baron Portal, the Navy; Baron Louis, the Finance; Gouvion St Cyr, Minister at War. These changes rendered the ministry entirely and exclusively Liberal.[1] Thus fell the ministry of the Duke de Richelieu—the victim of the measure it had adopted to conciliate its oppo-

Formation of the new Ministry. Dec. 28.

[1] Cap. vi. 42, 71; Mémoires de Louis XVIII.; Lam. vi. 185, 194; Lac. ii. 264, 267.

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nents, and of the hostile party which it had introduced into power.

80. Recompense voted to the Duke de Richelieu, and declined by him.

One of the first acts of the new ministry was to propose a national recompense to the Duke de Richelieu, whose great public services, during the three years he had held the reins of power, well entitled him to some distinguished mark of the public gratitude, while his private disinterestedness had left him without fortune at its close. The subject was introduced in the Chamber of Peers by the Marquis de Lalli, and seconded by General Dessolles; in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Decazes. No sooner, however, did the fallen minister hear what was in agitation than he addressed a noble letter to both Houses, in which he declined any public recompense, upon the ground that he could not bring himself to add to the public burdens at a time when so many heavy obligations already weighed upon France.* Notwithstanding this generous refusal, the project was persisted in, and General Dessolles, who was now created a marquis, after a brilliant picture of the great services of the Duke de Richelieu, proposed that an entailed estate of 50,000 francs (£2000) a-year, taken from the domains of the Crown, should be settled to descend to his heirs male with the peerage. Notwithstanding the great and acknowledged services of the duke, the proposal was seriously combated in both Houses; the opposition being chiefly rested on the magnitude of the public burdens, and the illegality of alienating any portion of the royal domains settled on the Crown by the law of 1814. It was carried, however, by large majorities in both Houses; the numbers in the Chamber of Deputies being 124 to 85—in the Peers, 83

* "Si dans le cours de mon ministère, j'ai eu le bonheur de rendre des services à la France, et dans ces derniers temps de concourir à l'affranchissement de son territoire, mon âme n'est pas moins attristée de savoir ma patrie accablée de dettes énormes; trop de calamités l'ont frappée, trop de citoyens sont tombés dans le malheur; et il y a trop de pertes à réparer, pour que je puisse voir s'élever ma fortune en de telles conjonctures. L'estime de mon pays, la bonté du Roi, le témoignage de ma conscience me suffisent."—*Duc de Richelieu aux Chambres*, Jan. 27, 1819. *Moniteur*, Jan. 28.

to 45. The duke, however, persisted in his disinterested refusal; he accepted only the honour, and conveyed the property to an hospital at Bordeaux. When he did so, he had no fortune whatever either in land or money; and his sisters procured for him a slender competence of 8000 francs (£320) a-year only, by selling the diamonds presented to him, according to diplomatic usage, on signing the many treaties to which his name was attached. Such conduct makes us proud of our species, and may well induce oblivion of the many baser acts which history is constrained to record. Certainly if, as the Scripture says, the love of money is the root of all evil, disinterestedness in regard of it is the index of all good.[1]

[1] Lac. vi. 267, 270; Cap. vi. 100, 115.

81. Measures of the new Ministers.

The decisive change in the Government soon appeared in the system of administration pursued both in civil and military affairs. The first care of M. Decazes, as Minister of the Interior, was to erase from the list of proscribed persons nearly all the names which still stood on it. The king entered cordially into all these measures. "They have suffered much," said he, "but they should ascribe it less to me than to circumstances; but when we do resolve on acts of grace, let them be complete." So fully was this benevolent intention carried into effect, that the arrears of pay during the period of their exile were given to the officers restored. Marshal Soult received some hundred thousand francs in this way. At the War-Office, Marshal Gouvion St Cyr pursued with more vigour than ever his system of oblivion and fusion. Not merely the subordinate officers, but the superior ones and generals—among the rest, General Foy, and others who had been attached to the fortunes of Napoleon during the Empire and the Hundred Days—received permission to return. To such a length was this system carried, that at last an ordinance opened to the officers and sub-officers of the army the entry into the Royal Guard of the King and the Count d'Artois. This excited, as well it might, the loudest complaints among the Royalists; but the system

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was nevertheless pursued with vigour and perseverance, and in a short time a majority of the officers in both services was composed of men known to be partial to the Liberal or Napoleon party. A still more vehement clamour was raised in the Royalist camp by an ordinance which gave certain colonels in the Guard rank and position in the army as Marshals of the Camp—a measure, it was said, obviously intended to remove from the royal family the few faithful defenders which still remained to them.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 90, 92; Lac. ii. 70.

82. General promotion of the Liberals in the civil service.

The same system was pursued with equally unflinching determination in the civil service of the State. The prefects, the sub-prefects, were all chosen from the Liberal party; even the Council of State was remodelled, so as to give a majority to that party. Among the many eminent men of that side who thus obtained admission into the Council of State, were MM. Siméon, Royer-Collard, Portalis, Mounier, and Camille Jourdan, who were placed in the legislative section of that body; while the deliberative, a still more important section, contained MM. Cuvier, Degerando, Berenger, Ramond, the Prince de Broglie, Gen. Mathieu Dumas, Guizot, Barante, and a great many others, all Liberals of the first rank, station, and ability. In a word, the choice of Government in filling up appointments realised the fine saying of Louis XVIII.—"Whoever is faithful to me now has ever been so." To such a length was this system carried in subordinate offices, that one of the royal courts in the south of France, that of Nîmes, was composed *entirely* of the magistrates who had held office during the Hundred Days—the Royalists who had succeeded them being entirely excluded. In a word, the Government threw themselves everywhere, and without reserve, into the arms of the Liberal party, hoping that they would thus found the monarchy upon the affections or interests of the majority of the nation.[2]

[2] Cap. vi. 92, 94; Lac. ii. 270, 271.

No measure of moment was brought forward by the new ministers from their appointment on 28th December

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till the beginning of February, and the Parisians, impatient of delay, and thirsting for excitement, were beginning to complain that the Liberal ministry were doing nothing; but, ere long, they had ample subject for meditation from what occurred in the Chamber of Peers. The Royalists had there a decided majority; and they were so convinced that the Electoral Law would terminate in the destruction of the monarchy, and before many years had elapsed would effect it, that they resolved, at all hazards, to attempt its modification. The great object was to neutralise in some way the majority of *small proprietors of the national domains*, who at present, by the Electoral Law, had the means of returning a majority of the Chamber of Deputies, of persons attached to the fortunes of the Revolution. The person selected to commence the movement was M. Barthélémy, the veteran diplomatist, who, elected, contrary to his wishes, a member of the Directory, had been seized, on occasion of the revolution of 11th Fructidor, in 1797, by his democratic colleagues, and transported to the burning deserts of Sinamari, from whence his escape seemed little short of a miracle. He was now old and infirm, but still in the full possession of his faculties; and being a living monument of the excesses of the Revolution, he seemed a fitting person to arrest its march.[1]

83. Movement against the Electoral Law in the Peers.

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xxiv. §§ 48-51; Lac. ii. 271; Cap. vi. 115, 121; Ann. Hist. i. 31, 32.

"It is now two years," said the veteran orator, "since a change was introduced into our infant institutions by a change in the law of election. The advantages anticipated from it were maintained with so much warmth, the inconveniences foreseen were supported by reasons so plausible, that there was ample room for difference of opinion on the subject. The course of our discussions rendered that incertitude so natural, that it was in some degree shared by the orators of Government themselves; and, in the last debate, they declared that the new law was only an experiment, which would be open to revision if it should prove unsuccessful. That declaration fixed many of those who had hitherto hesitated; and I am not

84. Argument of M. Barthélémy for a change in the law of election. Feb. 20, 1819.

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ashamed to confess myself one of those who was induced by it to vote in favour of the proposed law. Two years have since elapsed, two elections have taken place under it, and twice the Government has been thrown into an agony of apprehension from its results. I feel it, therefore, a duty to solicit the redemption of a pledge which determined my vote. I demand that the Chamber of Peers should adopt a resolution to petition the King to bring forward the project of a law which may introduce into the organisation of the electoral colleges the requisite modifications." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. ii. 33; Lac. ii. 271, 272.

85. Answer on the part of the Ministerialists.

To this it was replied on the part of the Ministry by Decazes and Lally Tollendal: "Great stress has been laid on certain promises said to have been made by the Ministry when the law of elections was under discussion. No minister, in bringing forward such a law, could promise anything but that it should be literally carried into effect; and, in fact, nothing more was promised by the ministers of that period. The Government is now persuaded that it cannot so well discharge its duty as by repelling with all its strength a proposition which it, with sincerity, regards as the most dangerous that can emanate from this Assembly. This fundamental law, the principal spring of government, the faults or merits of which must have so decisive an influence on our destinies, was adopted, after a warm and long discussion—by a small majority it is true, but one as large as could be expected on such a subject in the circumstances. The result has fully answered our expectations. From the Rhine to the Pyrenees all is now tranquil and contented: will any man venture to predict that the same will be the case to-morrow if this proposition is adopted by the Assembly? From the agitation already arising in its bosom we may augur the commotion which the proposal will soon awaken over the whole of France." [2]

[2] Ann. Hist. ii. 34; Moniteur, Feb. 27, 1819.

These words proved prophetic of the effect produced over France by the introduction of this measure. Leave

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was given to bring in the proposition by a majority of 80 to 53. Immediately the most violent agitation commenced in every part of France, much exceeding anything which had been witnessed since the Restoration. The people are possessed of an instinct which seldom errs as to the probable effect upon their *immediate* interest of any measures that are brought forward, or the influence they may acquire over the Government: it is in regard to their ultimate effects—which require foresight and reflection, to be appreciated—that they are so generally deficient. The agitation was universal, and reached far beyond the limited class to which the right of voting was at present extended. The whole body of holders of the national domains took the alarm. Conscience made cowards of them all; they felt the same dread of being dispossessed of their ill-gotten gains that the holder of stolen goods does when a police-officer enters the house. Hundreds of petitions were prepared in every part of the country, and eagerly signed by hundreds and thousands, praying the king to make no change in the Electoral Law; and, for the first time since the extinction of the fervour of the Revolution by the carnage of the Convention, France, from the Pyrenees to Bayonne, was convulsed by democratic passions.[1]

86. The proposition is carried, and vast sensation throughout France.

[1] Lac. ii. 120; Cap. vi. 121, 126.

This open declaration of the Chamber of Peers, by so large a majority, against the Electoral Law, was rendered the more serious, from the weight and influence of the members of whom the majority was composed, which embraced the most respectable and enlightened of the peerage. The king was very much struck with this circumstance; he said that, in the estimation of the best defenders of his throne, it was no longer a question of party, but of the dynasty and the monarchy. M. Decazes had great difficulty in persuading him that it was necessary to persist in the support of the Electoral Law; which, however, he at length agreed to do, as the Cabinet, by a great majority, thought it should be made a condition of

87. Measures of the Cabinet, and the Liberals in the Chamber of Deputies.

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its existence. M. Lafitte, in the Lower House, made a motion for the deputies to present an address to the king, praying him to make no change in the Electoral Law; and although this proposal was negatived on the objection in point of form, that the matter had not yet come in regular course before them, yet it served to support the majority of the Cabinet in their resolution to permit no change in the existing law.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 128, 129; Ann. Hist. ii. 60.

88. Argument in support of M. Barthélémy's proposal.

The discussion on the merits of the question came on in the Peers on the 26th February, when it was argued by MM. de Barthélémy, de Fontanes, and de Castellane: "We have supported the law of election, because we thought that little was to be apprehended from a democracy of eighty thousand electors in a country possessing twenty-seven millions of inhabitants; but experience has undeceived us. The opponents of the law have better than ourselves perceived its real tendency. What is the end which we should pursue?—to strengthen power by giving it the support of the nation. If history proves that the ministers of kings are in general more inclined to support the rights of the crown than those of the people, those who are now in power are free from that reproach. But have they always been equally confident in the merits of the law, to the maintenance of which they now attach their political existence? Have they had no misgivings as to its democratic tendency? Is it not equally open to abuse on the other side, should a ministry arrive at power sufficiently unscrupulous to make use of its powers in that respect? What is so easy as to multiply patents, and bestow them on persons in the interest of the Crown? To eschew these evils, we must recur to the great territorial aristocracy. There once was a man who terrified Europe by his ambition; however we may regard that man, no one can deny to him the knowledge of the science of power. One day he was preparing in the Council of State the Electoral Colleges, and I (M. de Fontanes) was present. Some of his con-

fidential counsellors suggested to him that his plan was not without danger: for several of the great properties still remained in the hands of the former proprietors, and that sooner or later the choice of the six hundred most considerable in each college, in whom the franchise was vested, would bring in the partisans of the ancient monarchy. Napoleon was no ways staggered by this observation; his answer was as follows, 'These men,' said he, 'are great proprietors—they do not wish, therefore, that the soil should tremble—their interest is mine.' Have the great proprietors any influence under the present Electoral Law? None whatever; for they are outvoted twenty to one by the small proprietors, who, having nearly all been enriched by the Revolution, are attached to its fortunes.

89. Continued.

"What clearly proves that there is something fundamentally wrong about the present law is the fact, that although there are 120,000 electors in France, never more than 80,000 have taken part in any election. This is an evil of the very first magnitude, which loudly calls for a remedy. If in the infancy of our institutions, and when the electoral franchise was by many to be exercised for the first time, so great a number of electors have not come forward, what may be anticipated in ordinary times? Is it not evident that the number of electors will constantly diminish; and as the law provides that, in such an event, the Electoral Colleges are to meet two or three times in the year, a burden will be imposed on the electors exceeding in weight that of their whole contributions to the state. The effect of this will be a progressive diminution in the number of electors, till they become quite illusory, and amenable to every species of influence or corruption.

90. Continued.

"There is another consideration not less important. In the laudable intention of encouraging commerce and industry, patents (franchises derived from income-tax) have been assimilated and put on the same footing as those resting on direct taxes from land. But that exten-

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sion, already sufficiently great, has become altogether monstrous, from the circumstance that, as this tax is paid monthly, it is held that the payment of *one instalment*—that is, one-twelfth of three hundred francs—confers the franchise. Thus the right of voting is acquired by the payment once only of a tax of twenty-five francs. Is not this a manifest violation of the act—a departure alike from its letter and its spirit? The introduction of such a body of disqualified electors into the register of voters, is an act of manifest injustice to the holders of land. The latter, however, in every age and country, have constituted the strength of nations. They it is who are the guardians at once of our morals and institutions. In intrusting to them the enjoyment of political rights, our legislators have done no violence to natural justice; because civilisation renders property always accessible to the persevering efforts of industry, and it is the sure recompense of labour and economy.

91. Concluded.

"Finally, there is an important defect in our Electoral Law, which requires amendment. The power of naming supplementary members, in the event of those named in the first instance failing, has been omitted; although it was in an especial manner required under the new Electoral Law, which so greatly restricted the number of deputies. As matters at present stand, it is not death or serious disease disqualifying the deputy, which renders necessary a new election; the same follows from a double return of the same individual for different places—an event which has very frequently occurred in recent times. This renders fresh elections necessary, and perpetuates the excitement, turmoil, and intrigue consequent on them. Even now, from this cause, the Chamber is incomplete; and it has been so ever since the commencement of the session. The necessity of these new elections not only entails a great additional expense and trouble on the electors, but perpetuates an agitation, which, in every point of view, it is desirable to avoid."[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. ii. 37, 39; Moniteur, Feb. 27, 1819; Cap. iii. 129, 131.

On the other hand, it was contended by the Marquis Dessoles, the Premier, M. Languinan, and M. de Larochefoucauld: "To attack the Law of Elections is to attack the charter—to menace our liberties—to commence the counter revolution. That in the execution of that law there may be some errors, negligences, and abuses, is very possible, and obtains in this as in all earthly things. The remedy for them, however, is in an ordonnance of the King, or a circular of the Ministers, not a change of the law. The Law of Election is generally considered as good, and the best guarantee of our liberties. The people are attached to it as the chief safeguard given them by the charter. To propose to touch it now, is to sow the seeds of alarm; to attack the majority of the citizens in that which they cherish the most; to assail immediately the sentiments which are most deeply seated in their affections; to expose France to the anxieties, the passions, and the agitation, which we are all so anxious to avoid; to cast anew a firebrand into the nation; and God only knows when the conflagration thus raised will be extinguished. The Law of Election is our second charter; and the attack on it must be combated by facts rather than arguments.

92. Argument of the Ministers on the other side.

"After four years of secret notes addressed to the allied powers; after the criminal, but still unpunished intrigue of Aix-la-Chapelle against our charter; after the attempt in December last to renew the evils which the King averted by the ordinance of 5th September 1816, a nebulous point has again formed in the heavens—the forerunner of a dreadful tempest—and the cloud has first appeared in the House of Peers. That house was instituted to calm the passions, to avert storms, to establish harmony between the powers; and it is now in its name that vague innovations are proposed—the more alarming, that they are uncertain—the more to be deprecated, that they are unnecessary. Let us not deceive ourselves: a great faction, now very apparent, without the Chamber—the

93. Continued.

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faction of privileges, of abuses, of sinecures, of prodigalities, of the oligarchy—agitates and disturbs us, in the hope of subverting the charter, which they have long undermined, or of reducing its effects to unmeaning ceremonies. The object of that league is to overturn the existing Ministry, which enjoys the confidence at once of the king and the nation, and which is distinguished alike by patriotism and unanimity. They would replace them by the most extravagant of the opposite faction, in order by their aid to annihilate the Electoral Law, which has cost two years of labour, and is so dear to the immense majority of Frenchmen. They would re-establish the double steps of election, so favourable to aristocracy, and restore the elections to those little places where their influence is predominant: an abuse so wisely provided against by the existing law. In a word, this is the first act of the counter revolution against the charter.

94. Concluded.

"Already you see the effects of the proposition which has been entertained by the Chamber. You see it in the stagnation of industry, the decline of confidence, the indignation of the public, which exhales in the thousands of petitions which encumber your table, to one of which is attached three thousand signatures. If the proposition is not withdrawn, the result will be the re-establishment of the peers, who were excluded without judgment in 1815—a fatal step, but indispensable to bring back the House of Peers into a state of harmony with the other branches of the government. It is already too numerous compared to the limited number of the other Chamber. Is it in consequence to be dissolved, and a more numerous one convoked? If this step is not adopted, it will be necessary to change the Ministry, and seek their successors among those who will be willing to accept the new measures. What these measures are, it is not difficult to foresee. New elections in the interest of the oligarchy; the re-establishment of a packed Chamber, the entire ruin of a representative government; exceptional measures, which

will be first tolerated, then execrated; universal discontent, national excitement, civil war, foreign invasion; dangers from all sides to the throne, the altar, the public liberty, the dynasty, the existing peers, and all other peers; in fine, an absolute despotism or liberty—a third time, and too dearly, purchased. Do you wish to count us? It is not in this assembly you must do so—it is in the midst of thirty millions of Frenchmen you must commence your calculation. There is but one way to avoid these dangers; it is by rejecting or withdrawing the proposition submitted to the Chamber. It is the unanimous opinion of the Government to resist any change in the Law of Elections. The results of the proposal, even to make such a change, have been sufficient to prove its danger, and to render it the first duty of the Government firmly to oppose it."[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 28, 1819; Ann. Hist. ii. 38, 58; Cap. vi. 129, 133; Lac. ii. 281, 283.

95. Adoption of M. Barthélémy's proposition, and defeat of Ministers on the fixing of the financial year.

Notwithstanding these denunciations, the majority of the peers remained firm in their resolution; and M. Barthélémy's proposition was adopted by a majority of 45—the numbers being 98 to 53. So elated were the Royalists with this victory that they proceeded immediately to another demonstration against the Government, of a much more doubtful kind. It had been determined by the Ministers, and agreed to by the Chamber of Deputies, to make a change in the financial year. To accomplish this, there was but one method that appeared practicable, and that was to vote the supplies at once for eighteen months. This, however, was a violation of the charter, which declared that the supplies were to be voted for one year only; and on this ground it had been strongly opposed in the Chamber of Deputies. "When Buonaparte," said M. de Villèle in that Chamber, "came March 4. to disperse the National Assembly, they invoked their rights as established by the constitution. He answered, 'You have violated them.' Dread a similar answer. Dread it whether your blindness brings you to see a triumphant democracy demand the overthrow of the

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throne, and the dissolution of the Chamber of Peers—or a new soldier tries to consecrate in this hall a violation of the principle of legitimacy." The expedience of the case being on the other side, however, the Chamber of Deputies adopted the change; but it was at once rejected in the House of Peers, by a majority of 39—the numbers being 93 to 54.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. ii. 58, 59; Moniteur, March 6, 1819; Lac. ii. 236, 287.

96. Measures of the Government.

These repeated defeats convinced the Government that the time had now arrived when it was necessary to take a decisive step. M. Dessolles laid a memoir before the King, in which the state of the case was clearly set forth, and the courses which might be adopted were pointed out.* It was evident that it had become unavoidable either to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, and form a new Ministry in harmony with the opinions of the majority of the Peers, or to overcome the majority in the Peers by a great creation in that Assembly. It was at first proposed simply to repeal the ordonnance of 15th August 1815, which excluded from the House the peers who had taken an active part in favour of Napoleon during the Hundred Days; but the King objected to this. "I wish," said Louis, "that they should hold their seats from my single will, and that they should feel grateful for it." It was agreed, in consequence, to make a great creation of peers; and next morning the columns of the *Moniteur* revealed to the astonished Parisians the names of sixty-three persons, all of the Liberal party, or attached to the Liberal party, who were advanced to the peerage.[2]

[2] Moniteur, March 8, 1819; Ann. Hist. ii. 59; Cap. vi. 136, 139.

* "Les deux Chambres vont être en complète dissidence sur une question fondamentale, celle qui constitue le corps électoral, principe démocratique de la Constitution. Les députés veulent maintenir le système électoral, les Pairs veulent le modifier. Dans cette position, le Ministère de votre Majesté partageant l'opinion de la Chambre élective, il ne reste au Roi qu'un parti à prendre, c'est ou de dissoudre la Chambre élective et de composer un Ministère dans le sein de la majorité de la Pairie, ou de soutenir le Ministre et la Chambre des Députés et de briser l'opposition qui s'est formée dans la Chambre des Pairs. Et je ne dissimule pas à votre Majesté que ce dernier parti est le plus populaire, et que dans les circonstances actuelles, c'est le seul qui puisse ramener le calme dans les esprits."—*Mémoire du Marquis Dessolles au Roi*, Mars 2, 1819. CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vi. 135.

Among them were six of Napoleon's marshals—viz., the Dukes of Albufera, Cornegliano, and Dantzic, the Prince of Echmuhl, Marshal Jourdan, and the Duke of Treviso; and many names known to fame—in particular, Rapp, Latour Maubourg, Reille, Dubreton, Maurice Mathieu, Claparede, Admiral Tonguet, and several others.

97. Great majority in the Chamber of Deputies for Ministers.

The victory of the Liberals was now complete. By the *coup d'état* of September 5, 1816, they had revolutionised the Chamber of Deputies; by that of March 5, 1819, they had overcome the resistance of the Chamber of Peers. The king had thrown himself into their arms; the magistracy was filled with their adherents, the army guided by their generals, the press by their supporters. The whole powers of the state were wielded by their adherents. An astonishing revolution! to have been effected in so short a time, in a country in which the tide had set so violently the other way during the year 1815; but by no means without a parallel, both in the previous and subsequent history of that volatile and easily excited people, and not without parallels among their more sober neighbours on this side of the Channel. Nothing remained for the Government to consolidate its power but to demonstrate its ascendancy in the Chamber of Deputies; and here the effects of the decisive blow struck in the Peers at once appeared, for, on a division on the Electoral Law in the Chamber of Deputies, Ministers were supported by a majority of 56—the numbers being 150 to 94.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. ii. 82; Moniteur, Mar. 22, 1819.

98. Great and lasting results of the changes already made in France.

Although not five years had elapsed since the second restoration of the Bourbons, yet decisive events, fraught with the fate of futurity, had during that time taken place both in France and England. It is a mistake to suppose that important events pregnant with lasting consequences produce their effects in every instance immediately. This is, without doubt, sometimes the case; and of the reality of such sudden results the French Revolution affords ample evidence. But, in general, the lasting

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effects of the greatest political changes are only developed after a considerable period, and when they have had time to work, as it were, through all the strata of society. The great political alterations made in France during this period, the *coup d'état* changing the Electoral Law, the new ordinances for the regulation of the army, the great democratic creations of peers, rendered a revolution inevitable, but inevitable at a future period. The first fixed the representation upon a uniform and democratic basis of small proprietors and moderate intelligence, disfranchising practically the higher education and larger properties of the kingdom, by throwing them into a minority; the second deprived Government of the support, in any crisis which might arise, of a faithful and intrepid army, and rendered it next to certain that, in the decisive moment, it would side with the enemies of the monarchy; the third severed from the throne any aid it might receive from a body of peers whose interests were identified with its preservation. In like manner, the new monetary system adopted in England, in 1819, had rendered an entire change of government and alteration of policy inevitable at no distant period; for it had laid the foundation of such a prodigious alteration of prices as could not fail to change the ruling class in the country, and, by the general suffering with which it must be attended, shake even the stability and loyalty of the British character.

99. Repeated *coups d'état* in France since the Restoration.

It is worthy of observation how early the French nation, after they had attained the blessing, had shown themselves unfitted, either from character or circumstances, for the enjoyment of constitutional government. Only five years had elapsed since it was for the first time established in France by the overthrow of Napoleon, and scarcely a year had passed which was not marked by some *coup d'état*, or violent infringement, by the sovereign, of the constitution. The restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 was immediately attended by the creation

of sixty peers on the Royalist side, and the expulsion of as many from the Democratic; this was followed, within four years, by the creation of as many on the Liberal. The whole history of England prior to 1832 could only present one instance of a similar creation, and that was of *twelve* peers only, in 1713, to carry through the infamous project of impeaching the Duke of Marlborough. It was threatened to be repeated, indeed, during the heat of the Reform contest; but the wise advice of the Duke of Wellington prevented such an irretrievable wound being inflicted on the constitution. The French Chamber of Deputies was first entirely remodelled, and 133 new members added to its numbers, by a simple royal ordinance in 1815; and again changed—the added members being taken away, and the suffrage established on a uniform and highly democratic basis—by another royal ordinance, issued, by the sole authority of the king, the following year. Changes, alternately on the one side or the other, greater than were accomplished in England by the whole legislature in two centuries, were carried into execution in France in the very outset of its constitutional career, by the sole authority of the king, in two years.

100. The *coups d'état* were all on the popular side.

What is still more remarkable, and at first sight seems almost unaccountable, every one of those violent stretches of regal power was done in the interest, and to gratify the passions, of the majority at the moment. The Royalist creation of peers in 1815, the Democratic addition of sixty to their numbers in 1819, the addition of 133 members to the Chamber of Deputies in the first of these years, their withdrawal, and the change of the Electoral Law by the *coup d'état* of Sept. 5, 1816, were all done to conciliate the feelings, and in obedience to the fierce demand, of the majority. That these repeated infringements of the constitution in so short a time, and in obedience to whatever was the prevailing cry of the moment, would prove utterly fatal to the stability of the

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new institutions, and subversive of the growth of anything like real freedom in the land, was indeed certain, and has been abundantly proved by the event. But the remarkable thing is, that, such as they were, and fraught with these consequences, they were all loudly demanded by the majority; and the power of the Crown was exerted only to pacify these demands, which, in truth, it had not the means of resisting.

101. Causes of this peculiarity.

A little reflection, however, will at once show how it happens that, in periods of crisis and violent public excitement, the people so frequently demand, and the government concede, what is certain in the end to prove fatal to the interests of both. It is that both are governed by present feelings or convenience, and neither is capable of either carrying their views into futurity, or, if they could do so, of incurring present risk or obloquy to avert the perils with which these views are fraught. Neither can make "the past or the future predominate over the present." The one party demand what appears at the time to them to be a most desirable object; the other concedes what they are probably reluctant to grant, but which is yielded to avoid the risk of present collision. Thus the power of the Crown is exerted to forward the advances of democracy; and the influence of democracy is directed to forward changes which, by destroying all intermediate influences, are in truth paving the way for future despotism. Tranquillity and peace are generally purchased at the moment by such concessions; but this advantage is gained at the expense of future safety; the danger is transferred from the streets to the legislature—from the turbulence of mobs to Acts of Parliament. The danger in such a case is, not so much that the Government will be overturned in a well-concerted urban tumult, as that, with the consent of all branches of the legislature, and the cordial support of the majority of the people, measures in the end destructive of the nation, and subversive of its liberties,

will be adopted. Whoever has attentively considered the situation of a country in which a mere numerical majority has really, and not in form merely, acquired the direction, will see that this is the greatest social danger which threatens society; and as it arises from the most prevailing weakness of human nature—that of sacrificing the future to the present—it is the one which is least likely to be obviated by any efforts of human wisdom. Possibly it is one of the appointed means by which communities make their exit from the world; and as nations, like single men, were not destined for immortality, but intended, at the appointed season, to make way for their successors on this transitory scene, so it is by the growth of popular passions, which tend to shorten their duration, that the way is prepared for their removal from the theatre of existence, and the gates of the tomb opened to the most powerful and renowned of human societies.

END OF VOL. I.

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